This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

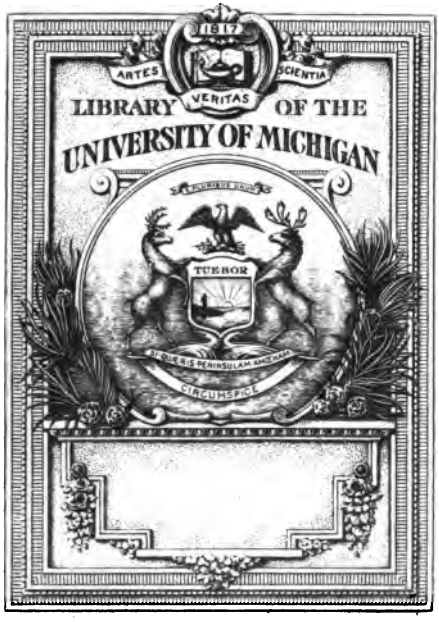
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



THE GIFT OF

Dean M. E. Cooley

THE WORKS

OF

SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

EDITED BY

SIMON WILKIN, F.L.S.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

THE THREE LAST BOOKS OF VULGAR ERRORS,
RELIGIO MEDICI, AND THE GARDEN OF CYRUS.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
MDCCCLII.

PRINTED BY
COX (BROTHERS) AND WYMAN, GREAT QUEEN STREET,
LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS.

Gift
Dean M. E. Cooley
1-30-30

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA, Books V. to VII.

The Fifth Book; *the particular part continued. Of many things questionable as they are commonly described in pictures. Of many popular customs, &c.*

Chap. 1. Of the picture of the pelican .. .. *Page* 1
Chap. 2. Of the picture of dolphins 4
Chap. 3. Of the picture of a grasshopper 6
Chap. 4. Of the picture of the serpent tempting Eve 9
Chap. 5. Of the picture of Adam and Eve with navels 14
Chap. 6. Of the pictures of the Jews and Eastern nations, at their feasts, especially our Saviour at the Passover 17
Chap. 7. Of the picture of our Saviour with long hair 26
Chap. 8. Of the picture of Abraham sacrificing Isaac 28
Chap. 9. Of the picture of Moses with horns 29
Chap. 10. Of the scutcheons of the twelve tribes of Israel 32
Chap. 11. Of the pictures of the sibyls 38
Chap. 12. Of the picture describing the death of Cleopatra 39
Chap. 13. Of the pictures of the nine worthies 42
Chap. 14. Of the picture of Jephthah sacrificing his daughter 47
Chap. 15. Of the picture of John the Baptist in a camel's skin 50
Chap. 16. Of the picture of St. Christopher 52
Chap. 17. Of the picture of St. George 54
Chap. 18. Of the picture of St. Jerome 56
Chap. 19. Of the pictures of mermaids, unicorns, and some others 59
Chap. 20. Of the hieroglyphical pictures of the Egyptians 65
Chap. 21. Of the picture of Haman hanged 69
Chap. 22. Of the picture of God the Father; of the sun, moon, and winds, with others 72
Chap. 23. Compendiously of many popular customs, opinions, &c.: viz. of an hare crossing the high-way; of the ominous appearing of owls and ravens; of the falling of salt; of breaking the egg-shell; of the true lovers' knot; of the cheek burning or ear tingling; of speaking under the rose; of smoke following the fair; of sitting cross-legged; of hair upon moles; of the set time of paring of nails; of lions' heads upon spouts and cisterns; of the saying, ungirt, unblest; of the sun dancing on Easter-day; of the silly-how; of being drunk once a month; of the appearing of the devil with a cloven hoof. 79
Chap. 24. Of popular customs, opinions, &c.; of the prediction of the year ensuing from the insects in oak apples; that children would naturally speak Hebrew; of refraining to kill swallows; of lights burning dim at the apparition of spirits; of the wearing of coral; of Moses' rod in the discovery of mines; of discovering doubtful matters by book or staff 91

The Sixth Book; *the particular part continued. Of popular and received tenets, cosmographical, geographical, and historical.*

Chap. 1. Concerning the beginning of the world, that the time thereof is not precisely known, as commonly it is presumed 103
Chap. 2. Of men's enquiries in what season or point of the Zodiack it began, that, as they are generally made, they are in vain, and as particularly, uncertain 119
Chap. 3. Of the divisions of the seasons and four quarters of the year, according unto astronomers and physicians; that the common compute of the ancients, and which is still retained by some, is very questionable 122

Chap. 4. Of some computation of days, and deductions of one part of the year unto another .. .. *Page* 127
Chap. 5. A digression of the wisdom of God in the site and motion of the sun 130
Chap. 6. Concerning the vulgar opinion, that the earth was slenderly peopled before the flood 136
Chap. 7. Of east and west 153
Chap. 8. Of the river Nilus 163
Chap. 9. Of the Red Sea 176
Chap. 10. Of the blackness of negroes 180
Chap. 11. Of the same 192
Chap. 12. A digression concerning blackness 197
Chap. 13. Of gypsies 204
Chap. 14. Of some others 207

THE SEVENTH BOOK; *the particular part concluded. Of popular and received tenets, chiefly historical and some deduced from the Holy Scriptures.*

Chap. 1. That the forbidden fruit was an apple 210
Chap. 2. That a man hath one rib less than a woman 214
Chap. 3. Of Methuselah 216
Chap. 4. That there was no rainbow before the flood 219
Chap. 5. Of Shem, Ham, and Japheth 222
Chap. 6. That the tower of Babel was erected against a second deluge .. 225
Chap. 7. Of the mandrakes of Leah 227
Chap. 8. Of the three kings of Collein 232
Chap. 9. Of the food of John Baptist, locusts and wild honey 234
Chap. 10. That John the Evangelist should not die 235
Chap. 11. Of some others more briefly 241
Chap. 12. Of the cessation of oracles 243
Chap. 13. Of the death of Aristotle 246
Chap. 14. Of the wish of Philoxenus to have the neck of a crane 252
Chap. 15. Of the lake Asphaltites 255
Chap. 16. Of divers other relations: viz. of the woman that conceived in a bath; of Crassus that never laughed but once; that our Saviour never laughed; of Sergius the Second, or Bocca di Porco; that Tamerlane was a Scythian shepherd 259
Chap. 17. Of some others: viz. of the poverty of Belisarius; of *fluctus decumanus*, or the tenth wave; of Parisatis that poisoned Statira by one side of a knife; of the woman fed with poison, that should have poisoned Alexander; of the wandering Jew; of pope Joan; of friar Bacon's brazen head that spoke; of Epicurus 267
Chap. 18. More briefly of some others: viz. that the army of Xerxes drank whole rivers dry; that Hannibal eat through the Alps with vinegar; of Archimedes his burning the ships of Marcellus; of the Fabii that were all slain; of the death of Æschylus; of the cities of Tarsus and Anchiale built in one day; of the great ship Syracusia or Alexandria; of the Spartan boys 276
Chap. 19. Of some relations whose truth we fear 284

RELIGIO MEDICI.

Editor's preface 293
The annotator to the reader 308
Correspondence between Dr. Browne and Sir Kenelm Digby 311
To the reader 315
Observations on Religio Medici 453

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS.

Editor's preface 491
The epistle dedicatory 493
The stationer to the reader 564

PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA.

THE FIFTH BOOK:

THE PARTICULAR PART CONTINUED.

OF MANY THINGS QUESTIONABLE AS THEY ARE COMMONLY DESCRIBED IN PICTURES; OF MANY POPULAR CUSTOMS, ETC.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Picture of the Pelican.

And first, in every place we meet with the picture of the pelican, opening her breast with her bill, and feeding her young ones with the blood distilled from her. Thus is it set forth not only in common signs, but in the crest and scutcheon of many noble families; hath been asserted by many holy writers, and was an hieroglyphick of piety and pity among the Egyptians; on which consideration they spared them at their tables.[1]

[1] *And first, &c.*] These singular birds are said to fish in companies; they form a circle on the water, and having by the flapping of their huge wings, driven the terrified fish towards the centre, they suddenly dive all at once as by consent, and soon fill their immense pouches with their prey. In order subsequently to disgorge the contents, in feeding their young, they have only to press the pouch on their breast. This operation may very probably have given rise to the fable, that the pelican opens her breast to nourish her young.

As to its hieroglyphical import, Horapollo says that it was used among the Egyptians as an emblem of folly; on account of the little care it takes to deposit its eggs in a safe place. He relates that it buries them in a hole; that the natives, observing the place, cover it with dry cow's dung, to which they set fire. The old birds immediately endeavouring to extinguish the fire with their wings, get them burnt, and so are easily caught.—*Horap. Hierogl. cura Pauw*, 4to. Traj. ad Rh. 1727, p. 67, 68.

Notwithstanding, upon enquiry we find no mention hereof in ancient zoographers, and such as have particularly discoursed upon animals, as Aristotle, Ælian, Pliny, Solinus, and many more; who seldom forget proprieties of such a nature, and have been very punctual in less considerable records. Some ground hereof I confess we may allow, nor need we deny a remarkable affection in pelicans toward their young; for Ælian, discoursing of storks, and their affection toward their brood, whom they instruct to fly, and unto whom they redeliver up the provision of their bellies, concludeth at last, that herons and pelicans do the like.

As for the testimonies of ancient fathers, and ecclesiastical writers, we may more safely conceive therein some emblematical, than any real story: so doth Eucherius confess it to be the emblem of Christ. And we are unwilling literally to receive that account of Jerom, that perceiving her young ones destroyed by serpents, she openeth her side with her bill, by the blood whereof they revive and return unto life again. By which relation they might indeed illustrate the destruction of man by the old serpent, and his restorement by the blood of Christ: and in this sense we shall not dispute the like relations of Austin, Isidore, Albertus, and many more; and under an emblematical intention, we accept it in coat-armour.

As for the hieroglyphick of the Egyptians, they erected the same upon another consideration, which was parental affection; manifested in the protection of her young ones, when her nest was set on fire. For as for letting out her blood, it was not the assertion of the Egyptians, but seems translated unto the pelican from the vulture, as Pierius hath plainly delivered. *Sed quòd pelicanum (ut etiam aliis plerisque persuasum est) rostro pectus dissecantem pingunt, ita ut suo sanguine filios alat, ab Ægyptiorum historia valde alienum est, illi enim vulturem tantùm id facere tradiderunt.*

And lastly, as concerning the picture, if naturally examined, and not hieroglyphically conceived, it containeth many improprieties, disagreeing almost in all things from the true and proper description. For, whereas it is commonly set forth green or yellow, in its proper colour it is inclining to white, excepting the extremities or tops of the wing feathers, which are brown. It is described in the bigness of a hen,

whereas it approacheth and sometimes exceedeth the magnitude of a swan.[2] It is commonly painted with a short bill; whereas that of the pelican[3] attaineth sometimes the length of two spans. The bill is made acute or pointed at the end, whereas it is flat and broad,[4] though somewhat inverted at the extreme. It is described like *fissipedes*, or birds which have their feet or claws divided: whereas it is palmipedous, or fin-footed, like swans and geese, according to the method of nature in latirostrous or flat-billed birds, which being generally swimmers, the organ is wisely contrived unto the action, and they are framed with fins or oars upon their feet, and therefore they neither light, nor build on trees, if we except cormorants, who make their nests like herons. Lastly, there is one part omitted more remarkable than any other; that is, the chowle or crop adhering unto the lower side of the bill, and so descending by the throat; a bag or sachel very observable, and of a capacity almost beyond credit; which, notwithstanding, this animal could not want; for therein it receiveth oysters, cockles, scollops, and other testaceous animals, which being not able to break, it retains them until they open, and vomiting them up, takes out the meat contained. This is that part preserved for a rarity, and wherein (as Sanctius delivers) in one dissected, a negro child was found.

A possibility there may be of opening and bleeding their breast, for this may be done by the uncous and pointed extremity of their bill; and some probability also that they sometimes do it for their own relief, though not for their

[2] *whereas it approacheth, &c.*] This bird, says Buffon, would be the largest of water-birds, were not the body of the albatross more thick, and the legs of the flamingo so much longer. It is sometimes six feet long from point of bill to end of tail, and twelve feet from wing-tip to wing-tip.

[3] *that of the pelican.*] This description of the authors agrees (*per omnia*) with that live pellican, which was to bee seen in King-street, Westminster, 1647, from whence (doubtles) the author maketh this relation *ἐξ αὐτοψίας*.—*Wr.*

[4] *flat and broad.*] From hence itt is that many ancients call this bird the shoveller: and the Greeks derive *πελεκὰν* from *πελεκᾶν*, to wound with an axe, which suites with the shape of his beake in length and breadthe like a rooting axe, *per omnia*.—*Wr.*

But the term *shoveller* is now applied to a species of duck; *Anas clypeata.*

young ones; that is, by nibbling and biting themselves on the itching part of their breast, upon fulness or acrimony of blood. And the same may be better made out, if (as some relate) their feathers on that part are sometimes observed to be red and tinctured with blood.[5]

CHAPTER II.

Of the Picture of Dolphins.

THAT dolphins are crooked, is not only affirmed by the hand of the painter, but commonly conceived their natural and proper figure, which is not only the opinion of our times, but seems the belief of elder times before us. For, beside the expressions of Ovid and Pliny, the portraits in some ancient coins are framed in this figure, as will appear in some thereof in Gesner, others in Goltsius, and Lævinus Hulsius in his description of coins from Julius Cæsar unto Rodolphus the second.

Notwithstanding, to speak strictly, in their natural figure they are straight, nor have their spine convexed, or more considerably embowed, than sharks, porpoises,[6] whales, and

[5] *A possibility, &c.*] This paragraph was first added in 6th edition.

[6] *porpoises.*] Reade porkpisces. The porkpisce (that is the dolphin) hath his name from the hog hee resembles in convexity and curvitye of his backe, from the head to the tayle: nor is hee otherwise curbe, then as a hog is: except that before a storme, hee tumbles just as a hog runs. That which I once saw, cutt up in Fish-street, was of this forme and above five foote longe: his skin not skaly, but smoothe and black, like bacon in the chimney; and his bowels in all points like a hog: and yf instead of his four fins you imagine four feete, hee would represent a black hog (as it were) sweal'd alive.—*Wr.*

This creature, so graphically described by the dean, is probably the common dolphin,—*Delphinus Delphis;* but the porpoise is a different animal, *Delphis phocæna,* now constituted a distinct genus. Ray, however, says that the porpoise is the dolphin of the ancients. The following passage from his *Philosophical Letters,* p. 46, corroborates the dean's proposed etymology. It occurs in a letter to Dr. Martin Lister, May 7, 1669. "Totum corpus copiosâ et densâ pinguedine (piscatores *blubber* vocant), duorum plus minus digitorum crassitie undique integebatur, immediate sub cute, et supra carnem musculosam sita, ut in porcis; ob quam rationem, et quod porcorum grunnitum quadantenus imitetur, *porpesse,*—i. e. *porcum piscem,* dictum eum existimo."

other cetaceous animals, as Scaliger plainly affirmeth; *Corpus habet non magis curvum quàm reliqui pisces.* As ocular enquiry informeth; and as, unto such as have not had the opportunity to behold them, their proper portraits will discover in Rondeletius, Gesner, and Aldrovandus. And as indeed is deducible from pictures themselves; for though they be drawn repandous, or convexedly crooked in one piece, yet the dolphin that carrieth Arion[7] is concavously inverted, and hath its spine depressed in another. And answerably hereunto may we behold them differently bowed in medals, and the dolphins of Tarus and Fulius do make another flexure from that of Commodus and Agrippa.[8]

And therefore what is delivered of their incurvity, must either be taken emphatically, that is, not really, but in appearance; which happeneth when they leap above water and suddenly shoot down again: which is a fallacy in vision, whereby straight bodies in a sudden motion protruded obliquely downward appear to the eye crooked; and this is the construction of Bellonius: or, if it be taken really, it must not universally and perpetually; that is, not when they swim and remain in their proper figures, but only when they leap, or impetuously whirl their bodies any way; and this is the opinion of Gesnerus. Or lastly, it may be taken neither really nor emphatically, but only emblematically; for being the hieroglyphick of celerity,[9] and swifter than other animals,

[7] *yet the dolphin that carrieth Arion.*] "The Persian authors of high antiquity say, that the *delfin* will take on his back persons in danger of being drowned, from whence comes the fable of Arion. The word is derived from דלף *stillare, fluere,* delf; because the dolphin was considered as the king of the sea, and Neptune a monarch represented under the image of this fish. Dolphins were the symbols of maritime towns and cities. See Spanheim, 4to. 141, ed. 1671."—*Dr. S. Weston's Specimen of the Conformity of the European with the Oriental Languages, &c.* 8vo. 1803, pp. 75, 76. See also *Alciati Emblem.* xc.

[8] *And answerably, &c.*] First added in 3rd edition.

[9] *the hieroglyphick of celerity.*] Sylvanus Morgan in his *Sphere of Gentry* (fol. 1661), p. 69, says that the dolphin is the hieroglyphick of society! "there being no fish else that loves the company of men."

"Some authors, more especially the ancients, have asserted that dolphins have a lively and natural affection towards the human species, with which they are easily led to familiarize. They have recounted many marvellous stories on this subject. All that is known with certainty is, that when they perceive a ship at sea, they rush in a crowd

frittinnitus, or proper note thereof, is far more shrill than that of the locust, and its life so short in summer, that for provision it needs not have recourse unto the providence of the pismire in winter.

And therefore where the cicada must be understood, the pictures of heralds and emblematists are not exact, nor is it safe to adhere unto the interpretation of dictionaries, and we must with candour make out our own translations; for in the plague of Egypt, Exodus x., the word Ἄκρις is translated a locust, but in the same sense and subject, Wisdom xvi., it is translated a grasshopper; "for them the bitings of grasshoppers and flies killed;" whereas we have declared before the cicada hath no teeth, but is conceived to live upon dew; and the possibility of its subsistence is disputed by Licetus. Hereof I perceive Muffetus hath taken notice, dissenting from Langius and Lycosthenes, while they deliver the *cicadæ* destroyed the fruits in Germany, where that insect is not found, and therefore concludeth, *Tam ipsos quàm alios deceptos fuisse autumo, dum locustas cicadas esse vulgari errore crederent.*

And hereby there may be some mistake in the due dispensation of medicines desumed from this animal, particularly of *diatettigon*, commended by Ætius, in the affections of the kidneys. It must be likewise understood with some restriction what hath been affirmed by Isidore, and yet delivered by many, that cicades are bred out of cuckoo-spittle or wood-sear, that is, that spumous frothy dew or exudation, or both, found upon plants, especially about the joints of lavender and rosemary, observable with us about the latter end of May. For here the true cicada is not bred; but certain it is, that out of this, some kind of locust doth proceed, for herein may be discovered a little insect of a festucine or pale green, resembling in all parts a locust, or what we call a grasshopper.[4]

[4] *cicades are bred, &c.*] Here is another error. The froth spoken of is always found to contain the *larva* of a little skipping insect, frequently mis-called a *cicada*, but properly *cercopis;* allied in form to *cicada*, and of the same order, viz., *homoptera*, but very distinct in generic character, and especially without the power of sound. It has no great resemblance to *locustæ*, which belong to a distinct order, viz., *orthoptera*.

Lastly, the word itself is improper, and the term grasshopper not appliable unto the cicada; for therein the organs of motion are not contrived for saltation, nor have the hinder legs of such extension, as is observable in salient animals, and such as move by leaping. Whereto the locust is very well conformed, for therein the legs behind are longer than all the body, and make at the second joint acute angles, at a considerable advancement above their backs.

The mistake therefore with us might have its original from a defect in our language, for having not the insect with us, we have not fallen upon its proper name, and so make use of a term common unto it and the locust; whereas other countries have proper expressions for it. So the Italian calls it *cicada*, the Spaniard *cigarra*, and the French *cigale;* all which appellations conform unto the original, and properly express this animal. Whereas our word is borrowed from the Saxon gærsthoop, which our forefathers, who never beheld the cicada, used for that insect which we yet call a grasshopper.[5]

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Picture of the Serpent tempting Eve.

In the picture of paradise, and delusion of our first parents, the serpent is often described with human visage,[6] not unlike unto Cadmus or his wife in the act of their metamorphosis. Which is not a mere pictorial contrivance or invention of the picturer, but an ancient tradition and conceived reality, as it stands delivered by Beda and authors of some antiquity,[7]

[5] *Whereas our word, &c.*] This sentence was first added in 6th edition.

[6] *visage.*] See Munster's Hebrew Bible, where in the letter which begins the first ♀ the serpent is made with a Virgin's face.—*Wr.*

In Munster's Hebrew and Latin Bible (Basil, 1535, *ex Off. Bebeliana*), at the commencement of the Psalms, is the initial letter B, which is a wood-cut of Adam, Eve, and the serpent between them, with the face of a virgin.

[7] *antiquity.*] See vol. i. p. 57, where he quotes Basil saying, that the serpent went upright and spake. 'Tis probable (and thwarteth noe truth) that the serpent spake to Eve. Does not the text expressly saye soe? The devil had as much power then as now, and yf now he can take upon him the forme of an angel of light, why not then the face of a humane creature as well as the voice of man?—*Wr.*

that is, that Satan appeared not unto Eve in the naked
of a serpent, but with a virgin's head, that thereby he m
become more acceptable, and his temptation find the e
entertainment. Which nevertheless is a conceit not t
admitted, and the plain and received figure is with be
reason embraced.

For first, as Pierius observeth from Barcephas, the assu
tion of human shape had proved a disadvantage unto Sa
affording not only a suspicious amazement in Eve,[8] be
the fact, in beholding a third humanity beside herself
Adam, but leaving some excuse unto the woman, which af
ward the man took up with lesser reason, that is, to h
been deceived by another like herself.

Again, there is no inconvenience in the shape assumed
any considerable impediment that it might disturb that p
formance in the common form of a serpent. For wherea
is conceived the woman must needs be afraid thereof, a
rather fly than approach it, it was not agreeable unto t
condition of paradise and state of innocency therein; if
that place, as most determine, no creature was hurtful
terrible unto man, and those destructive effects they now d
cover succeeded the curse, and came in with thorns a
briars; and therefore Eugubinus (who affirmeth this serpe
was a basilisk) incurreth no absurdity, nor need we im
that Eve should be destroyed immediately upon that visic
For noxious animals could offend them no more in t
garden than Noah in the ark; as they peaceably receiv
their names, so they friendly possessed their natures, a
were their conditions destructive unto each other, they we
not so unto man, whose constitutions then were antidote
and needed not fear poisons; and if (as most conceive) the

[8] *Eve.*] Eve might easier entertaine a suspicious amazement to hea
a serpent speake in a humane voyce, than to heare a humane voyce in
humane shape; nor was itt more wonder for Sathan to assume one tha
both. It suited better with his crafte to deliver his wile by a face sui
able to the voice of man, and since we believe the one, we may withe
error believe the other. But itt is safest to believe what we find
recorded of the human voyce, and leave the other to Him who thoug
not fit to reveale any more. Wee see the fathers differ in opinion
and there is enough on either side to refute the scorne of Julian, wh
payd deare inoughe for his atheistical, or rather anti-theisticall bla
phemye.—*Wr.*

were but two created of every kind, they could not at that time destroy either man or themselves, for this had frustrated the command of multiplication, destroyed a species, and imperfected the creation; and therefore also if Cain were the first man born, with him entered, not only the act, but the first power of murder, for before that time neither could the serpent nor Adam destroy Eve, nor Adam and Eve each other, for that had overthrown the intention of the world, and put its creator to act the sixth day over again.

Moreover, whereas in regard of speech, and vocal conference with Eve, it may be thought he would rather assume an human shape and organs, than the improper form of a serpent, it implies no material impediment. Nor need we to wonder how he contrived a voice out of the mouth of a serpent, who hath done the like out of the belly of a Pythonissa, and the trunk of an oak, as he did for many years at Dodona.

Lastly, whereas it might be conceived[9] that an human

[9] *conceived.*] Itt might wel bee conceived (and soe it seemes itt was) by St. Basil, that a virgin's head (hee does not saye a humane shape) was fittest for this intention of speakinge, itt being most probable Eve would be more amazed to heare such a creature as a serpent speake with a humane voyce, then to heare a human voyce passe through the mouth of a virgin face. To hear a voice without a head must needs (as the subtile serpent knew full well) have started in Eve either the supposition of a causeles miracle, or the suspition of an imposture; therefore to cut off those scruples, which might have prevented and frustrated his ayme, 'tis most probable the subtile tempter assumed the face as well as the voice of a virgin to conveigh that temptation which he supposed Eve would greedily entertain.

Julius Scaliger, that magazin of all various learninge, in his 183rd exercitation and 4th section, speaking of certaine strange kinds of serpents, reports that in Malabar, there are serpents 8 foote long, of a horrible aspect, but harmless unless they bee provoked. These he cals boy-lovers (pæderotas) for that they will for manye houres together stand bolt upright gazing on the boyes at their sportes, never offring to hurte any of them.

These, saithe he, while they glide on the ground are like other serpents or eeles (like conger eeles), but raising themselves upright they spread themselves into such a corpulent breadthe, that had they feet they would seeme to be men, and therefore he cals them by a coigned name, ἐγχελανθρώπους, eele-like men, though hee might more properly call them ὀφιανθρώπους, dragon-like men. Now though we can yeeld noe greater beleefe to this story then the Portuguez that traffique thither deserve, yet bycause the world owes many excellent discoveryes

shape was fitter for this enterprise, it being more than
bable she would be amazed to hear a serpent speak;

of hidden truths to his indefatigable diligence and learned labor
dome taxed for fabulous assertions, why may we not think that i
this kinde of serpent, whose shape Satan assumed when he spa
Eve.* For since Moses tels us that God permitted the serpent to de
our grandmother by faigning the voyce of man, wee may reaso
acquit St. Basil of error, or offring violence to trueth, that hee
it as granted by a paritye of like reason, that the serpent would r
assume such a face and appearance of humane forme as might sute
a humane voyce, at least would frame a humane visage as well
human tounge, which is but a parte in the head of man, for whic
head (rather then for any other sense) seemes to have been mad
God, that the spirits of men (which till they discover themselve
language cannot bee understood) might by the benefit of this admir
instrument, have mutual commerce and intelligence, and conve
their inwarde conceptions each to other. Surely yf every such a str
serpent as this which Scaliger describes were scene in the world, we n
perforce grant that they are some of that kinde which God at first cre
soe, and that Satan subtily choose to enter into that kinde which be
the curse naturally went upright (*as they say the basiliske now does*)
could soe easily, soe nearly represent the appearance and show of
not only in gate but in voyce as the Scripture speakes. That they h
no feete makes soe much the more for the conjecture, and that howe
itt seemes this kinde of serpent (which Satan used as an instrumen
his fraud) did originally goe upwright, and can yet frame himselfe i
that posture, yet by God's just doome is now forced to creep on
belly in the duste; where though they strike at our heele, they
liable to have their heade bruised and trampled on by the foote
man.—*Wr.*

In one of the illustrations to Cædmon's Paraphrase, mention
p. 14, I find the serpent standing "bolt upright," receiving his se
tence, and another figure of him lying on the ground, do indicate
condemnation to subsequent *reptility*. Some critics have complain
of the painters for representing him without feet in his interview wi
Eve, whereas, say they, his creeping on his belly was inflicted on hi
as a punishment. Had those critics been acquainted with Profess
Mayer's assertion, that rudimental feet are found in almost all the se
pent tribe, they would doubtless have regarded it as a confirmation
their opinion, and would have contended that these imperfect a
unserviceable rudiments of feet were all the traces left to them of tho
locomotive powers which this, as well as other vertebrated animals, h
originally enjoyed.

Dr. Adam Clarke gives a very long and elaborate article on the tem
tation of Eve. His opinion is that the tempter was an *ape;* he buil

* See what I noted long since on Gen. iii. 14, to this purpose in th
Geneva Bible.

conceive she might not yet be certain that only man was privileged with speech, and being in the novity of the creation, and inexperience of all things, might not be affrighted to hear a serpent speak. Besides, she might be ignorant of their natures, who was not versed in their names, as being not present at the general survey of animals when Adam assigned unto every one a name concordant unto its nature.

his hypothesis on the fact that the Hebrew word (*nachash*, Gen. iii. 1) is nearly the same with an Arabic word, signifying an *ape* and THE DEVIL! He thus sums up: "In this account we find, 1. That whatever this *nachash* was, he stood at the *head* of all inferior animals for wisdom and understanding. 2. That he *walked erect*, for this is necessarily implied in his punishment—*on thy belly* (i. e. on all fours) *shalt thou go*. 3. That he was *endued with the gift of speech*, for a conversation is here related between him and the woman. 4. That he was also endued with the *gift of reason*, for we find him reasoning and disputing with Eve. 5. That these things were *common to this creature*, the woman no doubt having often seen him walk erect, talk, and reason, and therefore she testifies no kind of surprise when he accosts her in the language related in the text." Granting, for a moment, the Doctor's five positions, I would ask, does he mean that the ape is a creature which *now* answers the description? Most certainly it does not, any more than the serpent. If on the other hand he means that the creature, through whom Satan tempted Eve, had *previously* possessed those advantages, but *lost them* as a punishment of that offence, then why not suppose it to have been a serpent, or any other creature, as well as the ape? The theory itself stultifies any attempt to discover the tempter among creatures *now* in existence, because we are required to suppose their nature and habits to have totally changed. The serpent certainly has one claim, which the ape has not, namely, that its present mode of going is (in accordance with the Scriptural description) *on its belly;* which, with deference to the learned Doctor, "going on all fours" is not, unless he can justify what he in fact says, that *quadrupeds* and *reptiles* move alike! Moreover, his selection is specially unfortunate in this very respect, that of all animals the ape *now* approaches most nearly to the human mode of walking, and exhibits therefore the most incomplete example of the fulfilment of the curse—"*on thy belly shalt thou go.*"

Hadrian Beverland, in his *Peccatum Originale*, 12mo. 1676, has published his strange speculations as to the NATURE of the temptation, to which our mother yielded. But after all, neither as one point nor another, which has not been clearly revealed, shall we be likely either to obtain or communicate any useful information. The indulgence of a prurient and speculative imagination on points which, not having been disclosed, cannot be discovered, and the knowledge of which would serve no good purpose, were far better restrained. We know, alas, that what constituted sin originally, has ever been and ever will be its heinous feature in the sight of the Great Lawgiver—viz., disobedience to his known and understood commands.

Nor is this only my opinion, but the determination of bard and Tostatus, and also the reply of Cyril un objection of Julian, who compared this story unto the of the Greeks.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Picture of Adam and Eve with Navels.

ANOTHER mistake there may be in the picture of ou parents, who after the manner of their posterity are delineated with a navel; and this is observable not on ordinary and stained pieces, but in the authentic drau of Urbin, Angelo, and others.[1] Which notwithstan cannot be allowed, except we impute that unto the cause, which we impose not on the second, or what we unto Nature, we impute unto naturity itself, that is, th the first and most accomplished piece, the Creator affe superfluities, or ordained parts without use or office.[2]

[1] *and others.*] It is observable in the rude figures of Adam and among the illuminations of Cædmon's *Metrical Paraphrase of Scri History,* engraved in the 24th vol. of the *Archæologia.* But worse takes have been committed in depicting "our first parents." In gallery of the convent of Jesuits, at Lisbon, there is a fine pictu Adam in paradise, dressed (*qu. after the fall?*) in blue breeches silver buckles, and Eve with a striped petticoat. In the dist appears a procession of capuchins bearing the cross.

[2] *Which notwithstanding, &c.*] It seems to have been the inten of our author, in this somewhat obscure sentence, to object, that, supposing Adam to have been formed with a navel, we suppose a su fluity in that which was produced by nature (*naturity*), while in nat herself we affirm there is nothing superfluous, or useless. It is, h ever, somewhat hazardous to pronounce that useless whose office n not be very obvious to us. Who will venture to point out the office the *mammæ* in the male sex? or to say wherefore some of the serp tribes are provided with the rudiments of feet which can scarcely, if all, be of any use to them?—a fact which has been asserted recently a German naturalist of distinction, Dr. Mayer, as the result of long a very extensive anatomical examination of the principal families of t serpents. He thereon proposes a new division of the order,—into PH NOPTERA, those snakes whose rudimental feet are externally visible, a comprising *Boa, Python, Eryx, Clothonia,* and *Tortrix;* CRYPTOPODA, which the bony rudiments are entirely concealed beneath the skin, co taining *Anguis, Typhlops,* and *Amphisbæna;* and CHONDROPODA a

For the use of the navel is to continue the infant unto the mother, and by the vessels thereof to convey its aliment and sustentation. The vessels whereof it consisteth, are the umbilical vein, which is a branch of the porta, and implanted in the liver of the infant; two arteries likewise arising from the iliacal branches, by which the infant receiveth the purer portion of blood and spirits from the mother; and lastly, the *urachos* or ligamental passage derived from the bottom of the bladder, whereby it dischargeth the waterish and urinary part of its aliment. Now upon the birth, when the infant forsaketh the womb, although it dilacerate, and break the involving membranes, yet do these vessels hold, and by the mediation thereof the infant is connected unto the womb, not only before, but awhile also after the birth. These therefore the midwife cutteth off, contriving them into a knot close unto the body of the infant; from whence ensueth that tortuosity or complicated nodosity we usually call the navel; occasioned by the colligation of vessels before mentioned. Now the navel being a part, not precedent, but subsequent unto generation, nativity, or parturition, it cannot be well imagined at the creation or extraordinary formation of Adam, who immediately issued from the artifice of God; nor also that of Eve, who was not solemnly begotten, but suddenly framed, and anomalously proceeded from Adam.

And if we be led into conclusions that Adam had also this

APODA, in which the rudiments are scarcely, or not at all, observable.—*Nova Acta Acad. Cæsar. Naturæ Curiosorum*, tom. xii. p. 2.

Respecting the singular subject of discussion in this chapter; it appears to me that not only Adam and Eve, but all species, both of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, were created at once in their perfect state, and therefore all exhibiting such remaining traces of a less perfect state, as those species, in their maturity, retain. If so, Adam was created with the marks of an earlier stage of existence, though he had never passed through that stage.

Sir Thomas's opinion is cited and adopted by Dr. John Bulwer, in his most curious work, entitled *Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transformed: or the Artificial Changling, Historically Presented, &c.* 4to. 1653, p. 401. In the same work (p. 422), Dr. B. also discusses at some length Sir Thomas's chapter on pigmies (c. xi. book IV.). — See *Rd. Med.*, where Adam is called "the man without a navel." Ross deems the part in question to have been intended by the Creator merely for ornament; in support of which opinion he cites Canticles vii. 2 ! !

part, because we behold the same in ourselves, the inference is not reasonable; for if we conceive the way of his formation, or of the first animals, did carry in all points a strict conformity unto succeeding productions, we might fall into imaginations that Adam was made without teeth; or that he ran through those notable alterations in the vessels of the heart, which the infant suffereth after birth: we need not dispute whether the egg or bird were first; and might conceive that dogs were created blind, because we observe they are littered so with us. Which to affirm, is to confound, at least to regulate creation unto generation, the first acts of God, unto the second of nature; which were determined in that general indulgence, increase and multiply, produce or propagate each other; that is, not answerably in all points, but in a prolonged method according to seminal progression. For the formation of things at first was different from their generation after; and although it had nothing to precede it, was aptly contrived for that which should succeed it. And therefore though Adam were framed without this part, as having no other womb than that of his proper principles, yet was not his posterity without the same; for the seminality of his fabrick contained the power thereof; and was endued with the science of those parts whose predestinations upon succession it did accomplish.

All the navel, therefore, and conjunctive part we can suppose in Adam, was his dependency on his Maker, and the connexion he must needs have unto heaven, who was the Son of God. For, holding no dependence on any preceding efficient but God, in the act of his production there may be conceived some connexion, and Adam to have been in a momental navel with his Maker.[3] And although from his carnality and corporal existence, the conjunction seemeth no nearer than of causality and effect; yet in his immortal and diviner part he seemed to hold a nearer coherence, and an umbilicality even with God himself. And so indeed although the propriety of this part be found but in some animals, and many species there are which have no navel at all; yet is there one link and common connexion, one general ligament, and

[3] *in a momental navel with his Maker.*] Momental; *important.* "Substantially (or in an important sense), in a state of connexion with his Maker."

necessary obligation of all whatever unto God. Whereby, although they act themselves at distance, and seem to be at loose, yet do they hold a continuity with their Maker. Which catenation or conserving union, whenever his pleasure shall divide, let go, or separate, they shall fall from their existence, essence, and operations; in brief, they must retire unto their primitive nothing, and shrink into their chaos again.

They who hold the egg was before the bird, prevent this doubt in many other animals, which also extendeth unto them. For birds are nourished by umbilical vessels, and the navel is manifest sometimes a day or two after exclusion. The same is probable in all oviparous exclusions, if the lesser part of eggs must serve for the formation, the greater part for nutriment. The same is made out in the eggs of snakes; and is not improbable in the generation of porwiggles or tadpoles, and may be also true in some vermiparous exclusions: although (as we have observed in the daily progress in some) the whole maggot is little enough to make a fly, without any part remaining.[4]

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Pictures of the Jews and Eastern Nations, at their Feasts, especially our Saviour at the Passover.

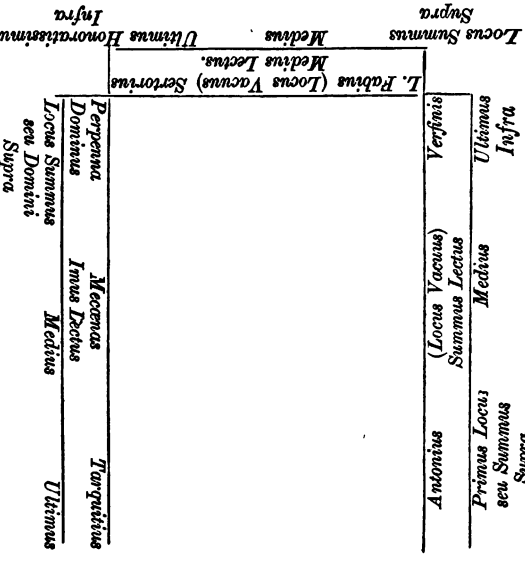
CONCERNING the pictures of the Jews, and eastern nations at their feasts, concerning the gesture of our Saviour at the passover, who is usually described sitting upon a stool or bench at a square table, in the midst of the twelve, many make great doubt; and (though they concede a table gesture) will hardly allow this usual way of session.[5]

Wherein, restraining no man's enquiry, it will appear that accubation, or lying down at meals, was a gesture used by very many nations. That the Persians used it, beside the

[4] *They who hold, &c.*] This paragraph was first added in the 2nd edition.

[5] *session.*] See Fenelon's Letter to the French Academy, § 8, p. 231. Glasg. 1750.—*Jeff.* I give this reference, though I have not been able to avail myself of it.

because by that position he might be next the master of feast.* For the master lying in the first of the last bed, the principal guest in the last place of the second, they needs be next each other, as this figure doth plainly dec and whereby we may apprehend the feast of Perpenna n unto Sertorius, described by Sallustius, whose words we thus read with Salmasius: *Igitur discubuere, Sertorius rior in medio lecto, suprà Fabius; Antonius in summo; scriba Sertorii Versius; alter scriba Mecænas in imo, me inter Tarquitium et dominum Perpennam.*



At this feast there were but seven, the middle places the highest and middle bed being vacant, and hereat wa Sertorius the general, and principal guest slain; and so ma we make out what is delivered by Plutarch in his life, tha lying on his back and raising himself up, Perpenna cast him

* *Jul. Scalig. Familiarum Exercitationum Problema* 1.

self upon his stomach, which he might very well do, being master of the feast, and lying next unto him; and thus also from this tricliniary disposure, we may illustrate that obscure expression of Seneca; that the north wind was in the middle, the north-east on the higher side, and the north-west on the lower. For as appeareth in the circle of the winds, the north-east will answer the bed of Antonius, and the north-west that of Perpenna.

That the custom of feasting upon beds was in use among the Hebrews, many deduce from Ezekiel,* "Thou sattest upon a stately bed, and a table prepared before it." The custom of discalceation or putting off their shoes at meals, is conceived to confirm the same; as by that means keeping their beds clean; and therefore they had a peculiar charge to eat the passover with their shoes on; which injunction were needless, if they used not to put them off. However it were in times of high antiquity, probable it is that in after ages they conformed unto the fashions of the Assyrians and eastern nations, and lastly of the Romans, being reduced by Pompey unto a provincial subjection.[1]

That this discumbency at meals was in use in the days of our Saviour, is conceived probable from several speeches of his expressed in that phrase, even unto common auditors, as Luke xiv.: *Cum invitatus fueris ad nuptias, non discumbas in primo loco;* and, besides many more, Matthew xxiii., when reprehending the Scribes and Pharisees, he saith, *Amant protoclisias, id est, primos recubitus in cœnis, et protocathedrias, sive, primas cathedras, in synagogis;* wherein the terms are very distinct, and by an antithesis do plainly distinguish the posture of sitting, from this of lying on beds. The consent of the Jews with the Romans in other ceremonies and rites of feasting makes probable their conformity in this. The Romans washed, were anointed, and wore a cenatory garment: and that the same was practised by the Jews, is deducible from that expostulation of our Saviour with Simon,† that he washed not his feet, nor anointed his head with oil; the common civilities at festival entertainments: and that expression of his concerning the cenatory or wedding gar-

* Ezek. xxiii. † Luke vii.

[1] *However it were, &c.*] This sentence was first added in 2nd edition.

ment;* and as some conceive of the linen garment of the young man, or St. John; which might be the same he wore the night before at the last supper.[2]

That they used this gesture at the passover, is more than probable from the testimony of Jewish writers, and particularly of Ben-Maimon recorded by Scaliger, *De Emendatione temporum.* After the second cup according to the institution, the son asketh, what meaneth this service?† then he that maketh the declaration, saith, how different is this night from all other nights; for all other nights we wash but once, but this night twice; all other we eat leavened or unleavened bread, but this only leavened; all other we eat flesh roasted, boiled, or baked, but this only roasted; all other nights we eat together lying or sitting, but this only lying along. And this posture they used as a token of rest and security which they enjoyed, far different from that at the eating of the passover in Egypt.

That this gesture was used when our Saviour eat the passover, is not conceived improbable from the words whereby the Evangelists express the same, that is, ἀνακίπτειν, ἀνακεῖσθαι, κατακεῖσθαι, ἀνακλιθῆναι, which terms do properly signify this gesture, in Aristotle, Athenæus, Euripides, Sophocles, and all humane authors; and the like we meet with in the paraphrastical expression of Nonnus.

Lastly, if it be not fully conceded, that this gesture was used at the passover, yet that it was observed at the last supper seems almost incontrovertible: for at this feast or cenatory convention, learned men make more than one supper, or at least many parts thereof. The first was that legal one of the passover, or eating of the paschal lamb with bitter herbs, and ceremonies described by Moses.‡ Of this it is said, "Then when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve."§ This is supposed when it is said, that the supper being ended, our Saviour arose, took a towel and washed the disciples' feet. The second was common and domestical, consisting of ordinary and undefined provisions; of this it may be said, that our Saviour took his garment, and sat down again, after he had washed the disciples' feet, and performed

* Matt. xxii. † Exod. xii. ‡ Matt. xxvi. § John xiii.

[2] *the consent of the Jews, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

the preparative civilities of suppers; at this 'tis conceived the sop was given unto Judas, the original word implying some broth or decoction, not used at the passover. The third or latter part was eucharistical, which began at the breaking and blessing of the bread, according to that of Matthew, "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it."

Now although, at the passover or first supper, many have doubted this reclining posture, and some have affirmed that our Saviour stood, yet that he lay down at the other, the same men have acknowledged, as Chrysostom,* Theophylact, Austin, and many more. And if the tradition will hold, the position is unquestionable; for the very *triclinium* is to be seen at Rome, brought thither by Vespasian, and graphiphically set forth by Casalius.[3]

Thus may it properly be made out, what is delivered, John xiii.; *Erat recumbens unus ex discipulis ejus in sinu Jesu quem diligebat;* "Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples whom Jesus loved;" which gesture will not so well agree unto the position of sitting, but is natural, and cannot be avoided in the laws of accubation.[4] And the

*De Veterum Ritibus.

[3] *Lastly, if it be not, &c.*] This and the next paragraph were first added in the 2nd edition.

[4] *which gesture, &c.*] I am not aware whether our author had any authority for saying that "the back was advanced by some pillow or soft substance." If it was so, John could not very conveniently have leaned back upon the bosom of his master. It seems probable that each person lay at an acute angle with the line of the table (as seems implied in the following quotation), in which case the head of John, as our author observes, p. 19, would have attained to about his master's bosom. It must also (as it seems to me) be supposed that the table was scarcely, if at all, higher than the level of the couch. I subjoin Godwin's description of the table, &c. "The table being placed in the middest, round about the table were certain beds, sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes more, according to the number of the guests; upon these they lay down in manner as followeth: each bed contained three persons, sometimes more,—seldom or never *more* (qu. *fewer?*) If one lay upon the bed, then he rested the upper part of his body upon the left elbow, the lower part lying at length upon the bed: but if many lay on the bed, then the uppermost did lie at the bed's head, laying his feet behinde the second's back: in like manner the third or fourth did lye, each resting his head in the other's bosome. Thus John leaned on *Jesus' bosom.*"—*Moses and Aaron*, p. 93, 4to. 1667.

very same expression is to be found in Pliny, concerning the emperor Nerva and Veiento whom he favoured; *Cœnabat Nerva cum paucis, Veiento recumbebat propius atque etiam in sinu;* and from this custom arose the word ἐπιστήθιος, that is, a near and bosom friend. And therefore Casaubon* justly rejecteth Theophylact;[5] who not considering the ancient manner of decumbency, imputed this gesture of the beloved disciple unto rusticity, or an act of incivility. And thus also, have some conceived it may be more plainly made out what is delivered of Mary Magdalen, that she "stood at Christ's feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head."† Which actions, if our Saviour sat, she could not perform standing, and had rather stood behind his back than at his feet. And therefore it is not allowable, what is observable in many pieces, and even of Raphael Urbin, wherein Mary Magdalen is pictured before our Saviour washing his feet on her knees, which will not consist with the strict description and letter of the text.

Now, whereas this position may seem to be discountenanced by our translation, which usually renders it sitting, it cannot have that illation: for the French and Italian translations, expressing neither position of session nor recubation, do only say that he placed himself at the table; and when ours expresseth the same by sitting, it is in relation unto our custom, time, and apprehension. The like upon occasion is not unusual: so when it is said, Luke iv., πτύξας τὸ βιβλίον, and the Vulgate renders it, *cum plicâsset librum*, ours translateth it, he shut or closed the book; which is an expression proper unto the paginal books of our times, but not so agreeable unto volumes or rolling books, in use among the Jews, not only in elder times, but even unto this day. So when it is said, the Samaritan delivered unto the host twopence

* *Not. in Evang.* † Luke vii.

[5] *Theophylact.*] Theophylact, bishop of Bulgary, lived 930th yeare of Christe, in which time the empire being translated into Germanye, and the maner of lying at all meales translated into the maner of sitting, which was most used among the northern nations, gave the bishop occasion to taxe the Jewish and Roman forme of lying as uncouth and uncivil: every nation preferring their owne customes, and condemning all other as barbarians.—*Wr.*

for the provision of the Levite, and when our Saviour agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, in strict translation it should be seven-pence halfpenny, and is not to be conceived our common penny, the sixtieth part of an ounce. For the word in the original is δηνάριον, in Latin *denarius*, and with the Romans did value the eighth part of an ounce, which, after five shillings the ounce, amounteth unto seven-pence halfpenny of our money.

Lastly, whereas it might be conceived that they ate the passover, standing rather than sitting, or lying down, according to the institution, Exodus xii., "Thus shall you eat with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand;" the Jews themselves reply, this was not required of succeeding generations, and was not observed but in the passover of Egypt. And so also many other injunctions were afterward omitted: as the taking up of the paschal lamb from the tenth day, the eating of it in their houses dispersed, the striking of the blood on the door-posts, and the eating thereof in haste; solemnities and ceremonies primitively enjoined, afterward omitted; as was also this of station: for the occasion ceasing, and being in security, they applied themselves unto gestures in use among them.

Now in what order of recumbency Christ and the disciples were disposed, is not so easily determined. Casalius, from the Lateran *triclinium*, will tell us, that there being thirteen, five lay down in the first bed, five in the last, and three in the middle bed; and that our Saviour possessed the upper place thereof. That John lay in the same bed seems plain, because he leaned on our Saviour's bosom. That Peter made the third in that bed, conjecture is made, because he beckoned unto John, as being next him, to ask of Christ who it was that should betray him? That Judas was not far off, seems probable, not only because he dipped in the same dish, but because he was so near that our Saviour could hand the sop unto him.[6]

[6] *Now in what order, &c.*] This paragraph was added in 2nd edit.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Picture of our Saviour with Long Hair.

ANOTHER picture there is of our Saviour described with long hair,[7] according to the custom of the Jews, and his description sent by Lentulus unto the senate.[8] Wherein

[7] *Another picture, &c.*] A very beautiful head of our Saviour has recently been engraved in *mezzotint*, by J. Rogers. It is a copy from a gem, said to have been executed by order of Tiberius Cæsar, and subsequently sent to Pope Innocent VIII. by the emperor of the Turks as a ransom for his brother.

Another error has been noticed by some commentators in representing our Lord with a crown of long thorns, whereas it is supposed to have been made of the *acanthus*, or bears-foot, a prickly plant, very unlike a thorn. See Dr. Adam Clarke, *in loc.*

[8] *his description sent by Lentulus, &c.*] Or rather said to have been sent by Lentulus, &c.; for this letter is now known to have been a forgery. The supposed author was a Roman governor of Syria; of whom it was pretended that he was a follower of our Lord, and that he gave a description of his person in a letter to the senate. This was however obviously insupposable at a period when the governors of provinces addressed the emperor, and no longer the senate; to say nothing of the style, which is by no means Augustan. The fact is, as has been remarked to me, that when publick opinion had been made up as to the probable appearance of our Lord's person, this letter comes out to settle the point. In No. 7026-4 of the Harleian MSS. is preserved a copy of this letter, on vellum, in the beautiful handwriting of the celebrated German dwarf Math. Buchinger, which he sent to his patron, Lord Oxford. It contains also a portrait agreeing with the description given in the letter. This letter has been translated into English, and occurs, *Christ. Mag.* 1764, p. 455, and other places.

Perhaps the most celebrated of the reputed original portraits of the Redeemer is that said to have been received by Abgarus, king of Edessa, mentioned by Evagrius. Eusebius gives a letter sent by the said Abgar to Jesus Christ, professing the conviction which the Redeemer's miracles had wrought in his mind of the divine character of our Lord, and entreating him to come to Edessa and cure a disease under which the king had long laboured;—together with our Lord's answer, declining to come, but promising to send a disciple to heal the king. For these letters see Hone's *Apocryphal New Testament.* In his *Every-Day Book,* Jan. 13th, he gives a wood-cut of the portrait. In the *London Literary Gazette* of Nov. 29, 1834, is a much better account of the circumstance, in a review of *Baron Hubboff's History of Armenia,* published by the Oriental Translation Society. I subjoin his account of the picture. "Abgar sent a painter to take the likeness of the Saviour,

deed the hand of the painter is not accusable, but the judgment of the common spectator: conceiving he observed this shion of his hair, because he was a Nazarite; and confounding a Nazarite by vow, with those by birth or education.

The Nazarite by vow is declared, Numbers vi.; and was o refrain three things, drinking of wine, cutting the hair, and approaching unto the dead; and such an one was Sampson. Now that our Saviour was a Nazarite after this kind, we have no reason to determine; for he drank wine, and was therefore called by the Pharisees a wine-bibber; he approached also the dead, as when he raised from death Lazarus, and the daughter of Jairus.

The other Nazarite was a topical appellation, and applicable unto such as were born in Nazareth, a city of Galilee, and in the tribe of Napthali. Neither, if strictly taken, was our Saviour in this sense a Nazarite, for he was born in Bethlehem in the tribe of Judah; but might receive that name because he abode in that city, and was not only conceived therein, but there also passed the silent part of his life after his return from Egypt; as is delivered by Matthew, "And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, he shall be called a Nazarene." Both which kinds of Nazarites, as they are distinguishable by Zain, and Tsade in the Hebrew, so in the Greek, by Alpha and Omega: for, as Jansenius observeth,* where the votary Nazarite is mentioned, it is written, Ναζαραῖος, as Levit. vi. and Lament. iv. Where it

* *Jans. Concordia Evangelica.*

if he would not vouchsafe to visit Edessa. The painter made many vain attempts to draw a correct likeness of our Saviour. But Jesus, being willing to satisfy the desire of King Abgar, took a clean handkerchief and applied it to his countenance. In that same hour, by a miraculous power, his features and likeness were represented on the handkerchief." The picture thus miraculously produced, is said to have been the means of delivering the city from the siege laid to it by Chosroes, the Persian, 500 years afterwards. Thaddeus went to Edessa after Christ's ascension and healed Abgar.

See also *Mr. W. Huttman's Life of Christ*, where will be found a copious account of the portrait of Jesus Christ, published in prints, coins, &c. Mr. Huttman spells the name of the king of Edessa, *Agbar*.

is spoken of our Saviour, we read it, Ναζωραῖος, as in Matthew, Luke, and John; only Mark, who writ his gospel at Rome, did Latinize and wrote it Ναζαρηνός.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Picture of Abraham sacrificing Isaac.

In the picture of the immolation of Isaac, or Abraham sacrificing his son, Isaac is described as a little boy;[9] which notwithstanding is not consentaneous unto the authority of expositors, or the circumstance of the text. For therein it is delivered that Isaac carried on his back the wood for the sacrifice, which being an holocaust or burnt-offering to be consumed unto ashes, we cannot well conceive a burthen for a boy; but such a one unto Isaac, as that which it typified was unto Christ, that is, the wood or cross whereon he suffered, which was too heavy a load for his shoulders, and was fain to be relieved therein by Simon of Cyrene.[1]

Again he was so far from a boy, that he was a man grown, and at his full stature, if we believe Josephus, who placeth him in the last of adolescency, and makes him twenty-five years old. And whereas in the vulgar translation he is termed *puer*,[2] it must not be strictly apprehended (for that

[9] *as a little boy.*] More absurd representations have been made of this event. Bourgoanne notices a painting in Spain where Abraham is preparing to shoot Isaac with a pistol! Phil. Rohr (*Pictor Errans*) mentions one in which Abraham's weapon was a sword.

[1] *too heavy a load, &c.*] Some painters have accordingly represented Christ and Simon of Cyrene as both employed in carrying the cross. Some have supposed, as Lipsius notices, that only a part (probably the transverse portion) of the cross was borne by our Lord.—*Lipsii Opera*, vol. iii. p. 658.

[2] *puer.*] In the Greeke the word [παῖς] is ambiguous and, as wee say, *polysemon*, signifying diverselye according to the subject to which it relates: as when it relates to a lord and master it signifies a servant, and is to bee soe translated: where itt relates to a father itt signifyes a sonne. The old translation is therefore herein faulty, which takes the word in the prime grammatical sense for a child, which is not always true. In the 4th cap. of the Acts, vers. 25, itt renders Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, David pueri tui, and in the 27th, παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν puerum tuum

age properly endeth in puberty, and extendeth but unto fourteen), but respectively unto Abraham, who was at that time above six score. And therefore also herein he was not unlike unto him, who was after led dumb unto the slaughter, and commanded by others, who had legions at command; that is, in meekness and humble submission. For had he resisted, it had not been in the power of his aged parent to have enforced; and many at his years have performed such acts, as few besides at any. David was too strong for a lion and a bear; Pompey had deserved the name of Great; Alexander of the same cognomination was generalissimo of Greece; and Annibal, but one year after, succeeded Asdrubal in that memorable war against the Romans.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Picture of Moses with Horns.

In many pieces, and some of ancient bibles, Moses is described with horns.[3] The same description we find in a silver medal; that is, upon one side Moses horned, and on the reverse the commandment against sculptile images. Which is conceived to be a coinage of some Jews, in derision of Christians, who first began that portrait.[4]

The ground of this absurdity was surely a mistake of the Hebrew text, in the history of Moses when he descended from the mount, upon the affinity of *kæren* and *karan*, that is, an horn, and to shine, which is one quality of horn. The vulgar translation conforming unto the former; *Ignorabat quòd cornuta esset facies ejus.** *Qui videbant faciem Mosis esse cornutam.* But the Chaldee paraphrase, translated by Paulus Fagius, hath otherwise expressed it: *Moses nesciebat*

* Exod. xxxiv. 29, 30.

Iesum, in both places absurdly: which Beza observed and corrected; rendering the first by the word servant, and the later by the word sonne rightlye and learnedlye.—*Wr.*

[3] *In many pieces, &c.*] And in Michael Angelo's Statue of Moses in St. Peter's at Rome.

[4] *The same description, &c.*] This sentence was first added in 2nd edition.

quòd multus esset splendor gloriæ vultus ejus. Et viderunt filii Israel quòd multa esset claritas gloriæ faciei Mosis.[5] The expression of the Septuagint is as large, δεδόξασται ἡ ὄψις τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου, *Glorificatus est aspectus cutis, seu coloris faciei.*

And this passage of the Old Testament is well explained by another of the New; wherein it is delivered, that "they could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses,"* διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου, that is, for the glory of his countenance. And surely the exposition of one text is best performed by another;[6] men vainly interposing their constructions, where the Scripture decideth the controversy. And therefore some have seemed too active in their expositions, who in the story of Rahab the harlot, have given notice that the word also signifieth an hostess; for in the epistle to the Hebrews, she is plainly termed πόρνη,[7] which signifies not an hostess, but a pecuniary and prostituting harlot,† a term applied unto Lais by the Greeks, and distinguished from ἑταίρα, or *amica*, as may appear in the thirteenth of Athenæus.

And therefore more allowable is the translation of Tre-

* 2 Cor. iii. 13.

† What kind of harlot she was, read *Camar. de Vita Eliæ.*

[5] *But the Chaldee, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[6] *another.*] This is a golden rule, as necessary as infallible.—*Wr.*

[7] *in the epistle, &c.*] Dr. Adam Clarke (on Joshua ii. 2), admitting that πόρνη generally signifies a prostitute, contends nevertheless that it might not have been used in that sense here: he asks why the derived meaning of the word, from πορνάω, to sell, may not have reference to *goods*, as well as to *person?* In that sense he observes the Chaldee Targum understood the word, and in their translation gave it accordingly the meaning of a *tavern keeper*. He concludes rather a long article by saying, "it is most likely that she was a single woman, or widow, who got her bread honestly, by keeping a house of entertainment for strangers." He proceeds however in this criticism, on a principle which he has elsewhere laid down, "that the writers of the New Testament scarcely ever quote the Old Testament, but from the Septuagint translation;" thus he contents himself with a rabbinical version of the LXX—and to that interpretation would bind the apostle.

Dr. Gill notices the rabbinical authorities in favour of the interpretation adopted by Dr. Clarke, but remarks that the Jews commonly take Rahab to be a harlot; and that generally speaking, in those times and countries such as kept public houses were prostitutes. He notices the Greek version and decidedly leans to the usual acceptation of the term.

mellius, *quod splendida facta esset cutis faciei ejus;* or as Estius hath interpreted it, *facies ejus erat radiosa*, his face was radiant, and dispersing beams like many horns and cones about his head; which is also consonant unto the original signification, and yet observed in the pieces of our Saviour, and the Virgin Mary, who are commonly drawn with scintillations, or radiant halos about their head; which, after the French expression, are usually termed the glory.

Now if, besides this occasional mistake, any man shall contend a propriety in this picture, and that no injury is done unto truth by this description, because an horn is the hieroglyphick of authority, power, and dignity, and in this metaphor is often used in Scripture; the piece I confess in this acception is harmless and agreeable unto Moses; and, under such emblematical constructions, we find that Alexander the Great, and Attila king of the Huns, in ancient medals are described with horns. But if from the common mistake, or any solary consideration, we persist in this description, we vilify the mystery of the irradiation, and authorize a dangerous piece, conformable unto that of Jupiter Ammon; which was the sun, and therefore described with horns, as is delivered by Macrobius; *Hammonem quem Deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant, arietinis cornibus fingunt, quibus id animal valet, sicut radiis sol.* We herein also imitate the picture of Pan, and pagan emblem of nature. And if (as Macrobius and very good authors concede) Bacchus (who is also described with horns), be the same deity with the sun; and if (as Vossius well contendeth)* Moses and Bacchus were the same person; their descriptions must be relative, or the tauricornous picture of the one, perhaps the same with the other.[g]

* *De Origine Idololatriæ.*

[g] *any solary consideration.*] *Solary,* 'relating to the sun.'—The Hebrew word used in this passage signifies *to shoot forth*, and may be applied perhaps to rays of light, as well as to horns. Bp. Taylor, in his *Holy Dying*, p. 17, describes the rising sun, as "peeping over the eastern hills, *thrusting out his golden horns, &c.*"—*Jeff.*

CHAPTER X.

Of the Scutcheons of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

We will not pass over the scutcheons of the tribes of I as they are usually described in the maps of Canaar several other pieces; generally conceived to be the pı coats, and distinctive badges of their several tribes. Reuben is conceived to bear three bars wave, Judah a rampant, Dan a serpent nowed, Simeon a sword impale, point erected, &c.* The ground whereof is the last b diction of Jacob, wherein he respectively draweth cor risons from things here represented.

Now herein although we allow a considerable measur truth, yet whether, as they are usually described, these v the proper cognizances, and coat-arms of the tribes; whet in this manner applied, and upon the grounds presun material doubts remain.

For first, they are not strictly made out from the prop tical blessing of Jacob; for Simeon and Levi have disti coats, that is, a sword, and the two tables, yet are they Jacob included in one prophecy; "Simeon and Levi brethren, instruments of cruelty are in their habitation So Joseph beareth an ox, whereof notwithstanding there no mention in this prophecy; for therein it is said, "Jose is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well;" which repetition are intimated the two tribes descendi from him, Ephraim and Manasses; whereof notwithstandi Ephraim only beareth an ox. True it is, that many yea after, in the benediction of Moses, it is said of Joseph, "H glory is like the firstlings of his bullock:" and so we m concede, what Vossius learnedly declareth, that the Egyptia represented Joseph in the symbol of an ox; for thereby w best implied the dream of Pharaoh, which he interprete the benefit by agriculture, and provident provision of co which he performed; and therefore did Serapis bear a bush upon his head.

Again, if we take these two benedictions together, th resemblances are not appropriate, and Moses therein cor

* Gen. xlix.

forms not unto Jacob; for that which in the phophecy of Jacob is appropriated unto one, is in the blessing of Moses made common unto others. So, whereas Judah is compared unto a lion by Jacob, Judah is a lion's whelp, the same is applied unto Dan by Moses, "Dan is a lion's whelp, he shall leap from Bashan;" and also unto Gad, "he dwelleth as a lion."

Thirdly, if a lion were the proper coat of Judah, yet were it not probably a lion rampant, as it is commonly described, but rather couchant or dormant, as some heralds and rabbins do determine, according to the letter of the text, *Recumbens dormisti ut leo*, "He couched as a lion, and as a young lion, who shall rouse him?"

Lastly, when it is said, "Every man of the children of Israel shall pitch by his own standard, with the ensign of their father's house;"* upon enquiry what these standards and ensigns were, there is no small incertainty, and men conform not unto the prophecy of Jacob. Christian expositors are fain herein to rely upon the rabbins, who notwithstanding are various in their traditions, and confirm not these common descriptions. For as for inferior ensigns, either of particular bands or houses, they determine nothing at all; and of the four principal or legionary standards, that is, of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan (under every one whereof marched three tribes), they explain them very variously. Jonathan, who compiled the *Targum*, conceives the colours of these banners to answer the precious stones in the breastplate, and upon which the names of the tribes were engraven.† So the standard for the camp of Judah was of three colours, according unto the stones, chalcedony, sapphire, and sardonyx; and therein were expressed the names of the three tribes, Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon; and in the midst thereof was written, "Rise up, Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee:‡ in it was also the portrait of a lion. The standard of Reuben was also of three colours, sardine, topaz, and amethyst; therein were expressed the names of Reuben, Simeon, and Gad, in the midst was written, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord

* Num. ii.

† The like also P. Fagius upon the Targum or Chaldee Paraphrase of Onkelos, Num. i.

‡ Num. x.

our God, the Lord is one;"* therein was also the portraiture of a hart. But Abenezra and others, beside the colours of the field, do set down other charges, in Reuben's the form of a man or mandrake, in that of Judah a lion, in Ephriam's an ox, in Dan's the figure of an eagle.

And thus indeed the four figures in the banners of the principal squadrons of Israel, are answerable unto the cherubims in the vision of Ezekiel;† every one carrying the form of all these. As for the likeness of their faces, they four had the likeness of the face of a man, and the face of a lion on the right side, and they four had the face of an ox on the left side, they four had also the face of an eagle. And conformable hereunto the pictures of the evangelists (whose gospels are the Christian banners) are set forth with the addition of a man or angel, an ox, a lion, and an eagle. And these symbolically represent the office of angels and ministers of God's will, in whom is required understanding as in a man, courage and vivacity as in the lion, service and ministerial officiousness as in the ox, expedition or celerity of execution as in the eagle.[9]

* Deut. vi. † Ezek. i.

[9] *eagle.*] The reasons which the fathers give of these emblems is excellent and proper. St. Matthew insists on those prophecyes in Christ, and therefore hath an angel, as itt were revealing those things to him. St. Marke insists most upon his workes of wonder and miracles, and therefore hathe the lyon of Judah by him. St. Luke is most copious in those storyes which set forthe his passive obedience, and therefore hathe the beast of sacrifice by him. And lastly, St. John, whose gospel sores like the eagle up to heaven, and expresses the divinity of Christe in such a sublime manner above all the rest, hath therefore that bird set by him. They were shortly, but excellently expresst by these four emblems at the pedestal of Prince Henrye's pillar, each of them in a scroll uttering these four wordes, which make up a verse. *Expecto,* by the angel, *impavidus,* by the lion, *patienter,* by the oxe, *dum renovabor,* by the eagle.—*Wr.*

The dean's exposé reminds us of that of Victorinus, Bishop of Petau, mentioned by Dr. Clarke (in his *Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature,* &c., p. 199, vol. i.). In his Comment on the 4th chap. of Rev. v. 6, 7, the bishop remarks:—"The four living creatures are the four gospels. The *lion* denotes MARK, in whom the voice of a *lion,* roaring in the wilderness, is heard; *the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness, &c.* MATTHEW, who has the resemblance of a *man,* endeavours to show us the family of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh; he speakes of him as a man; *the book of the generations, &c.* LUKE,

From hence, therefore, we may observe that these descriptions, the most authentic of any, are neither agreeable unto one another, nor unto the scutcheons in question. For though they agree in Ephraim and Judah, that is, the ox and the lion, yet do they differ in those of Dan and Reuben, as far as an eagle is different from a serpent, and the figure of a man, hart, or mandrake, from three bars wave. Wherein notwithstanding we rather declare the incertainty of arms in this particular,[1] than any way question their antiquity; for

who relates the priesthood of Zecharias offering sacrifice for the people, &c., has the resemblance of a *calf*. JOHN, like an eagle with outstretched wings soaring aloft, speaks concerning the WORD OF GOD, &c." But here we find various opinions; for while St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Matthew, and Gregory in his 4th Homily on Ezekiel, give the same version as Victorinus, St. Augustine assigns the man to Mark, and the lion to Matthew. And the dean, in the preceding note, follows those who regard Matthew's man to have been an angel.

[1] *the incertainty of arms in this particular.*] Not a few of our antiquarian writers, theologians, as well as heralds, have been anxious to trace the origin of heraldry to the Bible. Bishop Hall, in his *Impresse of God*, says, "If the testament of the patriarchs had as much credit as antiquity, all the patriarchs had their armes assigned them by Jacob: Judah a *lyon*, Dan a *serpent*, Nepthali *an hinde*, Benjamin *a wolf*, Joseph *a bough*, and so of the rest." *Works*, fol. 1648, p. 406, E.

In Mr. Jefferson's copy occurs the following MS. note. "Sir John Prestwick, in his MS. history of the noble family of Chichester, derives the practice of heraldry from Gen. i. 14. 'Let them be for *signs*,'—which he refers to *heraldic signs*."

Sylvanus Morgan begins with the creation; "deducing from the principles of nature" his *Sphere of Gentry*, which he divides into four books, the first entitled Adam's shield, or nobility native; the 2nd, Joseph's coat, or nobility dative, &c. In the latter he gives a curiously engraven representation, and a description of Joseph's whole achievement; his coat being *per fesse imbatled Argent and Gules out of a Well a Tree growing Proper, ensigned with a Helmet of a Knight thereon, out of a crown Mural Gules, a Wheatsheaf Or*; his Mantles being of three sorts: the outmost being that of the *gown*, being cloth of gold lined with *Ermine, Erminees, Erminois*, and *Erminets*; the next being that of the *Cloak*, accompanying him in all his adversities, being lined *Vaire, Vairy*, and *Cuppa*; the outside *Purple*: the third being the *Mantle* for his funeral, being mantled *Sable*, lined *Argent*; his Motto, *Nec Sorti nec Fato*: having his wife's armes in an In-Escutcheon, she being the daughter and heir of Potiphar, Prince and Priest of *On*: his Sword and Girdle on the left side. Thus he is a publick person, conferring honours by *Nobility Dative* to his brethren!!"—*Sphere of Gentry*, book ii. p. 72. Alas! for poor Joseph's coat of many colours, to be thus blazoned!

Master Morgan, in setting forth the Camp of Israel, seemeth not

hereof more ancient examples there are than the scutcheons of the tribes, if Osyris, Mizraim, or Jupiter the Just, were the son of Cham; for of his two sons, as Diodorus delivereth, the one for his device gave a dog, the other a wolf. And, beside the shield of Achilles, and many ancient Greeks, if we receive the conjecture of Vossius, that the crow upon Corvinus' head was but the figure of that animal upon his helmet, it is an example of antiquity among the Romans.

But more widely must we walk if we follow the doctrine of the Cabalists, who in each of the four banners inscribe a letter of the tetragrammaton, or quadriliteral name of God; and mysterizing their ensigns, do make the particular ones of the twelve tribes, accommodable unto the twelve signs in the zodiac, and twelve months in the year; but the tetrarchical or general banners of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and

less exactly informed as to the precise bearing of each tribe (*Ibid.* p. 78).

JUDAH bare Gules, a *Lyon* couchant or, East.
ZABULUN'S black *Ship's* like to a man of warr.
ISSACHAR'S *Asse* between two burthens girt,
As DAN'S *Sly Snake* lies in a field of vert. North.
ASHUR with azure a *Cup of Gold* sustains,
And NEPTHALI'S *Hind* trips o'er the flowry plains.
EPHRAIM'S strong *Ox* lyes with the couchant *Hart*, West.
MANASSEH'S *Tree* its branches doth impart.
BENJAMIN'S *Wolfe* in the field gules resides,
REUBEN'S field argent and blew *Barrs Waved* glides. South.
SIMEON doth beare the *Sword:* and in that manner
GAD having pitched his Tent sets up his *Banner.*

Unfortunately, however, as our author shrewdly remarks, the "descriptions" of the *conoscenti* are not "agreeable unto one another." Andrew Favine, in his *Theater of Honor and Knighthood,* fol. 1623, p. 4, perfectly agrees with Morgan as to the antiquity of *armes and blazons,* which he does not hesitate to say "have been in use from the creation of the world." But when he descends to particulars, their disagreement is instantly apparent. To say nothing of *tinctures,* half the *bearings* are different. Favine makes Judah's lyon *rampant* instead of *couchant;* Reuben bears an *armed man,* instead of the *bars wavy;* in Ephraim's standard he omits the *hart;* to Simeon he assigns *two* swords instead of *one;* to Gad a *sword* instead of a *banner;* (though I suspect the *description* of Morgan intended a sword, but the artist, misunderstanding his doggrel, has drawn a banner); to Manasseh a *crowned sceptre* instead of a *tree;* and to Dan, *ears of corn* instead of a *cup of gold.*

Dan,[2] unto the signs of Aries, Cancer, Libra, and Capricornus;* that is, the four cardinal parts of the zodiack and seasons of the year.[3]

* *Recius de Cœlesti Agricultura*, lib. iv.

[2] *do make the particular ones, &c.*] Browne most probably alludes to the opinion of Kircher on this point. But several other writers have taken pains to establish the same theory. General Vallancy, in his chapter on the astronomy of the ancient Irish; i. e., *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. vi. ch. ix.) proposes a scheme, which Dr. Hales has adopted, with some alterations, in his *Chronology*, vol. ii. At still greater length has Sir Wm. Drummond investigated the subject, in a paper on Gen. xlix. in the *Classical Journal*, vol. iii. p. 387. But here again the authorities are at issue. Sir William thus arranges his Zodiack:—Reuben, *Aquarius;* Simeon and Levi, *Pisces;* Judah, *Leo;* Zebulun, *Capricorn;* Issachar, *Cancer;* Dan, *Scorpius;* Gad, *Aries;* Asher, *Libra;* Napthali, *Virgo;* Joseph, *Taurus;* Benjamin, *Gemini;* Manasseh, *Sagittarius.* General Vallancy on the other hand assigns to Simeon and Levi the sign *Gemini*, to Zebulun, *Cancer;* to Issacher, *Taurus;* to Napthali, *Aries;* to Joseph, *Virgo;* and to Benjamin, *Capricorn;* omitting Gad, Asher, and Manasseh. Dr. Hales also omits Manasseh, but places Gad in *Pisces*, Asher in *Virgo*, and Joseph in *Sagittarius.* There are other variations. Some have given Levi *an open bough.* The banner of Gad, which in Morgan bears a lion, is also given *green*, and without any device. Reuben has sometimes a mandrake, instead of the *bars* or the *armed man.* Dan's serpent is sometimes *nowed*, sometimes *curled.* Manasseh has sometimes an ox, and Ephraim an unicorn or a bough. But enough of this. Further examination of the various fanciful speculations of critics and antiquaries, whether heraldic or astronomical, will only confirm our author's conclusion, "of the incertainty of arms," and the irreconcilable discrepancy of those who have written on the subjects of the present chapter:—*quot homines, tot sententiæ;* and how should it be otherwise in a case where nothing can be known, and any thing may therefore be conjectured? Before I close this note, however, I must be allowed to protest against Sir Wm. Drummond's mode of conducting his enquiry. With a view of enhancing the probability of his favourite theory, he commences by endeavouring to prove that the patriarchs were tinctured with polytheism, and addicted to divination and astrology; and arrives, in the space of half a dozen sentences, at the absurd and revolting conclusion, that Jacob was an astrologer, who believed himself under the influence of the planet Saturn! To what lengths will not some men go in support of a favourite hypothesis, however fanciful! What would be our feelings of indignation against him who should demolish the classical remains of Grecian antiquity, to make way for the vagaries of modern architecture? Less deep by far, than when we are asked to sacrifice the hallowed and beautiful simplicity of Scripture narrative to the base figments of rabbinical tradition, or the gratuitous assumptions of such critics as Sir Wm. Drummond.

[3] *But more widely, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Pictures of the Sybils.

THE pictures of the sybils are very common, and for their prophecies of Christ in high esteem with Christians; described commonly with youthful faces, and in a defined number. Common pieces making twelve, and many precisely ten; observing therein the account of Varro, that is, *Sibylla Delphica, Erythræa, Samia, Cumana, Cumæa,* or *Cimmeria, Hellespontiaca, Libyca, Phrygia, Tiburtina, Persica.* In which enumeration I perceive learned men are not satisfied, and many conclude an irreconcilable incertainty; some making more, others fewer, and not this certain number. For Suidas, though he affirm that in divers ages there were ten, yet the same denomination he affordeth unto more; Boysardus, in his tract of *Divination,* hath set forth the icons of these ten, yet addeth two others, *Epirotica* and *Ægyptia*; and some affirm that prophesying women were generally named sybils.

Others make them fewer: Martianus Capella two; Pliny and Solinus three; Ælian four; and Salmasius in effect but seven. For discoursing thereof in his *Plinian Exercitations,* he thus determineth; *Ridere licet hodiernos pictores, qui tabulas proponunt Cumanæ, Cumææ et Erythrææ, quasi trium diversarum sibyllarum; cùm una eademque fuerit Cumana, Cumæa, et Erythræa, ex plurium et doctissimorum authorum sententia.* Boysardus gives us leave to opinion there was no more than one; for so doth he conclude, *In tanta scriptorum varietate liberum relinquimus lectori credere, an una et eadem in diversis regionibus peregrinata, cognomen sortita sit ab iis locis ubi oracula reddidisse comperitur, an plures extiterint:* and therefore not discovering a resolution of their number from pens of the best writers, we have no reason to determine the same from the hand and pencil of painters.

As touching their age, that they are generally described as young women, history will not allow; for the sybil whereof Virgil speaketh, is termed by him *longæva sacerdos,* and Servius, in his comment, amplifieth the same. The other, that sold the books unto Tarquin, and whose history is plainer

than any, by Livy and Gellius is termed *anus;* that is, properly no woman of ordinary age, but full of years, and in the days of dotage, according to the etymology of Festus,* and consonant unto the history, wherein it is said, that Tarquin thought she doted with old age. Which duly perpended, the *licentia pictoria* is very large; with the same reason they may delineate old Nestor like Adonis, Hecuba with Helen's face, and time with Absolom's head. But this absurdity that eminent artist, Michael Angelo, hath avoided, in the pictures of the Cumean and Persian Sybils, as they stand described from the printed sculptures of Adam Mantuanus.[4]

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Picture describing the death of Cleopatra.

THE picture concerning the death of Cleopatra, with two asps or venomous serpents unto her arms or breasts, or both, requires consideration:[5] for therein (beside that this variety

* *Anus, quasi* Ἀνοῦς, *sine mente.*

[4] *Mantuanus.*] On the subject of this chapter, the origin of the Sybils, see the Abbé Pluche, *Hist. du Ciel,* vol. i. p. 263.—*Jeff.*

[5] *The picture, &c.*] "An ancient encaustic picture of Cleopatra has lately been discovered, and detached from a wall, in which it had been hidden for centuries, and supposed to be a real portrait, painted by a Greek artist. It is done on blue slate. The colouring is fresh, very like life. She is represented applying the aspic to her bosom." *Extract from a Letter from Paris; Phil. Gaz.* Nov. 27, 1822.—*Jeff.*

The preceding notice refers in all probability to the painting which was afterwards brought over to England by its possessor, Signor Micheli, who valued it at £10,000. He caused an engraving of it to be executed, which I have had an opportunity of seeing, in the hands of R. R. Reinagle, Esq., R.A. by whose kindness I have also been favoured with the following very full and interesting history and description of this curious work of art, in compliance with my request:

"17, Fitzroy Square, Dec. 2, 1834.

"Sir,—The painting was done on a species of black slaty marble—was broken in two or three places. It was said by the Chev. Micheli, the proprietor, who brought it from Florence to this country, that it had been found in the recesses of a great wine cellar, where other fragments of antiquity had been deposited. That it was in a very thick case of wood nearly mouldered away. That it got into a broker's hands, by the major domo of the house or palace where it was discovered, having sold a parcel of

is not excusable) the thing itself is questionable; nor is it

insignificant lumber, so called, in which this painting was found. It was generally incrusted with a sort of tartar and decomposed varnish, which was cleared off by certain eminent chemists of Florence. Parts of the colouring were scraped off and analysed by three or four persons. Formal attestations were made by them before the constituted authorities, and the documents had the stamps of authorized bodies and signatures. The colours were found to be all mineral, and few in number. The red was the *synopia* of Greece; another laky red, put over the red mantle Cleopatra wore, was of a nature not discovered;—it had the look of Venetian glazed red lake, of the crimson colour;—the white was a *calx*, but I forget of what nature;—the yellow was of the nature of Naples yellow—it seemed a vitrification; there was also yellow ochre;—the black was charcoal. The green curtain was esteemed *terra verd* of Greece, passed over with some unknown enriching yellow colour. The hair was deep auburn colour, and might be mangenese;—the curls, elaborately made out, were finished hair by hair, with vivid curved lines on the lighted parts, of the bright yellow golden colour. The necklace consisted of various stones set in gold: the amulet was of gold, and a chain twice or thrice round her right wrist. She wore a crown with radiating points, and jewels between each;—also a forehead jewel, with a large pearl at the four corners, worn lozengeways on her forehead; part of her front hair was plaited, and two plaits where brought round the neck, and tied in a knot of the hair;—the red mantle was fastened on both shoulders—no linen was seen. She held the asp in her left hand: it was of a green colour, and rather large. Its head was fanciful, and partook of the whims of sculptors, both ancient and modern, resembling the knobhead and pouting mouth of the dolphin. While writhing, it seems as if preparing to give a second bite; two minute indents of the fangs were imprinted on the inside of the left breast, and a drop or two of blood flowed. Cleopatra was looking upwards; a shuddering expression from quivering lips, and heavy tears falling down her cheeks, gave the countenance a singular effect; her right hand was falling from the wrist as if life were departing and convulsion commencing. The composition of the figure was erect and judiciously disposed for the confined space it was placed in. The proportion of the picture was about two feet nine inches, and narrow, like that sized canvass which artists in England call a *kitcat*. On decomposing the colours, the learned men of Florence and of Paris were fully persuaded that it was an encaustic painting; wax and resinous gum were distinctly separated. The whole picture presented the strongest signs of antiquity; but whether it is a real antique, remains still a doubt on many minds. It was attributed to Timomachus, an artist of great eminence and a traveller, who lived at the court of Augustus Cæsar. He followed the encaustic style of Apelles, and with him died or faded away that difficult art. The picture was painted (as is surmised) by the above-named Greek artist, from memory (for he had seen Cleopatra often), to supply her place in the triumph of Augustus, when he celebrated his Egyptian victories over Anthony and Cleopatra. She, by

indisputably certain what manner of death she died.[6] Plutarch, in the life of Anthony, plainly delivereth, that no man knew the manner of her death; for some affirmed she perished by poison, which she always carried in a little hollow comb, and wore it in her hair. Beside, there were never any asps discovered in the place of her death; although two of her maids perished also with her; only it was said, two small and almost insensible pricks were found upon her arm; which was all the ground that Cæsar had to presume the manner of her death. Galen, who was contemporary unto Plutarch, delivereth two ways of her death; that she killed herself by the bite of an asp, or bit an hole in her arm and poured poison therein. Strabo, that lived before them both, hath also two opinions; that she died by the bite of an asp, or else a poisonous ointment.

We might question the length of the asps, which are some-

her desperate resolution, deprived him of the honour of exposing her person to the gaze of the Roman people. The picture was said to have been taken, as a precious relic of art, by Constantine to Byzantium, afterwards named Constantinople, and restored to Rome on the return of his successors to the ancient seat of government. Among the very many things in and relating to art, this picture was overlooked, and remained in the deep dark recesses of the wine cellar. The Chevalier Micheli carried it back to Italy, when he left England, about two years ago. What has become of it since I know not.

"The title of the print is as follows:—'Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt. The original, of which the present plate is a faithful representation, is the only known and hitherto discovered specimen of ancient Greek painting. It has given rise to the most learned enquiries both in Italy and France, and been universally admitted by cognoscenti, assisted by actual analysis of the colours, to be an encaustic painting. The picture is attributed to Timomachus, and supposed to have been painted by him for his friend and patron, Augustus Cæsar, 33 years before Christ, to adorn the triumph that celebrated his Egyptian victories over Anthony and Cleopatra, as a substitute for the beautiful original, of whom he was disappointed by the heroic death she inflicted on herself. This plate is dedicated to the virtuosi and lovers of refined art in the British empire by the author, who is also the possessor of this inestimable relic of Grecian art.'

"I remain your very obedient servant.

"To Mr. S. Wilkin. "R. R. REINAGLE."

[6] *the thing itself, &c.*] The painters have however this justification, that they follow authorities. "Cæsar, from the two small pricks presumed the manner of her death." Suetonius and Eutropius mention one asp; Horace, Virgil, Florus, and Propertius, two.—*Ross* and *Jeff.*

times described exceeding short; whereas the *chersæa*, or land-asp, which most conceive she used, is above four cubits long. Their number is not unquestionable; for whereas there are generally two described, Augustus (as Plutarch relateth) did carry in his triumph the image of Cleopatra, but with one asp unto her arm. As for the two pricks, or little spots in her arm, they infer not their plurality; for like the viper the asp hath two teeth, whereby it left this impression, or double puncture behind it.

And lastly, we might question the place; for some apply them unto her breast, which notwithstanding will not consist with the history, and Petrus Victorius hath well observed the same. But herein the mistake was easy, it being the custom in capital malefactors to apply them unto the breast; as the author *De Theriaca ad Pisonem*, an eye-witness hereof in Alexandria, where Cleopatra died, determineth; "I beheld," saith he, "in Alexandria, how suddenly these serpents bereave a man of life; for when any one is condemned to this kind of death, if they intend to use him favourably, that is, to despatch him suddenly, they fasten an asp unto his breast, and bidding him walk about, he presently perisheth thereby."

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Pictures of the Nine Worthies.

THE pictures of the nine worthies[7] are not unquestionable, and to critical spectators may seem to contain sundry improprieties. Some will enquire why Alexander the Great is described upon an elephant:[8] for we do not find he used that animal in his armies, much less in his own person; but

[7] *the nine worthies.*] Namely, Joshua, Gideon, Sampson, David, Judas Maccabæus, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne.

[8] *Some will enquire, &c.*] Ross suggests that "this picture hath reference to that story of the elephant in Philostratus (lib. i. c. 61), which from Alexander to Tiberius, lived three hundred and fifty years. This huge elephant, Alexander, after he had overcome Porus, dedicated to the sun, in these words, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Διὸς τὸν Αἴαντα τῷ ἡλίῳ; for he gave to this elephant the name of Ajax, and the inhabitants so honoured this beast, that they beset him round with garlands and ribbons.—*Arcana*, p. 160.

his horse is famous in history, and its name alive to this day.[9] Beside, he fought but one remarkable battle wherein there were any elephants, and that was with Porus, king of India, in which notwithstanding, as Curtius, Arrianus, and Plutarch report, he was on horseback himself. And if because he fought against elephants he is with propriety set upon their backs, with no less (or greater) reason is the same description agreeable unto Judas Maccabeus, as may be observed from the history of the Maccabees, and also unto Julius Cæsar, whose triumph was honoured with captive elephants, as may be observed in the order thereof set forth by Jacobus Laurus.* And if also we should admit this description upon an elephant, yet were not the manner thereof unquestionable, that is, in his ruling the beast alone; for beside the champion upon their back, there was also a guide or ruler which sat more forward to command or guide the beast. Thus did King Porus ride when he was overthrown by Alexander; and thus are also the towered elephants described, Maccabees ii. 6. Upon the beasts[1] there were strong towers of wood, which covered every one of them, and were girt fast unto them by devices; there were also upon every one of them thirty-two strong men, beside the Indian that ruled them.

Others will demand, not only why Alexander upon an elephant, but Hector upon an horse; whereas his manner of fighting, or presenting himself in battle, was in a chariot,[2]

* *In Splendore Urbis Antiquæ.*

[9] *but his horse, &c.*] There is an engraving of Alexander on *Bucephalus*, from an antique statue, without stirrups, in the *Youth's Magazine*, for May, 1820.—*Jeff.*

[1] *upon the beasts.*] Yf wee reckon but 300lb. weight for every man and his armour and weapons (which is the lowest proportion), and allowing for the tower and harnessing but 5 or 600lb. more, the burthen of each elephant cannot be esteemed less than 10,100lb. weight; which is a thing almost incredible: for, 4,000lb. or 5,000lb. is the greatest loade that 8 or 10 strong horses are usually put to drawe.—*Wr.*

[2] *chariot.*] The use of chariots and (in warr) of iron, and in private travayle of lighter substance is as olde as Jacob, as appeares Gen. xlv. 27. And in Gen. xiv. 7, the text sayes, that Pharoah had in his army 600 chosen chariots, besides all the chariots of Ægypt. Now the former of these two storyes was 500 yeares before the Trojan war, and the later 300.—*Wr.*

as did the other noble Trojans, who, as Pliny affirmeth, were the first inventors thereof. The same way of fight is testified by Diodorus, and thus delivered by Sir Walter Raleigh: "Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made, for they fought all on foot, slightly armed, and commonly followed the success of their captains, who rode not upon horses, but in chariots drawn by two or three horses." And this was also the ancient way of fight among the Britons, as is delivered by Diodorus, Cæsar, and Tacitus; and there want not some who have taken advantage hereof, and made it one argument of their original from Troy.

Lastly, by any man versed in antiquity, the question can hardly be avoided, why the horses of these worthies, especially of Cæsar, are described with the furniture of great saddles and stirrups; for saddles, largely taken, though some defence there may be, yet that they had not the use of stirrups, seemeth of lesser doubt; as Pancirollus hath observed, as Polydore Virgil and Petrus Victorius have confirmed,* expressly discoursing hereon; as is observable from Pliny, and cannot escape our eyes in the ancient monuments, medals, and triumphant arches of the Romans. Nor is there any ancient classical word in Latin to express them. For *staphia*, *stapes*, or *stapeda*, is not to be found in authors of this antiquity. And divers words which may be urged of this signification, are either later, or signified not thus much in the time of Cæsar. And therefore, as Lipsius observeth, lest a thing of common use should want a common word, Franciscus Philelphus named them *stapedas*, and Bodinus Subiecus, *pedanos*. And whereas the name might promise some antiquity, because among the three small bones in the auditory organ, by physicians termed *incus*, *malleus* and *stapes*, one thereof from some resemblance doth bear this name; these bones were not observed, much less named by Hippocrates, Galen, or any ancient physician. But as Laurentius observeth, concerning the invention of the *stapes* or stirrup-bone, there is some contention between Columbus and Ingrassias; the one of Sicilia, the other of Cremona, and both within the compass of this century.

The same is also deducible from very approved authors.

De Inventione Rerum, Variæ Lectiones.

Polybius, speaking of the way which Annibal marched into Italy, useth the word βεβημάτισται, that is, saith Petrus Victorius, it was stored with devices for men to get upon their horses, which assents were termed *bemata*, and in the life of Caius Gracchus, Plutarch expresseth as much. For endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the people, besides the placing of stones at every mile's end, he made at nearer distances certain elevated places and scalary ascents, that by the help thereof they might with better ease ascend or mount their horses. Now if we demand how cavaliers, then destitute of stirrups, did usually mount their horses, as Lipsius informeth, the unable and softer sort of men had their ἀναβοχεῖς, or *stratores*, which helped them upon horseback, as in the practice of Crassus, in Plutarch, and Caracalla, in Spartianus, and the later example of Valentinianus, who because his horse rose before, that he could not be settled on his back, cut of the right hand of his strator. But how the active and hardy persons mounted, Vegetius * resolves us, that they used to vault or leap up, and therefore they had wooden horses in their houses and abroad, that thereby young men might enable themselves in this action; wherein by instruction and practice they grew so perfect, that they could vault up on the right or left, and that with their sword in hand, according to that of Virgil,—

> Poscit equos atque arma simul, sultúque superbus
> Emicat.

And again,—

> Infrænant alii currus, et corpora saltu
> Injiciunt in equos.

So Julius Pollux adviseth to teach horses to incline, dimit, and bow down their bodies, that their riders may with better ease ascend them. And thus may it more causally be made out what Hippocrates affirmeth of the Scythians, that using continual riding they were generally molested with the *sciatica* or hip gout. Or what Suetonius delivereth of Germanicus, that he had slender legs, but increased them by riding after meals; that is, the humours descending upon

* *De re Milit.*

their pendulosity, they having no support or suppedaneous stability.[3]

Now if any shall say that these are petty errors and minor lapses, not considerably injurious unto truth, yet is it neither reasonable nor safe to contemn inferior falsities, but rather as between falsehood and truth there is no medium, so should they be maintained in their distances; nor the contagion of the one approach the sincerity of the other.

[3] *Or what Suetonius, &c.*] Hippocrates observes, that the Scythians, who were much on horseback, were troubled with defluxions and swellings in their legs, occasioned by their dependent posture, and the want of something to sustain their feet. Had stirrups been known, this inconvenience could not have been urged, and on this fact, together with other arguments, Berenger much relies in his opinion that stirrups were not known to the ancients. See his *History and Art of Horsemanship*, 2 vols. 4to. Montfaucon attributes this ignorance to the absence of saddles, and to the impossibility of attaching stirrups to the horse-cloths, or *ephippia*, which were anciently used for saddles.

Beckman, in his chapter on *stirrups* (*History of Inventions and Discoveries*, vol. ii. 270), among other authorities, refers to the present chapter *in the French translation*. Nothing, he says, resembling stirrups, remains in ancient works of art or coins. Xenophon, in his chapter on horsemanship, makes no mention of them. Stone mounting-steps, he observes, were not only used among the Romans, but are still to be found even in England. Victorious generals used to compel the vanquished even of the highest rank, to stoop that they might mount by stepping on their backs. He mentions some spurious inscriptions and coins which exhibit the stirrup. He names Mauritius as the first writer who has expressly mentioned it, in the sixth century, and from Eustathius it appears that even in the 12th century, the use of stirrups had not become common.

"Abdallah's friend found him with his foot in the stirrup, just mounting his camel." *Sale's Koran, Prelim. Disc.* p. 29. Abdallah lived in the sixth century.—*Jeff.*

"*Stirops.* From the old English *astige* or *stighe*, to ascend or mount up, and *ropes*; being first devised with cords or *ropes*, before they were made with leather and iron fastened to it." *Verstegan*, p. 209. "To have *styed* up from the very centre of the earth." *Bishop Hall's Contemplations on the Ascension*, vol. ii. p. 285. *Hinc Stigh-ropes.*—*Jeff.*

According to Sir John Carr's "*Caledonian Sketches*," in his account of a male equipage, that island is not yet "a land of bridles and saddles."—*Mo. Rev. Sep.* 1809.—*Jeff.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Picture of Jephthah Sacrificing his Daughter.

THE hand of the painter confidently setteth forth the picture of Jephthah in the posture of Abraham, sacrificing his only daughter. Thus is it commonly received, and hath had the attest of many worthy writers. Notwithstanding, upon enquiry we find the matter doubtful, and many upon probable grounds to have been of another opinion; conceiving in this oblation not a natural but a civil kind of death, and a separation only unto the Lord. For that he pursued not his vow unto a literal oblation, there want not arguments both from the text and reason.[4]

For first, it is evident that she deplored her virginity, and not her death: "Let me go up and down the mountains and bewail my virginity, I and my fellows."

Secondly, when it is said, that Jephthah did unto her according unto his vow, it is immediately subjoined, *et non*

[4] *For that he pursued not, &c.*] The observations of Dr. Adam Clarke on this very interesting question, are so spirited and satisfactory, that I must insert them. Judg. xi. 31.—"The translation of which, according to the most accurate Hebrew scholars, is this—'I will consecrate it to the Lord; OR, I will offer it for a burnt-offering:' that is, 'if it be a thing fit for *a burnt-offering*, it shall be made one: if fit *for the service of God*, it shall be consecrated to him.' That conditions of this kind must have been implied in the vow is evident enough; to have been made without them it must have been the vow of a *heathen* or a *madman*. If a *dog* had met him, this could not have been made a *burnt-offering*: and if his neighbour's or friend's *wife, son*, or *daughter*, &c. had been returning from a visit to his family, his vow gave him no right over them. Besides, *human sacrifices* were ever an abomination to the Lord; and this was one of the grand reasons why God drave out the Canaanites, &c. because they offered their sons and daughters to Moloch, in the fire; i. e. made burnt-offerings of them, as is generally supposed. That Jephthah was a deeply pious man, appears in the whole of his conduct; and that he was well acquainted with the *law of Moses*,—which prohibited such sacrifices, and stated what was to be offered in sacrifice,—is evident enough from his expostulation with the king and people of Ammon, verse 14 to 27. Therefore it must be granted that he never made that rash vow which several suppose he did; nor was he capable, if he had, of executing it in that most shocking manner which some Christian writers (tell it not in Gath) have contended for. He could not commit a crime which himself had just now been an executor of God's justice to punish in others."

cognovit virum, and she knew no man; which, as immediate in words, was probably most near in sense unto the vow.

Thirdly, it is said in the text, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to talk with the daughter of Jephthah four days in the year; which had she been sacrificed they could not have done: for whereas the word is sometime translated to lament, yet doth it also signify to talk or have conference with one, and by Tremellius, who was well able to judge of the original, it is in this sense translated: *Ibant filiæ Israelitarum, ad confabulandum cum filia Jepththaci, quatuor diebus quotannis:* and so it is also set down in the marginal notes of our translation. And from this annual concourse of the daughters of Israel, it is not improbable in future ages the daughter of Jephthah came to be worshipped as a deity, and had by the Samaritans an annual festivity observed unto her honour, as Epiphanius hath left recorded in the heresy of the Melchisedecians.

It is also repugnant unto reason; for the offering of mankind was against the law of God, who so abhorred human sacrifice, that he admitted not the oblation of unclean beasts, and confined his altars but unto few kinds of animals, the ox, the goat, the sheep, the pigeon, and its kinds. In the cleansing of the leper, there is, I confess, mention made of the sparrow; but great dispute may be made whether it be properly rendered. And therefore the Scripture with indignation ofttimes makes mention of human sacrifice among the Gentiles; whose oblations scarce made scruple of any animal, sacrificing not only man, but horses, lions, eagles; and though they come not into holocausts, yet do we read the Syrians did make oblations of fishes unto the goddess Derceto. It being therefore a sacrifice so abominable unto God, although he had pursued it, it is not probable the priests and wisdom of Israel would have permitted it; and that not only in regard of the subject or sacrifice itself, but also the sacrificator, which the picture makes to be Jephthah, who was neither priest, nor capable of that office; for he was a Gileadite, and as the text affirmeth, the son also of an harlot. And how hardly the priesthood would endure encroachment upon their function, a notable example there is in the story of Ozias.

Secondly, the offering up of his daughter was not only

unlawful and entrenched upon his religion, but had been a course that had much condemned his discretion; that is, to have punished himself in the strictest observance of his vow, when as the law of God had allowed an evasion; that is, by way of commutation or redemption, according as is determined, Levit. xxvii. Whereby if she were between the age of five and twenty, she was to be estimated but at ten shekels, and if between twenty and sixty, not above thirty. A sum that could never discourage an indulgent parent; it being but the value of a servant slain; the inconsiderable salary of Judas; and will make no greater noise than three pounds fifteen shillings with us. And therefore their conceit is not to be exploded, who say that from the story of Jephthah's sacrificing his own daughter, might spring the fable of Agamemnon, delivering unto sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia, who was also contemporary unto Jephthah; wherein to answer the ground that hinted it, Iphigenia was not sacrificed herself, but redeemed with an hart, which Diana accepted for her.[5]

Lastly, although his vow run generally for the words, "Whatsoever shall come forth, &c.," yet might it be restrained in the sense, for whatsoever was sacrificeable and justly subject to lawful immolation; and so would not have sacrificed either horse or dog, if they had come out upon him. Nor was he obliged by oath unto a strict observation of that which promissorily was unlawful; or could he be qualified by vow to commit a fact which naturally was abominable. Which doctrine had Herod understood, it might have saved John Baptist's head, when he promised by oath to give unto Herodias whatsoever she would ask; that is, if it were in the compass of things which he could lawfully grant. For his oath made not that lawful which was illegal before; and if it were unjust to murder John, the supervenient oath did not extenuate the fact, or oblige the juror unto it.[6]

Now the ground at least which much promoted the opinion, might be the dubious words of the text, which contain the sense of his vow; most men adhering unto

[5] *Iphigenia, &c.*] So the son of Idomeneus, on whose fate there is an interesting scene in *Fenelon's Telemachus*, book v.—*Jeff.*

[6] *Lastly, although his vow, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

their common and obvious acception. "Whatsoever shall come forth of the doors of my house, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." Now whereas it is said, *Erit Jehovæ, et offeram illud holocaustum*, the word signifying both *et* and *aut*, it may be taken disjunctively; *aut offeram*, that is, it shall either be the Lord's by separation, or else, an holocaust by common oblation; even as our marginal translation advertiseth, and as Tremellius rendereth it, *Erit inquam Jehovæ, aut offeram illud holocaustum*. And, for the vulgar translation, it useth often *et* where *aut* must be presumed, as Exod. xxi.; *Si quis percusserit patrem et matrem*, that is, not both, but either. There being therefore two ways to dispose of her, either to separate her unto the Lord, or offer her as a sacrifice, it is of no necessity the latter should be necessary; and surely less derogatory unto the sacred text and history of the people of God must be the former.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Picture of John the Baptist in a Camel's Skin.

THE picture of John the Baptist in a camel's skin is very questionable,[7] and many I perceive have condemned it.

[7] *in a camel's skin, &c.*] Ross, as usual, supports the opinion which Browne attacks. "It was fit the Baptist, who came to preach repentance for sin, should wear a garment of skins, which was the first clothes that Adam wore after he had sinned; for his fig-leaves were not proper, and this garment also showed both his poverty and humility. For as great men wear rich skins and costly furs, he was contented with a camel's skin. By this garment also he shows himself to be another Elijah (2 Kings i.), who did wear such a garment, and to be one of those of whom the apostle speaks, who went about in skins, of whom the world was not worthy. Neither was it unuseful in John's time, and before, to wear skins; for the prophets among the Jews, the philosophers among the Indians, and generally the Scythians did wear skins; hence by Claudian they are called *pellita juventus*. Great commanders also used to wear them; as Hercules the lion's skin, Acestes the bear's, Camilla the tiger's. John's garment, then, of camel's hair, was not, as some fondly conceit, a sackcloth or camblet, but a skin with the hair on it."

This is quaint and lively enough; but the most competent autho-

The ground or occasion of this description are the words of the Holy Scripture, especially of Matthew and Mark (for Luke and John are silent herein); by them it is delivered, "his garment was of camel's hair, and he had a leather girdle about his loins." Now here it seems the camel's hair is taken by painters for the skin or pelt with the hair upon it. But this exposition will not so well consist with the strict acception of the words; for Mark i., it is said, he was, *ἐνδεδυμενος τρίχας καμήλου*, and Matthew iii., *εἶχε τὸ ἔνδυμα ἀπὸ τριχῶν καμήλου*, that is, as the vulgar translation, that of Beza, that of Sixtus Quintus, and Clement the Eighth, hath rendered it, *vestimentum habebat è pilis camelinis;* which is, as ours translateth it, a garment of camel's hair; that is, made of some texture of that hair, a coarse garment, a cilicious or sackcloth habit, suitable to the austerity of his life,—the severity of his doctrine, repentance,—and the place thereof, the wilderness,—his food and diet, locusts and wild honey.[8] Agreeable unto the example of Elias,* who is said to be *vir pilosus*, that is, as Tremellius interprets, *Veste villosâ cinctus*, answerable unto the habit of the ancient prophets, according to that of Zachary: "In that day the prophets shall be ashamed, neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive;"† and suitable to the cilicious and hairy vests of the strictest orders of friars, who derive the institution of their monastic life from the example of John and Elias.

As for the wearing of skins, where that is properly intended, the expression of the Scripture is plain; so is it said, Heb. xi., they wandered about *ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασιν*, that is, in goat's skins; and so it is said of our first parents, Gen. iii., That God made them *χιτῶνας δερματίνους*, *vestes pelliceas*, or coats of skins;" which though a natural habit unto all, before the invention of texture, was something more unto Adam, who had newly learned to die; for unto him a garment from the dead was but a dictate of death, and an habit of mortality.

* 2 Kings iii. 18. † Zach. xiii.

rities agree with our author in supposing John's garment to have been made of a coarse sort of camel's hair camblet, or stuff: and Harmer has given several instances of such an article being worn.

[8] *his food, &c.*] See book vii. ch. ix.

Now if any man will say this habit of John was neither of camel's skin, nor any coarse texture of its hair, but rather some finer weave of camelot, grograin, or the like, inasmuch as these stuffs are supposed to be made of the hair of that animal, or because that Ælian affirmeth that camel's hair of Persia is as fine as Milesian wool, wherewith the great ones of that place were clothed; they have discovered an habit not only unsuitable unto his leathern cincture, and the coarseness of his life, but not consistent with the words of our Saviour, when reasoning with the people concerning John, he saith, "What went you out into the wilderness to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft raiment, are in king's houses."

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Picture of St. Christopher.

THE picture of St. Christopher, that is, a man of a giant-like stature, bearing upon his shoulders our Saviour Christ, and with a staff in his hand, wading through the water, is known unto children, common over all Europe, not only as a sign unto houses, but is described in many churches,[9] and stands Colossus-like in the entrance of *Notre Dame* in Paris.[1]

Now from hence common eyes conceive an history suitable unto this description, that he carried our Saviour in his minority over some river of water; which notwithstanding we cannot at all make out. For we read not thus much in any good author, nor of any remarkable Christopher, before the reign of Decius, who lived two hundred and fifty years after Christ. This man indeed, according unto history, suffered as a martyr in the second year of that emperor, and in the Roman calendar takes up the 21st of July.

[9] *is known unto children, &c.*] This gigantic saint is not so general an acquaintance in our nurseries, &c. as he seems to have been in days of yore. An amusing account of one of the ecclesiastical figures of him, just as here described, may be found in the *Gent.'s Mag.* for Oct. 1803.

[1] *Notre Dame.*] Also in the cathedral of Christ's Church, Canterbury.—*Jeff.*

The ground that begat or promoted this opinion, was first the fabulous adjections of succeeding ages unto the veritable acts of this martyr, who in the most probable accounts was remarkable for his staff, and a man of a goodly stature.

The second might be a mistake or misapprehension of the picture, most men conceiving that an history, which was contrived at first but as an emblem or symbolical fancy; as from the annotations of Baronius upon the Roman martyrology, Lipellous,* in the life of St. Christopher, hath observed in these words: *Acta S. Christopheri à multis depravata inveniuntur: quod quidem non aliunde originem sumpsisse certum est, quàm quòd symbolicas figuras imperiti ad veritatem successu temporis transtulerint: itaque cuncta illa de Sancto Christophero pingi consueta, symbola potiùs quàm historiæ alicujus existimandum est esse expressam imaginem;* that is, "the acts of St. Christopher are depraved by many: which surely began from no other ground than that in process of time unskilful men translated symbolical figures unto real verities: and therefore what is usually described in the picture of St. Christopher, is rather to be received as an emblem, or symbolical description, than any real history." Now what emblem this was, or what its signification, conjectures are many; Pierius hath set down one, that is, of the disciple of Christ; for he that will carry Christ upon his shoulders, must rely upon the staff of his direction, whereon if he firmeth himself he may be able to overcome the billows of resistance, and in the virtue of this staff, like that of Jacob, pass over the waters of Jordan. Or otherwise thus: he that will submit his shoulders unto Christ, shall by the concurrence of his power increase into the strength of a giant; and being supported by the staff of his Holy Spirit, shall not be overwhelmed by the waves of the world, but wade through all resistance.

Add also the mystical reasons of this portrait alleged by Vida and Xerisanus; and the recorded story of Christopher, that before his martyrdom he requested of God, that wherever his body were, the places should be freed from pestilence and mischiefs, from infection. And therefore his picture or portrait was usually placed in public ways, and at

* *Lip. De Vitis Sanctorum.*

the entrance of towns and churches, according to the recei distich:[2] *

Christophorum videas, postea tutus eris.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Picture of St. George.

THE picture of St. George killing the dragon, and as m ancient draughts do run, with the daughter of a king stan ing by, is famous amongst Christians. And upon this c scription dependeth a solemn story, how by this achiev ment he redeemed a king's daughter: which is mo especially believed by the English, whose protector he i and in which form and history, according to his descriptic in the English college at Rome, he is set forth in the ico or cuts of martyrs by Cevalerius, and all this according the Historia Lombardica, or golden legend of Jacobus c Voragine.[3] Now of what authority soever this piece b amongst us, it is I perceive received with different beliefs for some believe the person and the story; some the perso but not the story; and others deny both.[4]

* *Anton. Castellionæ Antiquitates Mediolanenses.*

[2] *Add also the mystical, &c.*] First added in 3rd edition.

[3] *and all this, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[4] *some believe the person, &c.*] Dr. Pettingal published a dissertatio to prove both the person and the story to be fabulous, and the device o the order to be merely emblematical: and Dr. Byron wrote an essay (i verse) to prove that St. Gregory the Great, and not St. George, was th guardian saint of England. Against these two, and other writers o the same side, Dr. S. Pegge drew up a paper which appeared in the 5th vol. of the *Archæologia:* vindicating the honor of the patron saint o these realms, and *of that society;* asserting that he was a Christian saint and martyr—George of Cappadocia; and distinct from the Arian bishop George of Alexandria, with whom Dr. Reynolds had identified him. In this paper Dr. Pegge has not mentioned the present chapter, which in all probability only attracted his notice some years after.—In his (posthumous work called) *Anonymiana,* No. 54, he says, that "the substance of Pettingal's dissertation on the original of the equestrian figure of St. George (which the learned author supposes to be all emblematical) and of the Garter, may be found in *Browne's Vulgar Errors.*"

Browne, however, it must be observed, is of the same opinion as Dr.

That such a person there was, we shall not contend: for besides others, Dr. Heylin hath clearly asserted it in his *History of St. George*. The indistinction of many in the community of name, or the misapplication of the acts of one unto another, hath made some doubt thereof. For of this name we meet with more than one in history, and no less than two conceived of Cappadocia. The one an Arian, who was slain by the Alexandrians in the time of Julian; the other a valiant soldier and Christian martyr, beheaded in the reign of Dioclesian. This is the George conceived in this picture, who hath his day in the Roman calendar, on whom so many fables are delivered, whose story is set forth by Metaphrastes, and his miracles by Turonensis.

As for the story depending hereon, some conceive as lightly thereof, as of that of Perseus and Andromeda, conjecturing the one to be the father of the other; and some too highly assert it. Others with better moderation, do either entertain the same as a fabulous addition unto the true and authentic story of St. George,[5] or else, we conceive the literal acception to be a misconstruction of the symbolical expression; apprehending a veritable history, in an emblem or piece of Christian poesy. And this emblematical construction hath been received by men not forward to extenuate

Pegge as to the reality of St. George, his identity with George of Cappadocia, and his distinctness from the Arian bishop. All these parties are agreed in declining assent to the dragon part of the story.

It is very probable that Sir Thomas was led partly by his residence at Norwich, to investigate the story of St. George, who is a personage of no small importance there. Pegge mentions the guild of St. George in that city (in his paper in the Archæologia), but he was probably not aware that there has been from time immemorial, on ["Lord] Mayor's Day" at Norwich, an annual pageant, the sole remnant of St. George's guild, in which an immense dragon, horrible to view, with hydra head, and gaping jaws and wings, and scales bedecked in gold and green, is carried about by a luckless wight, whose task it is, the live-long-day, by string and pulley from within, to ope and shut the monster's jaws, by way of levying contributions on the gaping multitude, especially of *youthful* gazers, with whom it is matter of half terror, half joy, to pop a half-penny into the opened mouth of SNAP (so is he called), whose bow of thanks, with long and forked tail high waved in air, acknowledges the gift. Throughout the rest of the year, fell *Snap* lives on the forage of that memorable day: quietly reposing in the hall of his conqueror's sainted brother, St. Andrew, where the civic feast is held.

[5] *some conceive, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

the acts of saints: as, from Baronius, Lipellous the Carthusian hath delivered in the life of St. George; *Picturam illam St. Georgii quâ effingitur eques armatus, qui hastæ cuspide hostem interficit, juxta quem etiam virgo posita manus supplices tendens ejus explorat auxilium, symboli potiùs quàm historiæ alicujus censenda expressa imago. Consuevit quidem ut equestris militiæ miles equestri imagine referri.* That is, the picture of St. George, wherein he is described like a cuirassier or horseman completely armed, &c. is rather a symbolical image, than any proper figure.[6]

Now in the picture of this saint and soldier, might be implied the Christian soldier, and true champion of Christ: A horseman armed *cap à pié*, intimating the *panoplia* or complete armour of a Christian combating with the dragon, that is, with the devil, in defence of the king's daughter, that is, the Church of God.[7] And therefore although the history be not made out, it doth not disparage the knights and noble order of St. George: whose cognisance is honourable in the emblem of the soldier of Christ, and is a worthy memorial to conform unto its mystery. Nor, were there no such person at all, had they more reason to be ashamed, than the noble order of Burgundy, and knights of the golden fleece; whose badge is a confessed fable.[8]

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Picture of Jerome.

THE picture of Jerome usually described at his study, with a clock hanging by, is not to be omitted; for though the meaning be allowable, and probable it is that industrious father did not let slip his time without account, yet must not

[6] *the picture, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[7] *Church of God.*] Or rather the soule, for soe in the picture and story shee is called [*psyche*] that is the soul of man, which in a specificall sense is endeed every Christian soule, and comprehensively may signifye, the Church of God.—*Wr.*

[8] *fable.*] Borowed from that old storye of the Argo-nauts, or Argo-knights, as wee may call them, though the golden fleece be a meer romance.—*Wr.*

perhaps that clock he set down to have been his measure thereof. For clocks[9] or automatous organs, whereby we now distinguish of time, have found no mention in any ancient writers, but are of late invention, as Pancirollus observeth. And Polydore Virgil, discoursing of new inventions whereof the authors are not known, makes instance in clocks and guns. Now Jerome is no late writer, but one of the ancient fathers, and lived in the fourth century, in the reign of Theodosius the first.

It is not to be denied that before the days of Jerome there were horologies, and several accounts of time; for they measured the hours not only by drops of water in glasses called *clepsydræ*, but also by sand in glasses called *clepsammia*. There were also from great antiquity, scioterical or sun-dials, by the shadow of a stile or *gnomon* denoting the hours of the day; an invention ascribed unto Anaximenes by Pliny. Hereof a memorable one there was in Campus Martius, from an obelisk erected, and golden figures placed horizontally about it; which was brought out of Egypt by Augustus, and described by Jacobus Laurus.* And another of great antiquity we meet with in the story of Ezechias; for so it is delivered in 2 Kings, xx.: "That the Lord brought the shadow backward ten degrees by which it had gone down in the dial of Ahaz." That is, say some, ten degrees, not lines; for the hours were denoted by certain divisions or steps in the dial, which others distinguished by lines, according to that of Persius,—

> Stertimus indomitum quod despumare Falernum
> Sufficiat, quintâ dum linea tangitur umbra.

That is, the line next the meridian, or within an hour of noon.

* A peculiar description and particular construction hereof out of R. Chomer, is set down, *Curios. de Caffarel.* chap. ix.

[9] *clocks.*] The ancient pictures of St. Hierom were naked, on his knees, in a cave, with an hour-glasse and a scull by him, intimating his indefatigable continuance in prayers and studye while hee lived in the cave at Bethleem. But the later painters at Rome, bycause hee had been senator and of a noble familye, picture him in the habit of the cardinals, leaning on his arm at a desk in study with a clock hanging by him, and his finger on a scull: and this they take to bee a more proper symbol of the cardinal eminencye.—*Wr.*

Of later years there succeeded new inventions, and horologies composed by trochilick or the artifice of wheels; whereof some are kept in motion by weight, others perform without it. Now as one age instructs another, and time, that brings all things to ruin, perfects also every thing; so are these indeed of more general and ready use than any that went before them. By the water-glasses the account was not regular; for from attenuation and condensation, whereby that element is altered, the hours were shorter in hot weather than in cold, and in summer than in winter. As for scioterical dials, whether of the sun or moon, they are only of use in the actual radiation of those luminaries, and are of little advantage unto those inhabitants, which for many months enjoy not the lustre of the sun.

It is, I confess, no easy wonder how the horometry of antiquity discovered not this artifice, how Architas, that contrived the moving dove, or rather the helicosophy of Archimides, fell not upon this way. Surely as in many things, so in this particular, the present age hath far surpassed antiquity; whose ingenuity hath been so bold not only to proceed below the account of minutes, but to attempt perpetual motions;[1] and engines whose revolutions (could their substance answer the design) might out-last the exemplary mobility, and out-measure time itself. For such a one is that mentioned by John Dee, whose words are these, in his learned preface unto Euclid: "By wheels, strange works and incredible are done: a wondrous example was seen in my time in a certain instrument, which, by the inventor and artificer was sold for twenty talents of gold; and then by chance had received some injury, and one Janellus of Cremona did mend the same, and presented it unto the emperor Charles the Fifth. Jeronymous Cardanus can be my witness, that therein was one wheel that moved at such a rate, that in seven thousand years only his own period should be finished; a thing almost incredible, but how far I keep within my bounds many men yet alive can tell."

[1] *perpetual motions.*] John Romilly, a celebrated watchmaker, born at Geneva, wrote a letter on the impossibility of perpetual motion.—*Jeff.*

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Pictures of Mermaids, Unicorns, and some others.

FEW eyes have escaped the pictures of mermaids;[2] that is, according to Horace's monster, with a woman's head

[2] *mermaids.*] The existence of mermaids has been so generally ridiculed, and high authorities have so repeatedly denounced as forgeries, delusions, or travellers' wonders, the detailed narratives and exhibited specimens of these sea-nymphs, that it must be a Quixotic venture to say a word in their defence. Yet am I not disposed to give up their cause as altogether hopeless. I cannot admit the probability of a belief in them having existed from such remote antiquity, and spread so widely, without *some foundation* in truth. Nor can I consent to reject *en masse* such a host of delightfully pleasant stories as I find recorded of these *daughters of the sea* (as Illiger call the Dugongs), merely because it is the fashion to decry them. I must be allowed, then, to hold my opinion in abeyance for further evidence. Unconvinced even by Sir Humphry Davy's grave arguments to prove that such things cannot be, and undismayed by his asserted detection of the apes and salmon in poor Dr. Philip's "undoubted original," I persist in expecting one day to have the pleasure of beholding—A MERMAID!

But what is a mermaid? Aye, there is the very *gist* of the question. Cicero little dreamt of his classical rule being degraded by application to such a discussion as the present; but I shall nevertheless endeavour to avail myself of his maxim;—*Omnis disputatio debet a definitione proficisci.* What is a mermaid? Not the fair lady of the ocean, admiring herself in a hand-mirror, and bewitching the listener by her song;—not the *triton*, dwelling in the ocean-cave, and sounding his conch-like cornet or trumpet;—not the *bishop-frocked* creature of Rondeletius; nor Aldrovandus' *mer-devil*, with his horns and face of fury; nor the howling and tempest-stirring *monsters* of Olaus Magnus—not, in short, the creature of poetry or fiction: but a most supposable, and probably often seen, though hitherto undescribed, species of the *herbivorous cetacea* (the seals and lamantins), more approaching, in several respects, the human configuration, than any species we know.

Let us hear and examine Sir Humphry's arguments against the probability of such a discovery. He says, that "a *human* head, *human* hands, and *human* mammæ, are wholly inconsistent with a *fish's* tail." In one sense this is undeniable;—viz.—since *homo sapiens* is (begging Lord Monboddo's pardon) an *incaudate* animal,—it follows that the *head, hands,* and *mammæ* of any creature furnished also with a tail, could not be *human:* and so, conversely, the tail of such a creature could not be a *fish's* tail. But this is a truism, only to be paralleled by the exclamation attributed by Peter Pindar to Sir Joseph Banks, when he had boiled the fleas and found they did not turn red,—"*Fleas* are not *lobsters!* &c." Davy's was not a nominal objection, a mere play upon

above, and fishy extremity below; and these are conceived to answer the shape of the ancient sirens that attempted

words: he goes on to say, "the human head is adapted for an erect posture, and in such a posture an animal with a fish's tail could not swim." The head of *our mermaid,* however, may more strongly *resemble* the human head, than any described animal of its tribe, and yet preserve at the same time the power which they all have, of raising the head perpendicularly out of the water while swimming, as Sir Humphry himself probably did, when he was mistaken by the fair ladies of Caithness for a mermaid! Cuvier remarks, moreover, that the tails of these herbivorous cetacea differ from those of fish in their greater adaptation to maintain an erect posture. Sir Humphry proceeds—"A creature with lungs must be on the surface several times in a day; and the sea is an inconvenient breathing place!" I must take the liberty of confronting this most singular observation with a much greater authority. Cuvier says (and surely Sir Humphry must have for the moment forgotten), that the *cetacea,* though constantly residing in the sea, "as they respire by lungs, are obliged to rise frequently to the surface to take in fresh supplies of air." What is to be said of a naturalist who argues against the possibility of any creature provided with lungs residing in the sea, in the face of so important an example of the fact as we have in the entire class of cetacea? What would Cuvier, with all his readiness to do homage to genius in any man, and especially in so splendid an instance as Davy, what must he have thought, had he read his preceding remarks? *Magnus aliquando dormitat Homerus!*

It is the more remarkable, as Sir Humphry actually mentions some species of this very tribe as having probably given rise to some of the stories about mermaids. And as to *mammæ* and *hands,* to which he also objects if in company with the fish's tail, we must here again have recourse to the protection of Cuvier against our mighty assailant. "The first family" (herbivorous cetacea), says Cuvier, "frequently emerge from the water to seek for pasture on the shore. They have two mammæ on the breast, and hairs like mustachios, two circumstances which, when they raise the anterior part of the body above water, give them some resemblance to men and women, and have probably occasioned those fables of the ancients concerning Tritons and Syrens. Vestiges of claws may be discovered on the edges of their fins, which they use with dexterity in creeping, and carrying their little ones. This has given rise to a comparison of these organs with hands, and hence these animals have been called manatis" (or *lamantins*).

Thus I have sketched the sort of creature which may be supposed to exist: nor can I deem it unreasonable to expect such a discovery, though Davy, after saying, "It doubtless might please God to make a mermaid; but I do not believe God ever did make one:"—somewhat arrogantly pronounces that "such an animal, if created, could not long exist, and, with scarce any locomotive powers, would be the prey of other fishes formed in a manner more suited to their element."

It is singular that a writer in the *Enc. Metropolitana* should have con-

upon Ulysses. Which notwithstanding were of another description, containing no fishy composure, but made up of man and bird: the human mediety variously placed not only above, but below, according unto Ælian, Suidas, Servius, Boccatius, and Aldrovandus, who hath referred their description unto the story of fabulous birds; according to the description of Ovid, and the account thereof in Hyginus, that they were the daughters of Melpomene, and metamorphosed into the shape of man and bird by Ceres.

And therefore these pieces, so common among us, do rather derive their original, or are indeed the very descriptions of Dagon, which was made with human figure above, and fishy shape below: whose stump, or, as Tremellius and our margin render it, whose fishy part only remained, when the hands and upper part fell before the ark. Of the shape of Artergates, or Derceto, with the Phœnicians, in whose

cluded a long and amusing article with the marginal note, "mermaids impossible animals;" supported solely by the very extraordinary arguments of Sir Humphry.

Those who are desirous of seeing an enumeration of all the supposed mermaids and monsters, which have at various times amused the public, may refer to the article just quoted, and to a miscellaneous volume, entitled the *Working Bee,* published by Fisher and Co., Newgate-street, in which is an *Historical Memoir of Syrens or Mermaids.*

In explanation of one or two allusions in my preceding remarks, I may just mention that in the *Evangelical Magazine,* for Sept. 1822, is inserted part of a letter from the Rev. Dr. Philip, dated Cape Town, April 20th, 1822. The Dr. says, he had just seen a mermaid, then exhibiting in that town. The head is about the size of a baboon's, thinly covered with black hair; a few hairs on the upper lip. The forehead low, but with better proportioned and more like human features than any of the baboons. The ears, nose, lips, chin, breasts, fingers, and nails, resemble the human subject. Eight *incisores,* four *canine,* eight *molares.* The animal, though shrunk, is about three feet long; its resemblance to a man having ceased immediately under the *mammæ.* On the line of separation, and immediately under the breast, are two fins. Below, it resembles a salmon. It is covered with scales—but which on the upper part are scarcely perceptible: it was caught somewhere on the north of China by a fisherman, who sold it for a trifle. At Batavia it was bought by Capt. Eades, in whose possession it then was. This very specimen Davy pronounced to be composed of the head and bust from two apes, fastened to the tail of the kipper salmon,—*salmo salar.*

He also notices another instance of a supposed mermaid, seen off the coast of Caithness, which turned out to have been a gentleman bathing. He is asserted to have intended *himself.* See his *Salmonia.*

fishy and feminine mixture, as some conceive, were implied the moon and the sea, or the deity of the waters; and therefore, in their sacrifices, they made oblation of fishes. From whence were probably occasioned the pictures of Nereides and Tritons among the Grecians, and such as we read in Macrobius, to have been placed on the top of the temple of Saturn.

We are unwilling to question the royal supporters of England, that is, the approved descriptions of the lion and the unicorn. Although, if in the lion the position of the pizzle be proper, and that the natural situation, it will be hard to make out their retrocopulation, or their coupling and pissing backward, according to the determination of Aristotle; all that urine backward do copulate πυγηδὸν, *clunatim*, or aversely, as lions, hares, lynxes.

As for the unicorn, if it have the head of a deer and the tail of a boar, as Vertomannus describeth it, how agreeable it is to this picture every eye may discern. If it be made bisulcous or cloven-footed, it agreeth unto the description of Vertomannus, but scarce of any other; and Aristotle supposeth that such as divide the hoof, do also double the horn; they being both of the same nature, and admitting division together. And lastly, if the horn have this situation and be so forwardly affixed, as is described, it will not be easily conceived how it can feed from the ground; and therefore we observe that nature, in other cornigerous animals, hath placed the horns higher and reclining, as in bucks; in some inverted upwards, as in the rhinoceros, the Indian ass, and unicornous beetles; and thus have some affirmed it is seated in this animal.

We cannot but observe that in the picture of Jonah and others, whales are described with two prominent spouts on their heads; whereas indeed they have but one in the forehead, and terminating over the windpipe.[3] Nor can we overlook the picture of elephants with castles on their backs, made in the form of land castles, or stationary fortifications, and answerable unto the arms of Castile, or Sir John Old-

[3] *two prominent points, &c.*] The cetacea have all two spiracles, but on some they are considerably remote from each other, in others close together, and in some so near that they seem to unite in one and the same opening.

castle; whereas the towers they bore were made of wood, and girt unto their bodies, as is delivered in the books of Maccabees, and as they were appointed in the army of Antiochus.

We will not dispute the pictures of retiary spiders, and their position in the web, which is commonly made lateral, and regarding the horizon, although, if observed, we shall commonly find it downward, and their heads respecting the centre. We will not controvert the picture of the seven stars; although if thereby be meant the Pleiades, or sub-constellation upon the back of Taurus, with what congruity they are described, either in site or magnitude, in a clear night an ordinary eye may discover from July unto April. We will not question the tongues of adders and vipers, described like an anchor, nor the picture of the fleur-de-lis: though how far they agree unto their natural draughts, let every spectator determine.

Whether the cherubims about the ark be rightly described in the common picture,* that is, only in human heads, with two wings, or rather in the shape of angels or young men, or somewhat at least with feet, as the Scripture seems to imply. Whether the cross seen in the air by Constantine, were of that figure wherein we represent it, or rather made out of X and P, the two first letters of Χριστός. Whether the cross of Christ did answer the common figure; whether so far advanced above his head; whether the feet were so disposed, that is, one upon another, or separately nailed, as some with reason describe it, we shall not at all contend. Much less whether the house of Diogenes were a tub framed of wood, and after the manner of ours, or rather made of earth, as learned men conceive, and so more clearly make out that expression of Juvenal.† We should be too critical to question the letter Y, or bicornous element of Pythagoras, that is, the making of the horns equal;[7] or the left less than the right, and so destroying the symbolical intent of the

* 2 Chron. iii. 13. † —— Dolia magni non ardent Cynici, &c.

[7] *the letter Y, &c.*] An allusion to this letter, in Dr. Donne's sermon on "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," is mentioned by Dr. Vicesimus Knox in his 38th Winter Evening; with some excellent observations on the style of the old sermon writers. —*Jeff.*

figure; confounding the narrow line of virtue with the larger road of vice, answerable unto the narrow door of heaven, and the ample gates of hell, expressed by our Saviour, and not forgotten by Homer in that epithet of Pluto's house.[5]*

Many more there are whereof our pen shall take notice, nor shall we urge their enquiry; we shall not enlarge with what incongruity, and how dissenting from the pieces of antiquity, the pictures of their gods and goddesses are described, and how hereby their symbolical sense is lost; although herein it were not hard to be informed from Phornutus,† Fulgentius,‡ and Albricus.§ Whether Hercules be more properly described strangling than tearing the lion, as Victorius hath disputed; nor how the characters and figures of the signs and planets be now perverted, as Salmasius hath learnedly declared. We will dispense with bears with long tails, such as are described in the figures of heaven; we shall tolerate flying horses, black swans, hydras, centaurs, harpies, and satyrs, for these are monstrosities, rarities, or else poetical fancies,[6] whose shadowed moralities requite their substantial falsities. Wherein indeed we must not deny a liberty; nor is the hand of the painter more restrainable than the pen of the poet. But where the real works of nature, or veritable acts of story are to be described, digressions are abberrations; and art being but the imitator or secondary representor, it must not vary from the verity of the example, or describe things otherwise than they truly are, or have been. For hereby introducing false ideas of things, it perverts and deforms the face and symmetry of truth.

* Ἐυρυπυλής. † *Phornut. De Natura Deorum.*
‡ *Fulg. Mythologia.* § *Albric. De Deorum Imaginious.*

[5] *Whether the cherubims, &c.*] This paragraph first added in 2nd edition.

[6] *flying horses, &c.*] Modern discoveries have lessened this list. The *black swan,* though *rara avis,* is no longer a poetical fancy. There was a time when the camelopard was deemed imaginary.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Hieroglyphical Pictures of the Egyptians.

CERTAINLY of all men that suffered from the confusion of Babel, the Egyptians found the best evasion; for, though words were confounded, they invented a language[7] of things, and spake unto each other by common notions in nature. Whereby they discoursed in silence, and were intuitively understood from the theory of their expresses. For they assumed the shapes of animals common unto all eyes, and by their conjunctions and compositions[8] were able to communicate their conceptions unto any that coapprehended the syntaxes of their natures. This many conceive to have been the primitive way of writing, and of greater antiquity than letters; and this indeed might Adam well have spoken, who understanding the nature of things, had the advantage of natural expressions. Which the Egyptians but taking upon trust, upon their own or common opinion, from conceded mistakes they authentically promoted errors; describing in their hieroglyphicks creatures of their own invention, or from known and conceded animals, erecting significations not inferible from their natures.[9]

[7] *a language.*] A common language might possibly bee framed which all should understand under one character, in their own tongue, as well as all understand in astronomy the 12 signes, the 7 planets, and the several aspects; or in geometry, a triangle, a rhombe, a square, a parallelogram, a helix, a decussation, a cross, a circle, a sector, and such like very many: or the Saracenicall and algebraick characters in arithmetick, or the notes of weight among physitians and apothecaryes: or lastly, those marks of punctuations and qualityes among grammarians in Hebrew under, in Arabick above, the words. To let pass Paracelsus his particular marks, and the common practice of all trades. —*Wr.*

[8] *by their conjunctions, &c.*] More clearly, "by the conjunction and composition of those shapes of animals, &c."

[9] *Which the Egyptians, &c.*] How little, alas, do we know of the picture-writing of the Egyptians, even after all the profound researches of Young, Champollion, Klaproth, Akerblad, De Sacy, and others: and how little (we may perhaps add) can we hope ever to see effected. We are told by Clemens Alexandrinus (and subsequent researches have done little more than enable us to comprehend his meaning) that the Egyp-

And first, although there were more things in nature, than words which did express them, yet even in these mute and

tians used three modes of writing;—the *epistolographic* (called *demotic* by Herodotus and Diodorus, and *enchorial* in the Rosetta inscription), the *hieratic* (employed by the sacred scribes), and the *hieroglyphick*,—consisting of the *kuriologic* (subsequently termed *phonetic*) and the *symbolic*, of which there are several kinds;—one representing objects *properly*, another *metaphorically*, a third *enigmatically*. The great discovery made by Dr. T. Young, from the Rosetta inscription, was that *some* of the hieroglyphs were the *signs of sounds*, each hieroglyph signifying the first letter of the Egyptian name of the object represented. Supposing *all* their picture-writing to be symbolical, then it would be manifestly impossible to hope to read it. For example, we are *told* that the figure of a *bee* expressed the idea of *royalty*; but who could have *guessed* this? Supposing on the other hand that the hieroglyphs were *entirely phonetic* (which was not the case, nor can we possibly ascertain in what proportion they were so), supposing them also to be certain and determinate signs of sounds, one and the same sign always employed to represent one and the same sound;—supposing in short that "we could spell syllables and distinguish words with as much certainty and precision as if they had been written in any of the improved alphabets of the west, there would yet always remain one difficulty over which genius itself could not triumph; namely, to discover the signification of the words, when it is not known by tradition or otherwise:"—when the original language has long since utterly vanished;—and when the only instrument left wherewith we can labour (the Coptic) is but the mutilated and imperfect fragment of an extinct language, itself when living the remnant only of that elder form of speech which we are seeking to decypher; but of which, alas! through so imperfect a medium, but slight traces and lineaments can be here and there faintly reflected. The article, EGYPT, in the *Sup.* to *Ency. Brit.* and HIEROGLYPHICKS, in *Ency. Metrop.* together with articles in the 45th and 57th vols. of the *Edinburgh Review*, will give those disposed to go further into the subject a full and interesting view of all that has hitherto been effected in this most difficult, if not hopeless, field of labour.

But our author's special object in this chapter is to bring against the Egyptians the twofold charge; first, of "describing in their hieroglyphicks creatures of their own inventions;" and secondly, of "erecting, from known and conceded animals, significations not inferible from their natures." No charge, however, can be fairly entertained till it has been proved;—and it would be no easy matter to show that many of the monsters enumerated, were really Egyptian: ..... "Considering how absurdly and monstrously complicated the Egyptian superstitions really were, it becomes absolutely essential to separate that which is most fully established or most generally admitted, from the accidental or local varieties, which may have been exaggerated by different authors into established usages of the whole nation, and still more from those which have been the fanciful productions of their own inventive faculties."—*Dr. Young*, EGYPT, *Sup. Ency. Brit.* iv. 43.

silent discourses, to express complexed significations, they took a liberty to compound and piece together creatures of allowable forms into mixtures inexistent. Thus began the descriptions of griffins, basilisks, phœnix, and many more; which emblematists and heralds have entertained with significations answering their institutions; hieroglyphically adding martegres, wivernes, lion-fishes, with divers others. Pieces of good and allowable invention unto the prudent spectator, but are looked on by vulgar eyes as literal truths or absurd impossibilities; whereas indeed they are commendable inventions, and of laudable significations.

Again, beside these pieces fictitiously set down, and having no copy in nature, they had many unquestionably drawn, of inconsequent signification, nor naturally verifying their intention. We shall instance but in few, as they stand recorded by Orus. The male sex they expressed by a vulture,[1] because of vultures all are females, and impregnated by the wind; which authentically transmitted hath passed many pens, and became the assertion of Ælian, Ambrose, Basil, Isidore, Tzetzus, Philes, and others. Wherein notwithstanding what injury is offered unto the creation in this confinement of sex, and what disturbance unto philosophy in the concession of windy conceptions, we shall not here declare. By two drachms they thought it sufficient to signify an heart;[2] because the heart at one year weigheth two drachms, that is, a quarter of an ounce, and unto fifty years annually increaseth the weight of one drachm, after which in the same proportion it yearly decreaseth; so that the life of a man doth not naturally extend above an hundred. And this

The authors on whom Browne relies, especially Pierius, are by no means to be received without the caution expressed in the foregoing quotation.

[1] *The male sex, &c.*] See *Pierius Hieroglyphica*, fol. 1626, lxxiii. c. 1, 4. *Horapollo* (4to. *curâ Pauw*), No. 12.

[2] *By two drachms, &c.*] Pierius says that the Egyptians used the vulture to symbolize two drachms, or a heart; and he gives other reasons for the adoption of the symbol, though he deems that mentioned by Browne the most probable (Ibid. l. xxiii. c. 20). Horapollo says, they used the vulture to represent two drachms, because unity was expressed by two lines; and, unity being the beginning of numbers, most fitly doth its sign express a vulture, because, like unity, it is *singly* the author of its own increase. (Ibid. No. 12).

was not only a popular conceit, but consentaneous unto the physical principles, as Hernius hath accounted it.*

A woman that hath but one child, they express by a lioness; for that conceiveth but once.[3] Fecundity they set forth by a goat, because but seven days old it beginneth to use coition.[4] The abortion of a woman they describe by an horse kicking a wolf; because a mare will cast her foal if she tread in the track of that animal.[5] Deformity they signify by a bear;[6] and an unstable man by a hyæna,[7] because that animal yearly exchangeth its sex. A woman delivered of a female child they imply by a bull looking over his left shoulder;[8] because if in coition a bull part from a cow on that side, the calf will prove a female.[9]

All which, with many more, how far they consent with truth we shall not disparage our reader to dispute; and though some way allowable unto wiser conceits who could distinctly receive their significations, yet carrying the majesty of hieroglyphicks, and so transmitted by authors, they crept

* In his *Philosophia Barbarica.*

[3] *A woman, &c.*] *Pierius*, lib. i. c. 14, *Horapollo*, No. 82.

[4] *Fecundity, &c.*] *Pierius*, lib. x. c. 10, *Horapollo*, No. 48.

[5] *The abortion, &c.*] *Pierius*, lib. xi. c. 9, *Horapollo*, No. 45.

Whether the tracke of the wolfe will cause abortion in a mare is hard to bee knowne: but the mare does soe little feare the wolfe, that (as I have heard itt from the mouth of a gentleman, an eye-witness of what he related) as soone as shee perceaves the wolfe to lye in watch for her young foale, she will never cease hunting with open mouth till shee drive him quite away: the wolfe avoyding the gripe of her teeth, as much as the stroke of her heeles: and to make up the probability hereof, itt is certaine that a generous horse will fasten on a dog with his teeth, as fell out anno 1653, in October, at Bletchinden (Oxon), a colt being bated by a mastive (that was set on by his master to drive him out of a pasture) tooke up the dog in his teeth by the back, and rann away with him, and at last flinging him over his head lefte the dog soe bruised with the gripe and the fall, that hee lay half dead; but the generous colte leapt over the next hedge, and ran home to his own pasture unhurt.—*Wr.*

[6] *Deformity, &c.*] *Pierius*, l. xi. c. 42. *Horapollo*, No. 83, says, "Hominem, qui initio quidem informis natus sit, sed postea formam acceperit, innuunt depicta ursa prægnante."

[7] *an unstable, &c.*] *Pierius*, l. xi. c. 24, *Horapollo*, No. 69.

[8] *A woman, &c.*] *Pierius*, l. iii. c. 6. *Horapollo*, who adds also the converse of the proposition, No. 43.

[9] *female.*] I have heard this avowed by auncient grave farmers.—*Wr.*

into a belief with many, and favourable doubt with most. And thus, I fear, it hath fared with the hieroglyphical symbols of Scripture; which, excellently intended in the species of things sacrificed, in the prohibited meats, in the dreams of Pharaoh, Joseph, and many other passages, are ofttimes racked beyond their symbolizations, and enlarged into constructions disparaging their true intentions.[1]

CHAPTER XXI.[2]

Of the Picture of Haman Hanged.

In common draughts, Haman is hanged by the neck upon an high gibbet, after the usual and now practised way of suspension: but whether this description truly answereth the original, learned pens consent not, and good grounds

[1] *intentions.*] Ross despatches the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th chapters in the following summary remarks:—

"In some subsequent chapters the doctor questions the pictures of St. Christopher carrying Christ over the river: of St. George on horseback, killing the dragon; of St. Jerom with a clock hanging by; of mermaids, unicorns, and some others; with some hieroglyphick pictures of the Egyptians. In this he doth *luctari cum larvis*, and with Æneas in the poet, *Irruit et frustra ferro diverberat umbras.* He wrestles with shadows; for he may as well question all the poetical fictions, all the sacred parables, all tropical speeches; also escutcheons, or coats of arms, signs hanging out at doors—where he will find blue boars, white lions, black swans, double-headed eagles, and such like, devised only for distinction. The like devices are in military ensigns. Felix, Prince of Salernum, had for his device a tortoise with wings, flying, with this motto, *amor addidit;* intimating, that love gives wings to the slowest spirits. Lewis of Anjou, King of Naples, gave for his device, a hand out of the clouds, holding a pair of scales, with this motto, *Æqua durant semper.* Henry the First, of Portugal, had a flying horse for his device. A thousand such conceits I could allege, which are symbolical, and therefore it were ridiculous to question them, if they were historical. As for the cherubims, I find four different opinions. 1. Some write they were angels in the form of birds. 2. Aben Ezra thinks the word cherub signifieth any shape or form. 3. Josephus will have them to be winged animals, but never seen by any. 4. The most received opinion is, that they had the shape of children; for *rub* in Hebrew, and *rabe* in Chaldee, signifieth a child; and *che*, as: so then, cherub signifieth as a child, and it is most likely they were painted in this form."

[2] *Chap.* xxi.] The whole chapter first added in 6th edition.

there are to doubt. For it is not easily made out that this was an ancient way of execution in the public punishment of malefactors among the Persians, but we often read of crucifixion in their stories. So we find that Orostes, a Persian governor, crucified Polycrates the Samian tyrant. And hereof we have an example in the life of Artaxerxes, King of Persia (whom some will have to be Ahasuerus in this story), that his mother, Parysatis, flayed and crucified her eunuch. The same also seems implied in the letters patent of King Cyrus: *Omnis qui hanc mutaverit jussionem, tollatur lignum de domo ejus, et erigatur, et configatur in eo.**

The same kind of punishment was in use among the Romans, Syrians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, and Grecians. For though we find in Homer that Ulysses in a fury hanged the strumpets of those who courted Penelope, yet it is not so easy to discover that this was the public practice or open course of justice among the Greeks.

And even that the Hebrews used this present way of hanging, by illaqueation or pendulous suffocation, in public justice and executions, the expressions and examples in Scripture conclude not, beyond good doubt.

That the King of Hai was hanged, or destroyed by the common way of suspension, is not conceded by the learned Masius in his comment upon that text; who conceiveth thereby rather some kind of crucifixion, at least some patibulary affixion after he was slain, and so represented unto the people until toward the evening.

Though we read in our translation that Pharaoh hanged the chief baker, yet learned expositors understand hereby some kind of crucifixion, according to the mode of Egypt, whereby he exemplarily hanged out till the fowls of the air fed on his head or face, the first part of their prey being the eyes. And perhaps according to the signal draught hereof in a very old manuscript of Genesis, now kept in the Emperor's library at Vienna, and accordingly set down by the learned Petrus Lambecius, in the second tome of the description of that library.

When the Gibeonites hanged the bodies of those of the

* In Ezra vi.

house of Saul, thereby was intended some kind of crucifying,[3] according unto good expositors, and the vulgar translation; *crucifixerunt eos in monte coram domino*. Nor only these, mentioned in Holy Scripture, but divers in human authors, said to have suffered by way of suspension or crucifixion might not perish by immediate crucifixion;[4] but however otherwise destroyed, their bodies might be afterward appended or fastened unto some elevated engine, as exemplary objects unto the eyes of the people. So sometimes we read of the crucifixion of only some part, as of the heads of Julianus and Albinus, though their bodies were cast away.[5] Besides, all crosses or engines of crucifixion were not of the ordinary figure, nor compounded of transverse pieces, which make out the name, but some were simple, and made of one *arrectarium* serving for affixion or infixion, either fastening or piercing through; and some kind of crucifixion is the setting of heads upon poles.

That legal text which seems to countenance the common way of hanging, if a man hath committed a sin worthy of death, and they hang him on a tree,* is not so received by Christian and Jewish expositors. And, as a good annotator of ours† delivereth, out of Maimonides: the Hebrews understand not this of putting him to death by hanging, but of hanging a man after he was stoned to death, and the manner is thus described; after he is stoned to death they fasten a piece of timber in the earth, and out of it there cometh a piece of wood, and then they tie both his hands one to another, and hang him unto the setting of the sun.

* Deut. xxi. † Ainsworth.

[3] *the Gibeonites, &c.*] The Jews, as is just afterwards remarked, inflicted the infamy (rather than punishment) of hanging *after* death. And so might these Gibeonites. But they were not Israelites, as Rev. T. H. Horne has observed, but Canaanites, and probably retained their own laws. See his section on the punishments mentioned in Scripture; *Introduction, &c.* part ii. ch. iii. § iv.

[4] *Nor only, &c.*] This sentence is inserted, in MS. SLOAN. 1827, instead of the following: "Many, both in Scripture and human writers, might be said to be crucified, though they did not perish immediately by crucifixion."

[5] *cast away.*] The succeeding sentence was added from MS. SLOAN. 1827.

Beside, the original word, *hakany*, determineth not the doubt. For that by lexicographers or dictionary interpreters, is rendered suspension and crucifixion, there being no Hebrew word peculiarly and fully expressing the proper word of crucifixion, as it was used by the Romans; nor easy to prove it the custom of the Jewish nation to nail them by distinct parts unto a cross, after the manner of our Saviour crucified; wherein it was a special favour indulged unto Joseph to take down the body.

Lipsius lets fall a good caution to take off doubts about suspension delivered by ancient authors, and also the ambiguous sense of κρεμάσαι among the Greeks. *Tale apud Latinos ipsum suspendere, quod in crucem referendum moneo juventutem;* as that also may be understood of Seneca, *Latrocinium fecit aliquis, quid ergo meruit? ut suspendatur.* And this way of crucifying he conceiveth to have been in general use among the Romans, until the latter days of Constantine, who in reverence unto our Saviour abrogated that opprobrious and infamous way of crucifixion. Whereupon succeeded the common and now practised way of suspension.

But long before this abrogation of the cross, the Jewish nation had known the true sense of crucifixion: whereof no nation had a sharper apprehension, while Adrian crucified five hundred of them every day, until wood was wanting for that service. So that they which had nothing but 'crucify' in their mouths, were therewith paid home in their own bodies; early suffering the reward of their imprecations, and properly in the same kind.

CHAPTER XXII.[6]

Of the Picture of God the Father; of the Sun, Moon, and Winds, with others.

THE picture of the Creator, or God the Father, in the shape

[6] *Chap.* xxii.] The first and second subjects of this chapter were Nos. 14 and 15, of chapter xxii. in editions 1672 and 1686. There they were obviously out of their place, occurring in the midst of a very different class of observations. I have therefore removed them: and having found (in No. 1827 of the Sloanian MSS. in the British Museum) some

of an old man, is a dangerous piece,[7] and in this fecundity of sects may revive the *anthropomorphites*.* Which although maintained from the expression of Daniel, "I beheld where the ancient of days did sit, whose hair of his head was like the pure wool;" yet may it be also derivative from the hieroglyphical description of the Egyptians; who to express their eneph or Creator of the world, described an old man in a blue mantle, with an egg in his mouth, which was the emblem of the world. Surely those heathens, that notwithstanding the exemplary advantage in heaven, would endure no pictures of sun or moon, as being visible unto all the world, and needing no representation, do evidently accuse the practice of those pencils that will describe invisibles. And he that challenged the boldest hand unto the picture of an echo, must laugh at this attempt, not only in the description of invisibility, but circumscription of ubiquity, and fetching under lines incomprehensible circularity.

The pictures of the Egyptians were more tolerable, and in their sacred letters more veniably expressed the apprehension of divinity. For though they implied the same by an eye upon a sceptre, by an eagle's head, a crocodile and the like, yet did these manual descriptions pretend no corporal representations, nor could the people misconceive the same unto real correspondencies. So, though the cherub carried some apprehension of divinity, yet was it not conceived to be the shape thereof; and so perhaps, because it is metaphorically predicated of God that he is a consuming fire, he may be harmlessly described by a flaming representation.

* Certain hereticks who ascribed human figure unto God, after which they conceived he created man in his likeness.

additional instances of mistakes in "pictural draughts," I have formed the two transplanted numbers, together with the hitherto unpublished matter, into a new chapter.

[7] *piece.*] This is a very just and worthy censure, and well followed with scorne in the close of this paragraph. St. Paul saw things in a vision which himself could not utter: and therefore they are verye bold with God, who dare to picture him in any shape visible to the eye of mortality, which Daniel himself behelde not, but in a rapture and an extatical vision: unlesse they can answere that staggering question, "To what will you liken me?"—*Wr.*

St. Augustine censures this impropriety; Ep. cxxii.

Yet if, as some will have it, all mediocrity of folly is foolish, and because an unrequitable evil may ensue, an indifferent convenience must be omitted, we shall not urge such representments; we could spare the Holy Lamb for the picture of our Saviour, and the dove or fiery tongues to represent the Holy Ghost.

2. The sun and moon are usually described with human faces; whether herein there be not a Pagan imitation, and those visages at first implied Apollo and Diana, we may make some doubt; and we find the statue of the sun was framed with rays about the head, which were the indeciduous and unshaven locks of Apollo. We should be too iconomical* to question the pictures of the winds, as commonly drawn in human heads, and with their cheeks distended; which notwithstanding we find condemned by Minutius, as answering poetical fancies, and the Gentile description of Æolus, Boreas, and the feigned deities of winds.

3.[8] In divers pieces, and that signal one of Testa,[9] describing Hector dragged by Achilles about the walls of Troy, we find him drawn by cords or fastenings about both his ancles; which notwithstanding is not strictly answerable unto the account of Homer, concerning this act upon Hector, but rather applicable unto that of Hippothous drawing away the body of Patroclus, according to the expression of Homer:

> Hippothous pede trahebat in forti pugna per acrem pugnam.
> Ligatum loro ad malleolum circa tendines.—*Hom. Il.* xvii. 289.

---

* Or quarrelsome with pictures. Dion. Ep. 7, a, *ad Policar. et Pet. Hall. not. in vit. S. Dionys.*

[8] § 3.] The rest of this chapter is now first printed;—from MS. SLOAN. 1827, 3;—where it is thus prefaced:—"Though some things we have elsewhere delivered of the impropriety, falsity, or mistakes, in pictural draughts, yet to awaken your curiosity, these may be also considered. —In divers pieces, &c."

[9] *Testa.*] Pietro Testa, a painter of Lucca and Rome, drowned 1632, in the Tyber, endeavouring to save his hat, which had been blown off by a gust of wind.—*Gr.*

For that act performed by Achilles upon Hector is more particularly described:

> Amborum retro pedum perforavit tendines
> Ad talum usque a calce, bubulaque immexuit lora
> De curruque ligavit; caput vero trahi sivit.—*Hom. Il.* xxii. 396.

So that he bound not these ties about his feet, but made a perforation behind them, through which he ran the thongs, and so dragged him after his chariot: which was not hard to effect; the strength of those tendons being able to hold in that tracture; and is a common way practised by butchers, thus to hang their sheep and oxen.[1]

This, though an unworthy act, and so delivered by Homer, yet somewhat retaliated the intent of Hector himself towards the body of Patroclus, the intimate of Achilles; and stands excused by Didymus upon the custom of the Thessalians, to drag the body of the homicide unto the grave of their slain friends; and the example of Simon the Thessalian, who thus dealt with the body of Eurodamus, who had before slain his brother.

4. But, not to amuse you with pictures derived from Gentile histories, the draught of Potiphar's lady lying on a bed, and drawing Joseph unto her, seems additional unto the text, nor strictly justifiable from it; wherein it is only said, that, after some former temptation, when Joseph came home to despatch or order his affairs, and there was no man of the house then within, or with him, that she laid hold of his garment and said, "lye with me," without such apt preparations either of nakedness, or being in her bed, or the like opportunities, which pictures thereof have described.

5. The picture of Moses, praying between Hur and Aaron, seems to have miscarried in some draughts; while some omit the rod which he should hold up in his hand; and others describe him on his knees, with his hands supported by them: whereas it is plainly said in the text, that, when Moses was weary of standing, he sat down upon the rock. And therefore, for the whole process, and full representation, there must be more than one draught; the one representing him

[1] *oxen.*] In the royal library at Turin is a curious volume, containing the *Iliad*, illustrated by the monks. One of the illuminations represents the burial of Hector, and a train of Benedictines assisting in the funeral ceremony.

in station, the other in session, another in genuflexion. And though in this piece Aaron is allowed to be present on the hill at Rephidim, yet may he also challenge a place in the other piece of mount Sinai (wherein he is often omitted), according to the command of God unto Moses: "Thou shalt come up, thou *and Aaron with thee;* but let not the priests nor the people break through, to come up unto the Lord."

6. The picture of Jael nailing the head of Sisera unto the ground, seems questionable in some draughts; while Sisera is made to lie in a prone posture, and the nail driven into the upper part of the head; whereas it is plainly delivered that Jael struck the nail through his temples, and fastened him to the ground: and which was the most proper and penetrable part of the skull; such as a woman's hand might pierce, driving a large nail through, and longer than the breadth of a head, according to the description,—that she took no ordinary nail, but such as fastened her tent, and pierced his head, and the ground under it.

7. An improper spectacle at a feast, and very incongruous unto the birth-day of a prince, a time of pardon and relaxation, was the head of John the Baptist. More properly, in the noble picture thereof, the hand of Reuben hath left out the person of Herodias, who was not in the room, agreeably unto the delivery of St. Mark; that, after Herod had promised to grant her daughter whatever she would ask, she went out to enquire of her mother, Herodias, what she should demand. And that Salome, or her daughter, brought in the head of John unto Herod, as he was sitting at the table, though it well sets off the picture, is not expressed in the text; wherein it is only said that she brought it unto her mother.

8. That King Ahasuerus feasted apart from the queen, is confirmable from Scripture account. Whether the queen were present at the fatal feast of Belshazzar seems of greater doubt; forasmuch as it is said in the text, that, upon the fright and consternation of the king, when none of the Chaldeans could read the hand-writing on the wall, the queen came in, and recommended Daniel unto him. But if it be only meant and understood of the queen-mother, the draught may hold, and the *licentia pictoria* not culpable in that notable piece of Tintoret or Bassano describing the feast of

Belshazzar, wherein the queen is placed at the table with the king.

9. Though some hands have failed, yet the draught of St. Peter in the prison is properly designed by Rubens, sleeping between two soldiers, and a chain on each arm; and so illustrateth the text, that is, with two chains fastened unto his arms, and the one arm of each of the soldiers, according to the custom of those times, to fasten the prisoner unto his guard or keeper; and after which manner St. Paul is conceived to have had the liberty of going about Rome.

10. In the picture of our Saviour sleeping in the ship, while in many draughts he is placed not far from the middle, or in the prow of the vessel, it is a variation from the text, which distinctly saith "at the poop," which being the highest part, was freest from the billows. Again, in some pieces he is made sleeping with his head hanging down; in others, on his elbow; which amounteth not unto the textual expression, "upon a pillow," or some soft support, or at least (as some conceive that emphatical expression may imply) some part of the ship convenient to lean down the head. Besides, this picture might properly take in the concurrent account of the Scripture, and not describe a single ship, since the same delivereth that there went off other *naviculæ*, or small vessels with it.

11. Whilst the text delivereth that the tempter placed our Saviour (as we read it) upon the *pinnacle* of the temple, some draughts do place him upon the point of the highest turrets; which, notwithstanding, Josephus describeth to have been made so sharp that birds might not light upon them; and the word πτερύγιον signifying a *pinna*,[2] or some projecture of the building, it may probably be conceived to have been some plain place or jetty, from whence he might well cast himself down upon the ground, not falling upon any part of the temple; if there were no wing or prominent part of the building peculiarly called by that name.

12. That piece of the three children in the fiery furnace, in several draughts, doth not conform unto the historical

[2] *the word, &c.*] Unquestionably it could not have been any thing like a turret or pinnacle. Some commentators (Le Clerc) consider it a projecting portion of the building outside the parapet. Others (Rosenmüller) call it the flat roof of a portico.

accounts: while in some they are described naked and bare-headed; and in others with improper coverings on their heads. Whereas the contrary is delivered in the text, under all learned languages, and also by our own, with some expositions in the margin: not naked in their bodies, (according to their figure in the *Roma Sotterranea* of Bosio,[3] among the sepulchral figures in the monument of St. Priscilla), but having a loose habit, after the Persian mode, upon them, whereby it might be said that their garments did not so much as smell of the fire; nor bare on their heads, as described in the first chamber of the cemetery of Priscilla, but having on it a tiara, or cap, after the Persian fashion, made somewhat reclining or falling agreeable unto the third table of the fifth cemetery, and the mode of the Persian subjects; not a peaked, acuminated, and erected cap, proper unto their kings, as is set down in the medal of Antoninus, with the reverse, *Armenia*. A standard direction for this piece might probably be that ancient description set down in the calendar used by the Emperor Basilius Porphyrogenitus, and by Pope Paul the Fifth, given unto the Vatican, where it is yet conserved.[4]

[3] *Roma, &c.*] *Jacques Bosio, Roma Sotterranea;* left imperfect by him, but published by his executor, Aldrovandini, fol. 1632; since translated into Latin, and reprinted several times, with additions.—*Gr.*

[4] Numerous additions might yet further be made to our author's collection of pictorial inaccuracies, if such were fairly within our province. It may be allowed to us, at least, to give one or two references to such additions. John Interian de Avala, a Spanish monk, who died at Madrid, in 1770, published a work on the errors of painters in representing religious subjects; it is entitled *Pictor Christianus Eruditus*, fol. 1720.

In the European Magazine, for 1786, vol. ix. p. 241, is noticed a very curious work (little known), by M. Phil. Rohr, entitled *Pictor Errans*, which was abridged by Mr. W. Bowyer. Mr. Singer, in his *Anecdotes of Spence*, and Mr. D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, have given some very amusing collectanea of the kind. In the Monthly Magazine for 1812, are noticed several singular absurdities in costume; and undoubtedly many other such examples would reward a diligent forage through our numerous periodical publications:—but it is only requisite to compare the *Illustrations* which are constantly issuing from the hands of our artists, with the works they are intended to illustrate, in order to be frequently reminded of the proverbial conclusion of the whole matter;—"*it is even as pleaseth the painter.*"

CHAPTER XXIII.

Compendiously of many popular Customs, Opinions, &c. viz. of an Hare crossing the High-way; of the ominous appearing of Owls and Ravens; of the falling of Salt; of breaking the Egg-shell: of the True Lovers' Knot; of the Cheek Burning or Ear Tingling; of speaking under the Rose; of Smoke following the Fair; of Sitting cross-legged; of hair upon Moles; of the set time of pairing of Nails; of Lions' heads upon Spouts and Cisterns; of the saying, Ungirt, Unblest; of the Sun dancing on Easter-day; of the Silly-hour; of being Drunk once a Month; of the appearing of the Devil with a Cloven hoof.

If an hare cross the high-way,[5] there are few above threescore years that are not perplexed thereat; which notwithstanding is but an augurial terror, according to that received expression, *Inauspicatum dat iter oblatus lepus.* And the ground of the conceit was probably no greater than this, that a fearful animal passing by us, portended unto us something to be feared: as upon the like consideration, the meeting of a fox presaged some future imposture; which was a superstitious observation prohibited unto the Jews, as is expressed in the idolatry of Maimonides, and is referred unto the sin of an observer of fortunes, or one that abuseth events unto good or bad signs; forbidden by the law of Moses; which notwithstanding sometimes succeeding, according to fears or desires, have left impressions and timorous expectations in credulous minds for ever.

2. That owls and ravens[6] are ominous appearers, and pre-

[5] *hare.*] When a hare crosseth us, wee thinke itt ill lucke shee should see neerely escape us, and we had not a dog as neere to catch her.—*Wr.*

[6] *ravens.*] The raven, by his accute sense of smelling, discerns the savour of the dying bodyes at the tops of chimnies, and that makes them flutter about the windows, as they use to doe in the searche of a carcasse. Now bycause whereever they doe this, itt is an evident signe that the sick party seldome escapes deathe: thence ignorant people counte them ominous, as foreboding deathe, and in some kind as causing deathe, whereof they have a sense indeed, but are noe cause at all. Of owles there is not the same opinion, especially in country-men, who thinke as well of them in the barne as of the cat in the house: but in great cityes where they are not frequent, their shriking and horrid note in the night is offensive to women and children, and such as are weake or sicklye.—*Wr.*

On the owl, as an ominous bird, see *The Queen Bee*, ii. 22.—*Jeff.*

signifying unlucky events, as Christians yet conceit, was also an augurial conception. Because many ravens were seen when Alexander entered Babylon, they were thought to preominate his death; and because an owl appeared before the battle,[7] it presaged the ruin of Crassus. Which, though decrepit superstitions, and such as had their nativity in times beyond all history, are fresh in the observation of many heads, and by the credulous and feminine party still in some majesty among us. And therefore the emblem of superstition was well set out by Ripa,* in the picture of an owl, an hare, and an old woman. And it no way confirmeth the augurial consideration that an owl is a forbidden food in the law of Moses; or that Jerusalem was threatened by the raven and the owl, in that expression of Isa. xxxiv.; that it should be "a court for owls, that the cormorant and the bittern should possess it, and the owl and the raven dwell in it;" for thereby was only implied their ensuing desolation, as is expounded in the words succeeding; "He shall draw upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness."[8]

3. The falling of salt[9] is an authentic presagement of ill-luck, nor can every temper contemn it; from whence not-

* *Iconologia de Cæsare.*

[7] *the battle.*] With the Parthians near Charræ.

[8] *emptiness.*] It is rather singular that the *cuckoo* is not honoured with a place here. "Plinie writeth that if, when you first hear the cuckoo, you mark well where your right foot standeth, and take up of that earth, the *fleas* will by no means breed, either in your house or chamber, where any of the same earth is thrown or scattered!" *Hill's Natural and Artificial Conclusions*, 1650. In the North, and perhaps all over England, it is vulgarly accounted an unlucky omen, if you have no money in your pocket, when you hear the cuckoo for the first time in a season. *Queen Bee*, ii. 20.—*Jeff.*

It would perhaps be rather difficult to say under what circumstances most people would *not* consider such a state of pocket an "unlucky omen."

It is a still more common popular divination, for those who are unmarried to count the number of years yet allotted to them of single blessedness, by the number of the cuckoo's notes which they count when first they hear it in the spring.

[9] *salt.*] Where salt is deare, 'tis as ill caste on the ground as bread. And soe itt is in France, where they pay for every bushel 40s. to the king; and cannot have itt elsewhere: and soe when a glass is spilt 'tis ill lucke to loose a good cup of wine.—*Wr.*

withstanding nothing can be naturally feared; nor was the same a general prognostick of future evil among the ancients, but a particular omination concerning the breach of friendship. For salt,[1] as incorruptible, was the symbol of friendship, and, before the other service, was offered unto their guests; which, if it casually fell, was accounted ominous, and their amity of no duration. But whether salt[2] were not only a symbol of friendship with man, but also a figure of amity and reconciliation with God, and was therefore observed in sacrifices, is an higher speculation.[3]

4. To break the egg-shell after the meat is out, we are taught in our childhood, and practise it all our lives; which nevertheless is but a superstitious relique, according to the judgment of Pliny; *Huc pertinet ovorum, ut exsorbuerit quisque calices protinus frangi, aut eosdem cochlearibus perforari;* and the intent hereof was to prevent witchcraft;[4]

[1] *For salt, &c.*] The hospitality most liberally shown by Mr. Ackerman of the Strand, to the Cossack veteran, Alexander Zemlenuten, in 1815, was highly estimated by the stranger, who in describing his generous reception used the exclamation, "He gave me bread and SALT." This is mentioned in the 41st vol. of the *Monthly Magazine*—and illustrated by a sketch of the opinions and feelings of the ancients respecting this "incorruptible symbol of friendship."—Leonardo da Vinci, in his picture of the last supper, has represented Judas Iscariot as having overturned the salt.—*Jeff.*

Captain M'Leod, in his voyage of the Alceste, says that in an island near the straits of Gaspar, "salt was received with the same horror as arsenic."

[2] *But whether salt, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[3] *also a figure, &c.*] In the first vol. of *Blackwood's Magazine* will be found a paper on the *symbolical* uses of salt, p. 579. In the same volume also occur several papers on the use made formerly of the salt-cellar (which was often large, ornamented and valuable, and placed in the centre of the table) as a point of separation between guests of higher and lower degree.—*To drink below the salt* was a condescension; to attain a seat above it, an object of ambition.—*See Bishop Hall's Satires,* No. vi. b. 28.

Among the regalia used at the king's coronation, is the salt of state, to be placed in the centre of the dinner table, in the form of a castle with towers, richly embellished with various coloured stones, elegantly chased, and of silver, richly gilt. This, it is said, was presented to King Charles II. by the City of Exeter.—*Jeff.*

[4] *to prevent witchcraft.*] "To keep the fairies out," as they say in Cumberland.—*Jeff.*

for lest witches[5] should draw or prick their names herein, and veneficiously mischief their persons, they broke the shell, as Dalecampius hath observed.

5. The true lovers' knot[6] is very much magnified, and still retained in presents of love among us; which though in all points it doth not make out, had perhaps its original from the *nodus Herculanus*, or that which was called Hercules his knot, resembling the snaky complication in the *caduceus* or rod of Hermes; and in which form the zone or woollen girdle of the bride was fastened, as Turnebus observeth in his *Adversaria*.

6. When our cheek burneth or ear tingleth,[7] we usually say that somebody is talking of us, which is an ancient conceit, and ranked among superstitious opinions by Pliny; *Absentes tinnitu aurium præsentire sermones de se, receptum est;* according to that distich noted by Dalecampius;

> Garrula quid totis resonas mihi noctibus auris?
> Nescio quem dicis nunc meminisse mei.

Which is a conceit hardly to be made out without the concession of a signifying genius, or universal Mercury, conducting sounds unto their distant subjects, and teaching us to hear by touch.

7. When we desire to confine our words, we commonly say they are spoken under the rose;[8] which expression is

[5] *lest witches.*] Least they perchance might use them for boates (as they thought) to sayle in by night.—*Wr.*

[6] *lovers' knot.*] The true lovers' knot is magnified, for the moral signification not esily untyed; and for the naturall,—bycause itt is a knot both wayes, that is, two knots in one.—*Wr.*

[7] *tingleth.*] The singing of the eare is frequent upon the least cold seizing on the braine: but to make construction hereof, as yf itt were the silent humme of some absent friendly soule (especially falling most to bee observed in the night, when few friends are awake) is one of the dotages of the heathen.—*Wr.*

[8] *rose.*] Of those that commonlye use this proverb few, besides the learned, can give a reason why they use itt: itt is sufficient that all men knowe what wee meane by that old forme of speeche, thoughe (as of manye other such like) they know not the originall.—*Wr.*

Warburton (says Brand) commenting on that passage of Shakspeare in Henry VI.:—

"From off this briar pluck a white rose with me,"

supposes the present saying to have originated in the struggle between

commendable, if the rose from any natural property may be the symbol of silence, as Nazianzen seems to imply in these translated verses;

> Utque latet Rosa verna suo putamine clausa,
> Sic os vincla ferat, validisque arctetur habenis,
> Indicatque suis prolixa silentia labris:

And is also tolerable, if by desiring a secrecy to words spoken under the rose, we only mean in society and compotation, from the ancient custom in symposiack meetings, to wear chaplets of roses about their heads: and so we condemn not the German custom, which over the table describeth a rose in the ceiling. But more considerable it is, if the original were such as Lemnius and others have recorded, that the rose was the flower of Venus, which Cupid consecrated unto Harpocrates the God of silence, and was therefore an emblem thereof, to conceal the pranks of venery, as is declared in this tetrastich:

> Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quò facta laterent,
> Harpocrati matris, dona dicavit amor;
> Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis,
> Convivæ ut sub eâ dicta tacenda sciant.[9]

8. That smoke doth follow the fairest,[1] is an usual saying with us,[2] and in many parts of Europe; whereof although there seem no natural ground, yet is it the continuation of a very ancient opinion, as Petrus, Victorius, and Casaubon have observed from a passage in Athenæus; wherein a parasite thus describeth himself:

the two houses of York and Lancaster; in which secrecy must very often have been enjoined, on various occasions, and probably was so "under the rose."

In Pegge's *Anonymiana*, the symbol of silence is referred to the rose on a clergyman's hat, and derived from the silence which popish priests kept as to the confessions of their people.—*Jeff.*

[9] *sciant.*] The discourses of the table among true loving friendes require as stricte silence, as those of the bed between the married.—*Wr.*

[1] *fairest.*] The fairest and tenderest complexions are soonest offended with itt: and therefore when they complain, men use this suppling proverb.—*Wr.*

[2] *an usual saying with us.*] An observation of Brand (*Popular Antiquities*) seems to imply that he considered the saying to have become extinct since the days of Browne. This is by no means the case. It is still very common in Norfolk.

To every table first I come,
Whence porridge I am call'd by some:
A Capaneus at stairs I am,
To enter any room a ram;
Like whips and thongs to all I ply,
Like smoke unto the fair I fly.

9. To sit cross-legged,[3] or with our fingers pectinated or shut together, is accounted bad, and friends will persuade us from it. The same conceit religiously possessed the ancients as is observable from Pliny; *poplites alternis genibus imponere nefas olim:* and also from Athenæus, that it was an old veneficious practice, and Juno is made in this posture to hinder the delivery of Alcmæna. And therefore, as Pierius observeth, in the medal of Julia Pia, the right-hand of Venus was made extended with the inscription of Venus Genitrix; for the complication or pectination of the fingers was an hieroglyphick of impediment, as in that place he declareth.

10. The set and statary times of pairing of nails, and cutting of hair,[4] is thought by many a point of consideration; which is perhaps but the continuation of an ancient superstition. For piaculous[5] it was unto the Romans to pare their nails upon the Nundinæ, observed every ninth day; and was also feared by others in certain days of the week; according to that of Ausonius, *Ungues Mercurio, Barbam Jove, Cypride Crines;* and was one part of the wickedness that filled up the measure of Manasses, when 'tis delivered that he observed times.*

11. A common fashion is to nourish hair upon the moles of the face; which is the perpetuation of a very ancient

* 1 Chron. xxxv.

[3] *To sit cross-legged.*] There is more incivilitye in this forme of sitting, then malice or superstition; and may sooner move our spleen to a smile then a chafe.—*Wr.*

[4] *hair.*] They that would encrease the haire maye doe well to observe the increasing moone at all times, but especially in Taurus or Cancer: they that would hinder the growthe, in the decrease of the moone, especially in Capricornus or Scorpio: and this is soe far from superstitious folly that it savours of one guided by the rules of the wise in physic. And what is sayd of the haire may bee as fitly applied to the nayles.—*Wr.* Oh! Mr. Dean!

[5] *piaculous*] Requiring expiation.

custom; and, though innocently practised among us, may have a superstitious original, according to that of Pliny: *Nævos in facie tondere religiosum habent nunc multi.* From the like might proceed the fears of polling elvelocks[6] or complicated hairs off the heads, and also of locks longer than the other hair; they being votary at first, and dedicated upon occasion; preserved with great care, and accordingly esteemed by others, as appears by that of Apuleius, *adjuro per dulcem capilli tui nodulum.*

12. A custom there is in some parts of Europe to adorn aqueducts, spouts and cisterns with lions' heads; which though no illaudable ornament, is of an Egyptian genealogy, who practised the same under a symbolical illation. For because, the sun being in Leo, the flood of Nilus was at the full, and water became conveyed into every part, they made the spouts of their aqueducts through the head of a lion.[7] And upon some celestial respects it is not improbable the great Mogul or Indian king both bear for his arms the lion and the sun.[8]

13. Many conceive there is somewhat amiss, and that as we usually say, they are unblest, until they put on their girdle. Wherein (although most know not what they say) there are involved unknown considerations. For by a girdle or cincture are symbolically implied truth, resolution, and readiness unto action, which are parts and virtues required in the service of God. According whereto we find that the Israelites did eat the paschal lamb with their loins girded;[9]

[6] Isa. xi.

[6] *elvelocks.*] Such is the danger of cutting a haire in the Hungarian knot that the blood will flow out of itt, as by a quill, and will not bee stanched. And thence perhaps the custome first sprange, though since abused.—*Wr.*

[7] *lion.*] Architects practise this forme still, for noe other reason then the beautye of itt.—*Wr.*

[8] *sun.*] These two are the emblems of majestye: the sonne signifying singularity of incommunicable glory: the lyon sole soveraintye, or monarchall power; and therefore most sutable to their grandour.—*Wr.*

[9] *girded.*] I suppose this innocent custome is most comely and most Christian, partly in observation of the old precept of St. Paule [Ephes. vi. 14], and partly in imitation of him in the first of the revelation, who is described doubly girt, about the paps, and about the loyns. See the Icon of St. Paul before his Epistles, in the Italian Testament, at Lions, 1556.—*Wr.*

and the Almighty challenging Job, bids him gird up his loins like a man. So runneth the expression of Peter, "Gird up the loins of your minds, be sober and hope to the end;" so the high priest was girt with the girdle of fine linen; so is it part of the holy habit to have our loins girt about with truth; and so is it also said concerning our Saviour, "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins."

Moreover by the girdle, the heart and parts which God requires are divided from the inferior and concupiscential organs; implying thereby a memento, unto purification and cleanness of heart, which is commonly defiled from the concupiscence and affection of those parts; and therefore unto this day the Jews do bless themselves when they put on their zone or cincture. And thus may we make out the doctrine of Pythagoras, to offer sacrifice with our feet naked, that is, that our inferior parts, and farthest removed from reason, might be free, and of no impediment unto us. Thus Achilles, though dipped in Styx, yet, having his heel untouched by that water, although he were fortified elsewhere, he was slain in that part, as only vulnerable in the inferior and brutal part of man. This is that part of Eve and her posterity the devil still doth bruise, that is, that part of the soul which adhereth unto earth, and walks in the path thereof. And in this secondary and symbolical sense it may be also understood, when the priests in the law washed their feet before the sacrifice; when our Saviour washed the feet of his disciples, and said unto Peter, "If I wash not thy feet, thou hast no part in me." And thus is it symbolically explainable, and implieth purification and cleanness, when in the burnt-offerings the priest is commanded to wash the inwards and legs thereof in water; and in the peace and sin-offerings, to burn the two kidneys, the fat which is about the flanks, and as we translate it, the caul above the liver. But whether the Jews, when they blessed themselves, had any eye unto the words of Jeremy, wherein God makes them his girdle; or had therein any reference unto the girdle, which the prophet was commanded to hide in the hole of the

The Israelites ate the paschal lamb with their loins girt, as being in readiness to take their journey (from Egypt).

rock of Euphrates, and which was the type of their captivity, we leave unto higher conjecture.

14. We shall not, I hope, disparage the resurrection of our Redeemer, if we say the sun doth not dance on Easter-day. And though we would willingly assent unto any sympathetical exultation, yet cannot conceive therein any more than a tropical expression. Whether any such motion there were in that day wherein Christ arose, Scripture hath not revealed, which hath been punctual in other records concerning solary miracles; and the Areopagite, that was amazed at the eclipse, took no notice of this. And if metaphorical expressions go so far, we may be bold to affirm, not only that one sun danced, but two arose that day:—that light appeared at his nativity, and darkness at his death, and yet a light at both; for even that darkness was a light unto the Gentiles, illuminated by that obscurity:—that it was the first time the sun set above the horizon:—that although there were darkness above the earth there was light beneath it; nor dare we say that hell was dark if he were in it.

15. Great conceits are raised of the involution or membranous covering, commonly called the silly-how, that sometimes is found about the heads of children upon their birth, and is therefore preserved with great care, not only as medical in diseases, but effectual in success, concerning the infant and others, which is surely no more than a continued superstition. For hereof we read in the *Life of Antoninus*, delivered by Spartianus, that children are born sometimes with this natural cap; which midwives were wont to sell unto credulous lawyers, who had an opinion it advantaged their promotion.[1]

[1] *promotion.*] By making them gracious in pleadinge: to whom I thinke itt was sufficient punishment, that they bought not wit, but folly so deare.—*Wr.*

Even till recently the opinion has been held, that a child's caul (silly-how) would preserve a person from drowning! In the *Times* of May 6, 1814, were three advertisements of fine cauls to be sold at considerable prices specified. The following appear at subsequent dates:—"To voyagers. A child's caul to be sold for 15 guineas. Apply, &c." *Times*, Dec. 8th, 1819.

Another for 16 guineas: *Times*, Dec. 16, 1829.

"A child's caul to be disposed of. The efficacy of this wonderful production of nature, in preserving the possessor from all accidents by sea and land, has long been experienced, and is universally acknow-

But to speak strictly, the effect is natural, and thus may be conceived: animal conceptions have (largely taken) three teguments, or membranous films, which cover them in the womb: that is, the *chorion*, *amnios* and *allantois*. The *chorion* is the outward membrane, wherein are implanted the veins, arteries, and umbilical vessels, whereby its nourishment is conveyed. The *allantois* is a thin coat seated under the *chorion*, wherein are received the watery separations conveyed by the *urachus*, that the acrimony thereof should not offend the skin. The *amnios* is a general investment, containing the sudorous or thin serocity perspirable through the skin. Now about the time when the infant breaketh these coverings, it sometimes carrieth with it, about the head, a part of the *amnois* or nearest coat; which, saith Spigelius,* either proceedeth from the toughness of the membrane, or weakness of the infant that cannot get clear thereof. And therefore, herein significations are natural and concluding upon the infant, but not to be extended unto magical signalities, or any other person.

16. That it is good to be drunk once a month, is a common flattery of sensuality, supporting itself upon physick, and the healthful effects of inebriation.[2] This indeed seems

* *De Formato Fœtu.*

ledged: the present phenomenon was produced on the 4th of March inst. and covered not only the head, but the whole body and limbs of a fine female infant, the daughter of a respectable master tradesman. Apply at No. 49, Gee-street, Goswell-street, where a reference will be given to the eminent physician who officiated at the birth of the child." *Times*, March 9th, 1820. Another advertised, £6, *Times*, Sept. 5th, 1820. Another for 12 guineas, *ditto*, Jan. 23rd, 1824. See *New Monthly Mag.*, May, July, Aug. 1814.

Intellect, surely, was not yet *in full march* at this period.

2. *inebriation.*] Noe man could more properlye inveighe against this beastly sinn, then a grave and learned physitian, were itt for noe more but the acquitting his noble faculty from the guilt of countenancinge a medicine soe lothsome and soe odious. Certainlye itt cannot but magnifie his sober spirit, that does make his own facultye (as Hagar to Sarah) vayle to divinity, the handmayd to her lady and mistresse: especially seeinge the naturall man cannot but confesse that itt is base, unworthye the divine offspring of the human soule, which is immortall, to put of itself for a moment, or to assume the shape, or much less the guise of (the uglyest beast) a swine, for any supposable benefit accruing thereby to this outward carcasse, especially when itt may bee far

plainly affirmed by Avicenna, a physician of great authority, and whose religion, prohibiting wine, could less extenuate ebriety. But Averroes, a man of his own faith, was of another belief; restraining his ebriety unto hilarity, and in effect making no more thereof than Seneca commendeth, and was allowable in Cato; that is, a sober incalescence and regulated æstuation from wine; or, what may be conceived between Joseph and his brethren, when the text expresseth they were merry, or drank largely; and whereby indeed the commodities set down by Avicenna, that is, alleviation of spirits, resolution of superfluities, provocation of sweat and urine, may also ensue. But as for dementation, sopition of reason and the diviner particle, from drink; though American religion approve, and Pagan piety of old hath practised it, even at their sacrifices, Christian morality and the doctrine of Christ will not allow. And surely that religion which excuseth the fact of Noah, in the aged surprisal of six hundred years, and unexpected inebriation from the unknown effects of wine, will neither acquit ebriosity[3] nor ebriety, in their known and intended perversions.

And indeed although sometimes effects succeed which may relieve the body, yet if they carry mischief or peril unto the soul, we are therein restrainable by divinity, which circumscribeth physick, and circumstantially determines the use thereof. From natural considerations physick commendeth the use of venery; and haply incest, adultery, or stupration, may prove as physically advantageous as conjugal copulation; which notwithstanding must not be drawn into practice. And truly effects, consequents, or events which we commend, arise ofttimes from ways which we all condemn. Thus from the fact of Lot we derive the generation of Ruth and blessed nativity of our Saviour; which notwithstanding did not extenuate the incestuous ebriety of the generator. And if, as is commonly urged, we think to extenuate ebriety from the benefit of vomit oft succeeding, Egyptian sobriety will con-

better relieved by soe many excellent, easie, warrantable wayes of physick.—*Wr.*

"Drunkenness (methinks) can neither become a wise philosopher to prescribe, nor a virtuous man to practise."—*Bp. Hall, Heaven upon Earth*, § 3.

[3] *ebriosity.*] Habitual drunkenness.

demn us, which purged both ways twice a month without this perturbation; and we foolishly contemn the liberal hand of God, and ample field of medicines which soberly produce that action.

17. A conceit there is, that the devil commonly appeareth with a cloven hoof:[4] wherein, although it seem excessively ridiculous, there may be somewhat of truth; and the ground thereof at first might be his frequent appearing in the shape of a goat, which answers that description. This was the opinion of ancient Christians concerning the apparition of Panites, fauns, and satyrs; and in this form we read of one that appeared unto Antony in the wilderness. The same is also confirmed from expositions of Holy Scriptures; for whereas it is said,* "Thou shalt not offer unto devils," the original word is *seghirim*, that is, rough and hairy goats, because in that shape the devil most often appeared; as is expounded by the Rabbins, and Tremellius hath also explained; and as the word Ascimah, the god of Emath, is by some conceived. Nor did he only assume this shape in elder times, but commonly in latter times, especially in the place of his worship, if there be any truth in the confession of witches, and as in many stories it stands confirmed by Bodinus.† And therefore a goat is not improperly made the hieroglyphick of the devil, as Pierius hath expressed it. So might it be the emblem of sin, as it was in the sin-offering; and so likewise of wicked and sinful men, according to the expression of Scripture in the method of the last distribution; when our Saviour shall separate the sheep from the goats, that is, the sons of the Lamb from the children of the devil.

* Levit. xvii. † In his *Dæmonomania.*

[4] *hoof.*] 'Tis remarkable that of all creatures the devil chose the cloven-footed, wherein to appeare, as satyrs, and goatishe monsters: the swine whereon to worke his malice: and the calves wherein to bee worshiped as at Dan and Bethel. For which cause the Spirit of God cald those calves (raised by Jeroboam for worship) devils: 2 Chron. xi. 15. And that he chose his priests of the lowest of the people was very suitable. For where their god was a calfe, 'twas not improper that a butcher should be the preiste.—*Wr.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Popular Customs, Opinions, &c.; of the Prediction of the Year ensuing from the Insects in Oak Apples; that Children would naturally speak Hebrew; of refraining to kill Swallows; of Lights burning dim at the Apparition of Spirits; of the wearing of Coral; of Moses' Rod in the Discovery of Mines; of discovering doubtful matters by Book or Staff.

1. THAT temperamental dignotions, and conjecture of prevalent humours, may be collected from spots in our nails, we are not averse to concede; but yet not ready to admit sundry divinations vulgularly raised upon them. Nor do we observe it verified in others, what Cardan* discovered as a property in himself; to have found therein some signs of most events that ever happened unto him. Or that there is much considerable in that doctrine of cheiromancy, that spots in the top of the nails do signify things past; in the middle, things present; and at the bottom, events to come. That white specks presage our felicity; blue ones our misfortunes. That those in the nail of the thumb have significations of honour; those in the forefinger, of riches; and so respectively in other fingers (according to planetical relations, from whence they receive their names), as Tricassus † hath taken up, and Picciolus well rejecteth.[5]

We shall not proceed to query what truth there is in palmistry, or divination from those lines in our hands, of high denomination. Although if any thing be therein, it seems not confinable unto man; but other creatures are also considerable; as is the forefoot of the mole, and especially of the monkey, wherein we have observed the table-line, that of life and of the liver.

2. That children committed unto the school of nature, without institution, would naturally speak the primitive language of the world, was the opinion of ancient heathens, and

* *De Varietate Rerum.* † *De Inspectione Manûs.*

[5] *spots, &c.*] This saying has remained to the present day. Such superstitions will only cease when the ignorance of the lower orders, through whom they find their way into the nursery, shall have given place to the general diffusion of knowledge—especially of *religious* knowledge.

continued since by Christians; who will have it our Hebrew tongue, as being the language of Adam. That this were true, were much to be desired, not only for the easy attainment of that useful tongue, but to determine the true and primitive Hebrew. For whether the present Hebrew be the unconfounded language of Babel, and that which, remaining in Heber, was continued by Abraham and his posterity;[6] or

[6] *For whether the present Hebrew, &c.*] On the subject of this passage, patient and learned ingenuity has been exercised in successive ages to afford us—only hypothesis and conjectures. And though it must be admitted that nothing more satisfactory can, in the nature of things, be expected, yet is it certain, that in order to constitute a *thorough* competency to propose even these, nothing less would suffice than the most profound acquaintance with history and geography from their remotest traces; and an erudition competent to the analysis and classification, not only of the languages of antiquity, but of those living tongues and dialects which now cover the earth, and to which modern discoveries are daily making additions. On the question, whether the confusion of tongues left one section or family of the existing population in possession of the pure and unadulterated antediluvian language, I cannot perceive the materials for constructing even a conjecture. As to the theory here proposed, on which Abraham might understand those nations among whom he sojourned, by his own means of philological approximation, I cannot help feeling that it is almost like claiming for the patriarch an exemption from the operation of the confusion of tongues. Among the most recent works on this general class of questions, is Mr. Beke's *Origines Biblicæ*, a work in which some novel hypotheses have called down on their author the criticism of those who differ from him; while at the same time the tribute of praise has not been denied to the ability he has displayed, and especially to that spirit of reverence for scriptural authority which pervades his work.

Mr. Beke first states his opinion,—in opposition to the more usual hypothesis which considers the languages of the Jews, Arabians, and other nations of similar character, to be the Semitic or Shemitish family of languages,—that this origin may more probably be assigned to those of Tibet, China, and all those nations of the east and south-east of Asia, which are manifestly distinct from the Japhthitish Hindoos and Tartars; including the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the South Seas. He subsequently gives the following reasons for attributing to the usually-called Semitic languages (namely, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic of Abyssinia), "a Mitzrite, and therefore Hamitish origin." "When the Almighty was pleased to call Abraham from his native country, the land of the Arphaxidites, or Chaldees, first into the country of Aram, and afterwards into that of Canaan, one of two things must necessarily have had place; either that the inhabitants of these latter countries spoke the same language as himself, or else that he acquired the knowledge of the foreign tongues spoken by these people during his residence in the countries in which they were vernacular. That they

rather the language of Phœnicia and Canaan, wherein he lived, some learned men I perceive do yet remain unsatisfied.

all made use of the same language cannot be imagined. Even if it be assumed that the descendants of Arphaxad, Abraham's ancestor, and the Aramites, in whose territories Terah and his family first took up their residence, spoke the same language, or, at the furthest, merely dialects of the same original Shemitish tongue, we cannot suppose that this language would have resembled those which were spoken by the Hamitish Canaanites, and Philistines, in whose countries Abraham afterwards sojourned, unless we at the same time contend that the confusion of tongues at Babel was practically inoperative; a conclusion, I apprehend, in which we should be directly opposed to the express words of Scripture: Gen. xi. 1—9.

"We have no alternative, therefore, as it would seem, but to consider (as, in fact, is the plain and obvious interpretation of the circumstances), that Abraham having travelled from his native place (a distance of above 500 miles) to the 'south country,' the land of the Philistines, where he 'sojourned many days,' he and his family would have acquired the language of the people amongst whom they thus took up their residence. But it may be objected that Abraham and his descendants, although living in a foreign country, and necessarily speaking the language of that country in their communications with its inhabitants, would also have retained the Aramitish tongue spoken in Haran, and that the intercourse between the two countries having been kept up, first by the marriage of Isaac with his cousin Rebekah, and subsequently by that of Jacob also with his cousins Leah and Rachel, and more especially from the circumstance of Jacob's having so long resided in Padan-Aram, and of all his children, with the exception of Benjamin, having been born there, the *family* language of Jacob, at the time of his return into the 'south country,' must indisputably have been the Aramitish. It may be argued farther, that although for the purpose of holding communication with the Canaanities and the Philistines, it was necessary to understand their languages also, yet that the language most familiar to Jacob and his household continued to be the Aramitish, until the period when they all left Canaan to go down into Mitzraim; and hence it might be contended that no good reason exists for opposing the generally received opinion, that the Hebrew is the same Aramitish tongue which was taken by the Israelites into Mitzraim, it being only necessary to suppose that the language was preserved substantially without corruption during the whole time of their sojourning in that country.

"But even admitting this argument, which however I am far from allowing to be conclusive; how are we to explain the origin of the Arabic language? This is clearly not of Aramitish derivation. It is the language which was spoken by the countrymen of Hagar, amongst whom Ishmael was taken by her to reside, and with whom he and his descendants speedily became mixed up and completely identified. Among these people it is not possible that the slightest portion of the

Although I confess probability stands fairest for the former; nor are they without all reason, who think that at the confusion of tongues, there was no constitution of a new speech in every family, but a variation and permutation of the old; out of one common language raising several dialects, the primitive tongue remaining still entire; which they who retained, might make a shift to understand most of the rest. By virtue whereof in those primitive times and greener confu-

Aramitish tongue of Abraham should have existed before the time of Ishmael; nor can it be conceived that the Mitzritish descendants of the latter would have acquired that language through him, even supposing (though I consider it to be far from an established fact) that the Aramitish had continued to be the *only* language which was spoken by Abraham's family during the whole of his residence in the south country among the Canaanites and Philistines; and supposing, also, that Ishmael acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, *and of no other* (which, however, is very improbable, his mother being a Mitzrite), from the circumstance of his childhood having been passed in his father's house.

"I apprehend, indeed, that the Mitzritish origin of the Arabic language is a fact which cannot be disputed; and if this fact be conceded, there remains no alternative but to admit—indeed it is a mere truism to say—that the Hebrew, which is a cognate dialect with the Arabic, must be of common origin with that language, and consequently of Mitzritish derivation also..... The fact of the striking coincidences which may be found in the language of the Berbers, in Northern Africa, with the languages of cognate origin with the Hebrew, is in the highest degree confirmatory of the Hamitish origin which I attribute to the whole of them; and it becomes the more particularly so, on the consideration that I derive the Berbers themselves directly from the country where I conceive the Israelites to have acquired their language."

As to the nature and degree of change which took place in the existing language at its confusion, Mr. Beke contends, "that the idea of an absolute and permanent change of dialect is more strictly in accordance with the literal meaning of the scriptural account of the confusion of tongues, than the supposition that the consequences of that miraculous occurrence were of a temporary nature only, and that the whole of the present diversities in the languages of the world are to be referred to the gradual operation of subsequent causes."

In the foregoing sentence, and still more in the disquisition which precedes it, Mr. Beke's opinion is in opposition to a very high authority both as a natural historian and a philologist,—the Rev. W. D. Conybeare, who supports (in his *Elementary Course of Lectures, on the Criticism, Interpretation, and Leading Doctrines of the Bible*), the more usually received opinion, that Hebrew, and the cognate languages, are of Shemitish origin.

sions, Abraham, of the family of Heber, was able to converse with the Chaldeans, to understand Mesopotamians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Egyptians: whose several dialects he could reduce unto the original and primitive tongue, and so be able to understand them.

3. Though useless unto us, and rather of molestation,[7] we commonly refrain from killing swallows, and esteem it unlucky[8] to destroy them: whether herein there be not a Pagan relick, we have some reason to doubt. For we read in Ælian, that these birds were sacred unto the Penates or household gods of the ancients, and therefore were preserved.* The same they also honoured as the nuncios of the spring; and we find in Athenæus that the Rhodians had a solemn song to welcome in the swallow.

4. That candles and lights burn dim and blue at the apparition of spirits, may be true, if the ambient air be full of sulphureous spirits, as it happeneth ofttimes in mines, where damps and acid exhalations are able to extinguish them. And may be also verified, when spirits do make themselves visible by bodies of such effluviums. But of lower consideration is the common foretelling of strangers, from the fungous parcels about the wicks of candles; which only signifieth a moist and pluvious air about them, hindering the avolation of the light and favillous particles; whereupon they are forced to settle upon the snast.[9]

5. Though coral doth properly preserve and fasten the teeth in men, yet is it used in children to make an easier passage for them: and for that intent is worn about their

* The same is extant in the 8th of Athenæus.

[7] *useless, &c.*] This is a most undeserved censure. The swallows are very useful in destroying myriads of insects, which would be injurious.

[8] *and esteem it unlucky, &c.*] A similar superstition attaches to the robin and the wren;—the tradition is, that if their nests are robbed, the cows will give bloody milk;—schoolboys rarely are found hardy enough to commit such a depredation on these birds, of which the common people in some parts of England have this legend—

Robinets and Jenny Wrens,
Are God Almighty's cocks and hens.

[9] *snast.*] The Norfolk (and perhaps other *folk's*) vulgar term, signifying the burnt portion of the wick of the candle; which, when sufficiently lengthened by want of snuffing, becomes crowned with a cap of the purest lamp-black, called here, "the fungous parcels," &c.

necks. But whether this custom were not superstitiously founded, as presumed an amulet or defensative against fascination, is not beyond all doubt. For the same is delivered by Pliny;* *Aruspices religiosum coralli gestamen amoliendis periculis arbitrantur; et surculi infantia alligati, tutelam habere creduntur.*[1]

6. A strange kind of exploration and peculiar way of rhabdomancy is that which is used in mineral discoveries; that is, with a forked hazel, commonly called Moses' rod, which freely held forth, will stir and play if any mine be under it. And though many there are who have attempted to make it good, yet until better information, we are of opinion with Agricola†, that in itself it is a fruitless exploration,[2] strongly scenting of Pagan derivation, and the *virgula divina*, proverbially magnified of old. The ground whereof were the magical rods in poets, that of Pallas in Homer, that of Mercury that charmed Argus, and that of Circe which transformed the followers of Ulysses. Too boldly usurping the name of Moses' rod, from which notwithstanding, and that of Aaron, were probably occasioned the fables of all the rest. For that of Moses must needs be famous unto the Egyptians; and that of Aaron unto many other nations, as being preserved in the ark, until the destruction of the temple built by Solomon.

* Lib. xxxii. † *De Re Metallica*, lib. ii.

[1] *That temperamental, &c.*] The first five sections of this chapter were first added in the 2nd edition.

[2] *exploration.*] This is worthy of note bycause itt is averred by manye authors of whom the world hath a great opinion.—*Wr.*

From a paper by Mr. Wm. Philips, in *Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine*, vol. xiii. p. 309, on the divining rod, it appears that it was ably advocated by De Thouvenel, in France, in the 18th century, and soon after—in our own country—by a philosopher of unimpeachable veracity, and a chemist, Mr. William Cookworthy, of Plymouth. Pryce also informs us, p. 123, of his *Mineralogia Cornubiensis*, that many mines have been discovered by means of the rod, and quotes several; but, after a long account of the mode of cutting, tying, and using it, interspersed with observations on the discriminating faculties of constitutions and persons in its use, altogether rejects it, because "Cornwall is so plentifully stored with tin and copper lodes, that some accident every week discovers to us a fresh vein," and because "a grain of metal attracts the rod as strongly as a pound," for which reason "it has been found to dip equally to a poor as to a rich lode."—See *Trans. Geol. Soc.* ii. 123.

7. A practice there is among us to determine doubtful matters, by the opening[3] of a book, and letting fall a staff, which notwithstanding are ancient fragments of Pagan divinations. The first an imitation of *sortes Homericæ*, or *Virgilianæ*,[4] drawing determinations from verses casually occurring. The same was practised by Severus, who enter-

[3] *opening.*] For the casual opening of a Bible, see *Cardan. de Varietate*, p. 1040.—*Wr.*

[4] *Virgilianæ.*] King Charles I. tried the *sortes Virgilianæ*, as is related by Welwood in the following passage :—

"The king being at Oxford during the civil wars, went one day to see the public library, where he was showed among other books, a Virgil nobly printed, and exquisitely bound. The Lord Falkland, to divert the king, would have his majesty make a trial of his fortune by the *sortes Virgilianæ*, which every body knows was an usual kind of augury some ages past. Whereupon the king opening the book, the period which happened to come up, was that part of Dido's imprecation against Æneas; which Mr. Dryden translates thus :—

Yet let a race untamed, and haughty foes,
His peaceful entrance with dire arms oppose.
Oppress'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men discouraged and himself expell'd,
Let him for succour sue from place to place,
Torn from his subjects, and his son's embrace,
First let him see his friends in battle slain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain :
And when at length the cruel war shall cease,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace ;
Nor let him then enjoy supreme command,
But fall untimely by some hostile hand,
And lie unburied in the common sand.

It is said King Charles seemed concerned at this accident; and that the Lord Falkland observing it, would likewise try his own fortune in the same manner; hoping he might fall upon some passage that could have no relation to his case, and thereby divert the king's thoughts from any impression the other might have upon him. But the place that Falkland stumbled upon was yet more suited to his destiny than the other had been to the king's; being the following expressions of Evander, upon the untimely death of his son Pallas, as they are translated by the same hand :—

O Pallas! thou hast fail'd thy plighted word,
To fight with reason; not to tempt the sword.
I warn'd thee but in vain, for well I knew
What perils youthful ardour would pursue;
That boiling blood would carry thee too far,
Young as thou wert in dangers, raw to war.
O curst essay of arms, disastrous doom,
Prelude of bloody fields and fights to come.

tained ominous hopes of the empire, from that verse in Vi *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;* and Gor nus, who reigned but few days, was discouraged by anot that is, *Ostendunt terris hunc tantùm fata, nec ultra sinunt.*[5] Nor was this only performed in heathen authors, upon the sacred text of Scripture, as Gregorius Turone hath left some account; and as the practice of the Emp Heraclius, before his expedition into Asia Minor, is delive by Cedrenus.

As for the divination or decision from the staff, it is augurial relick, and the practice thereof is accused by himself; "My people ask counsel of their stocks, and t staff declareth unto them."* Of this kind of rhabdoma was that practised by Nebuchadnezzar in that Chaldean n cellany, delivered by Ezekiel; "The King of Babylon st at the parting of the way, at the head of two ways to divination, he made his arrows bright, he consulted w images, he looked in the liver: at the right hand were divinations of Jerusalem."† That is, as Estius expoun it, the left way leading unto Rabbah, the chief city of Ammonites, and the right unto Jerusalem, he consulted id and entrails, he threw up a bundle of arrows to see whi way they would light, and falling on the right hand marched towards Jerusalem. A like way of belomancy divination by arrows hath been in request with Scythia Alanes, Germans, with the Africans and Turks of Algi But of another nature was that which was practised Elisha,‡ when, by an arrow shot from an eastern windo he presignified the destruction of Syria; or when, accordi unto the three strokes of Joash, with an arrow upon t ground, he foretold the number of his victories. For therel the Spirit of God particulared the same, and determin the strokes of the king, unto three, which the hopes of t prophet expected in twice that number.[6]

* Hosea iv. † Ezek. xxiv. ‡ 2 Kings xiii. 15.

[5] *sinunt.*] Of all other, I cannot but admire that ominous dreame Constans, the emperor, the sonne of Heracleonas, and father of Pog natus, anno imperii 13, who beinge to fight with barbarians the ne morne, near Thessalonica, thought hee heard one cryinge Θὲς ἀλλ Νικὴν, which the next day proved too true.—*Wr.*

[6] *As for the divination, &c.*] This paragraph, and the three followin were first added in the second edition.

8. We cannot omit to observe the tenacity of ancient customs, in the nominal observation of the several days of the week, according to Gentile and Pagan appellations;* for the original is very high, and as old as the ancient Egyptians, who named the same according to the seven planets, the admired stars of heaven, and reputed deities among them. Unto every one assigning a several day; not according to their celestial order, or as they are disposed in heaven, but after a *diatesseron* or musical fourth. For beginning Saturday with Saturn, the supremest planet, they accounted by Jupiter and Mars unto Sol, making Sunday. From Sol in like manner by Venus and Mercury unto Luna, making Monday: and so through all the rest. And the same order they confirmed by numbering the hours of the day unto twenty-four, according to the natural order of the planets. For beginning to account from Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and so about unto twenty-four, the next day will fall unto Sol; whence accounting twenty-four, the next will happen unto Luna, making Monday; and so with the rest, according to the account and order observed still among us.

The Jews themselves, in their astrological considerations, concerning nativities and planetary hours, observe the same order upon as witty foundations. Because, by an equal interval, they make seven triangles, the bases whereof are the seven sides of a septilateral figure, described within a circle. That is, if a figure of seven sides be described in a circle, and at the angles thereof the names of the planets be placed in their natural order on it; if we begin with Saturn, and successively draw lines from angle to angle, until seven equicrural triangles be described, whose bases are the seven sides of the septilateral figure; the triangles will be made by this order.† The first being made by Saturn, Sol, and Luna, that is, Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; and so the rest in the order still retained.

But thus much is observable, that however in celestial considerations they embraced the received order of the planets, yet did they not retain either characters or names in common use amongst us; but declining human denomi-

* *Dion. Cassii* lib. xxxvii.

† *Cujus icon apud Doct. Gaffarel,* cap. ii. *et Fabrit. Pad.*

nations, they assigned them names from some remarkable qualities: as is very observable in their red and splendent planets, that is, of Mars and Venus. But the change of their names* disparaged not the consideration of their natures; nor did they thereby reject all memory of these remarkable stars, which God himself admitted in his tabernacle, if conjecture will hold concerning the golden candlestick, whose shaft resembled the sun, and six branches the planets about it.

9. We are unwilling to enlarge concerning many other; only referring unto sober examination, what natural effects can reasonably be expected, when to prevent the *ephialtes* or night-mare, we hang up an hollow stone in our stables; when for amulets against agues we use the chips of gallows and places of execution.[7] When for warts we rub our hands

* *Maadim Nogah.*

[7] *execution.*] See what the Lord St. Alban's sayes for the certaintye of this experimente made upon himself in his natural historye, centurye 10th, and 997 experiment.—*Wr.*

"The sympathy of individuals, that have been entire, or have touched, is of all others the most incredible; yet according unto our faithful manner of examination of nature, we will make some little mention of it. The taking away of warts, by rubbing them with somewhat that afterwards is put to waste and consume, is a common experiment; and I do apprehend it the rather because of my own experience. I had from my childhood a wart upon one of my fingers: afterwards, when I was about sixteen years old, being then at Paris, there grew upon both my hands a number of warts at the least an hundred, in a month's space. The English ambassador's lady, who was a woman far from superstition, told me one day, she would help me away with my warts: whereupon she got a piece of lard with the skin on, and rubbed the warts all over with the fat side; and amongst the rest, that wart which I had had from my childhood: then she nailed the piece of lard, with the fat towards the sun, upon a post of her chamber window, which was to the south. The success was, that within five weeks' space all the warts went quite away: and that wart which I had so long endured, for company. But at the rest I did little marvel, because they came in a short time, and might go away in a short time again: but the going away of that which had stayed so long doth yet stick with me. They say the like is done by the rubbing of warts with a green elder stick and then burying the stick to rot in muck. It would be tried with corns and wens, and such other excrescences. I would have it also tried with some parts of living creatures that are nearest the nature of excrescences; as the combs of cocks, the spurs of cocks, the horns of beasts, &c. And I would have it tried both ways; both by rubbing those parts with lard, or elder, as before; and by cutting off

before the moon,[8] or commit any maculated part unto the touch of the dead. What truth there is in those common female doctrines, that the first rib of roast beef powdered, is a peculiar remedy against fluxes;—that to urine upon earth newly cast up by a mole, bringeth down the menses in women;—that if a child dieth, and the neck becometh not stiff, but for many hours remaineth lithe and flaccid, some other in the same house will die not long after;—that if a woman with child looketh upon a dead body, her child will be of a pale complexion;[9]—our learned and critical philosophers might illustrate, whose exacter performances our adventures do but solicit: meanwhile, I hope they will plausibly receive our attempts, or candidly correct our misconjectures.[1]

> Disce, sed ira cadat naso, rugosaque sanna,
> Dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.

---

some piece of those parts, and laying it to consume: to see whether it will work any effect towards the consumption of that part which was once joined with it."—*Natural History*, Cent. x. No. 997.

[8] *When for warts we rub our hands, &c.*] Hear what Sir Kenelme Digby says of this matter in his *Late Discourse, &c. Touching the Cure of wounds by the Power of Sympathy*, &c. 12mo. 1658.

"I cannot omit to add hereunto another experiment, which is, that we find by the effects, how the rays of the moon are cold and moist. It is without controversy, that the luminous parts of those rays come from the sun, the moon having no light at all within her, as her eclipses bear witness, which happen when the earth is opposite betwixt her and the sun; which interposition suffers her not to have light from his rays. The beams then which come from the moon, are those of the sun, which glancing upon her, reflect upon us, and so bring with them the atoms of that cold and humid star, which participates of the source whence they come: therefore if one should expose a hollow bason, or glass, to assemble them, one shall find, that whereas those of the sun do burn by such a conjuncture, these clean contrary do refresh and moisten in a notable manner, leaving an aquatic and viscous glutining kind of sweat upon the glass. One would think it were a folly that one should offer to wash his hands in a well-polished silver bason, wherein there is not a drop of water, yet this may be done by the reflection of the moonbeams only, which will afford a competent humidity to do it; but they who have tried this, have found their hands, after they are wiped, to be much moister than usually: *but this is an infallible way to take away warts from the hands, if it be often used.*"

[9] *What truth there is, &c.*] This sentence was first added, and the arrangement of the paragraphs in the chapter altered, in the 6th edit.

[1] *misconjectures.*] The perusal of the two preceding chapters calls

powerfully to mind the following lively and eloquent "*character of superstitious,*" drawn by our author's pious and learned friend, Bisl Hall.

"Superstition is godless religion, devout impiety. The superstiti is fond in observation, servile in fear: he worships God, but as he lis he gives God what he asks not, more than he asks, and all but what should give; and makes more sins than the ten commandments. T man dares not stir forth, till his breast be crossed, and his face sprinkl If but a hare cross him the way, he returns; or, if his journey beg unawares, on the dismal day, or if he stumbled at the threshold. If see a snake unkilled, he fears a mischief: if the salt fall towards hi he looks pale and red; and is not quiet, till one of the waiters poured wine on his lap: and when he sneezeth, thinks them not friends that uncover not. In the morning he listens whether the cr crieth even or odd; and, by that token, presages of the weather. he hear but a raven croak from the next roof, he makes his will; o a bittour fly over his head by night: but if his troubled fancy sh second his thoughts with the dream of a fair garden, or green rush or the salutation of a dead friend, he takes leave of the world, and sa he cannot live. He will never set to sea but on a Sunday; neith ever goes without an *erra pater* in his pocket. St. Paul's day, and S Swithin's, with the twelve, are his oracles; which he dares belie against the almanack. When he lies sick on his death-bed, no s troubles him so much, as that he did once eat flesh on a Friday: repentance can expiate that; the rest need none. There is no drea of his, without an interpretation, without a prediction; and, if t event answer not his exposition, he expounds it according to the ever Every dark grove and pictured wall strikes him with an awful b carnal devotion. Old wives and stars are his counsellors: his nigh spell is his guard, and charms, his physicians. He wears Paracelsi characters for the tooth-ache: and a little hallowed wax is his antido for all evils. This man is strangely credulous; and calls impossib things, miraculous: if he hear that some sacred block speak moves, weeps, smiles, his bare feet carry him thither with an offering and, if a danger miss him in the way, his saint hath the thanks. Som ways he will not go, and some he dares not; either there are bugs, he feigneth them: every lantern is a ghost, and every noise is of chain He knows not why, but his custom is to go a little about, and to leav the cross still on the right hand. One event is enough to make a rule out of these rules he concludes fashions proper to himself; and nothin can turn him out of his own course. If he have done his task, he safe: it matters not with what affection. Finally, if God would le him be the carver of his own obedience, he could not have a bette subject: as he is, he cannot have a worse."—*Bishop Hall's Character of Vices; Works by Pratt,* vol. vii. 102.

THE SIXTH BOOK:

THE PARTICULAR PART CONTINUED.

OF POPULAR AND RECEIVED TENETS, COSMOGRAPHICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the beginning of the World, that the time thereof is not precisely known, as commonly it is presumed.

CONCERNING the world and its temporal circumscriptions, whoever shall strictly examine both extremes, will easily perceive, there is not only obscurity in its end, but its beginning; that as its period is inscrutable, so is its nativity indeterminable; that as it is presumption to enquire after the one, so is there no rest or satisfactory decision in the other. And hereunto we shall more readily assent, if we examine the information, and take a view of the several difficulties in this point; which we shall more easily do, if we consider the different conceits of men, and duly perpend the imperfections of their discoveries.

And first, the histories of the Gentiles afford us slender satisfaction, nor can they relate any story, or affix a probable point to its beginning.[1] For some thereof (and those of the wisest amongst them) are so far from determining its beginning, that they opinion and maintain it never had any at all; as the doctrine of Epicurus implieth, and more positively Aristotle, in his books *De Cœlo*, declareth. Endeavouring to confirm it with arguments of reason, and those appearingly demonstrative; wherein his labours are

[1] *its beginning.*] The beginning of the world.

rational, and uncontrollable upon the grounds assumed, that is, of physical generation, and a primary or first matter, beyond which no other hand was apprehended. But herein we remain sufficiently satisfied from Moses, and the doctrine delivered of the creation; that is, a production of all things out of nothing, a formation not only of matter, but of form, and a materiation even of matter itself.

Others are so far from defining the original of the world or of mankind, that they have held opinions not only repugnant unto chronology, but philosophy; that is, that they had their beginning in the soil where they inhabited; assuming or receiving appellations conformable unto such conceits. So did the Athenians term themselves αὐτόχθονες or Aborigines, and in testimony thereof did wear a golden insect on their heads: the same name is also given unto the Inlanders, or Midland inhabitants of this island, by Cæsar. But this is a conceit answerable unto the generation of the giants; not admittable in philosophy, much less in divinity, which distinctly informeth we are all the seed of Adam, that the whole world perished, unto eight persons before the flood, and was after peopled by the colonies of the sons of Noah. There was therefore never any *autochthon*,[2] or man arising from the earth, but Adam; for the woman being formed out of the rib, was once removed from earth, and framed from that element under incarnation. And so although her production were not by copulation, yet was it in a manner seminal: for if in every part from whence the seed doth flow, there be contained the idea of the whole; there was a seminality and contracted Adam in the rib, which, by the information of a soul, was individuated unto Eve. And therefore this conceit applied unto the original of man, and the beginning of the world, is more justly appropriable unto its end; for then indeed men shall rise out of the earth: the graves shall shoot up their concealed seeds, and in that great autumn, men shall spring up, and awake from their chaos again.

[2] *autochthon.*] Autochthon [rising himselfe from the earthe], which was not to bee granted of the first; who did not spring [as plants now doe] of himselfe. For Adam was created out of the dust by God. The second Adam might bee trulyer called Autochthon, in a mystical sense, not only in respect of his birthe, but of his resurrection alsoe.—*Wr.*

Others have been so blind in deducing the original of things, or delivering their own beginnings, that when it hath fallen into controversy, they have not recurred unto chronology or the records of time; but betaken themselves unto probabilities, and the conjecturalities of philosophy.* Thus when the two ancient nations, Egyptians and Scythians, contended for antiquity, the Egyptians pleaded their antiquity from the fertility of their soil, inferring that men there first inhabited, where they were with most facility sustained; and such a land did they conceive was Egypt.

The Scythians, although a cold and heavier nation, urged more acutely, deducing their arguments from the two active elements and principles of all things, fire and water. For if of all things there was first an union, and that fire over-ruled the rest, surely that part of earth which was coldest would first get free, and afford a place of habitation: but if all the earth were first involved in water, those parts would surely first appear, which were most high, and of most elevated situation, and such was theirs. These reasons carried indeed the antiquity from the Egyptians, but confirmed it not in the Scythians: for, as Herodotus relateth, from Pargitaus their first king unto Darius, they accounted but two thousand years.

As for the Egyptians, they invented another way of trial; for as the same author relateth, Psammitichus their king attempted this decision by a new and unknown experiment; bringing up two infants with goats, and where they never heard the voice of man; concluding that to be the ancientest nation, whose language they should first deliver.[3] But herein he forgot, that speech was by instruction not instinct; by imitation, not by nature; that men do speak in some kind but like parrots, and as they are instructed, that is, in simple terms and words, expressing the open notions of things; which the second act of reason compoundeth into propositions, and the last into syllogisms and forms of ratiocination. And howsoever the account of

* *Diodor. Justin.*

[3] *As for the Egyptians, &c.*] "It is said that after they were two years old, one of the boys cried *becchus*, which in the Phrygian language signifyeth 'bread,' whence it was conjectured that the Phrygians were the first people."—*Jeff.*

Manethon the Egyptian priest run very high, and it evident that Mizraim peopled that country (whose na with the Hebrews it beareth unto this day), and there many things of great antiquity related in Holy Scriptu yet was their exact account not very ancient; for Ptole their countryman beginneth his astronomical compute higher than Nabonasser, who is conceived by some same with Salmanasser. As for the argument deduc from the fertility of the soil, duly enquired it rather ov throweth than promoteth their antiquity; if that coun whose fertility they so advance, was in ancient times firm or open land, but some vast lake or part of the s and became a gained ground by the mud and limous matt brought down by the river Nilus, which settled by degre into a firm land,—according as is expressed by Strabo, a more at large by Herodotus, both from the Egyptian tra tion and probable inducements from reason; called ther fore *fluvii donum*, an accession of earth, or tract of lan acquired by the river.

Lastly, some indeed there are, who have kept records time, and a considerable duration, yet do the exacte thereof afford no satisfaction concerning the beginning the world, or any way point out the time of its creatio The most authentick records and best approved antiquit are those of the Chaldeans; yet in the time of Alexande the Great they attained not so high as the flood. For a Simplicius relateth, Aristotle required of Calisthenes, wh accompanied that worthy in his expedition, that at hi arrival at Babylon, he would enquire of the antiquity o their records; and those upon compute he found to amoun unto 1903 years, which account notwithstanding ariseth n higher than ninety-five years after the flood. The Arca dians, I confess, were esteemed of great antiquity, and i was usually said they were before the moon; according unto that of Seneca; *sidus post veteres Arcades editum* and that of Ovid, *lunâ gens prior illa fuit.* But this, as Censorinus observeth, must not be taken grossly, as though they were existent before that luminary; but were so esteemed, because they observed a set course of year, before the Greeks conformed their year unto the course and motion of the moon.

Thus the heathens affording no satisfaction herein, they are most likely to manifest this truth, who have been acquainted with Holy Scripture, and the sacred chronology delivered by Moses, who distinctly sets down this account, computing by certain intervals, by memorable æras, epochs or terms of time: as, from the creation unto the flood, from hence unto Abraham, from Abraham unto the departure from Egypt, &c. Now in this number have only been Samaritans, Jews, and Christians.

For the Jews; they agree not in their accounts, as Bodine in his method of history hath observed, out of Baal Seder, Rabbi Nassom, Gersom, and others; in whose compute the age of the world is not yet 5400 years. The same is more evidently observable from two most learned Jews, Philo and Josephus; who very much differ in the accounts of time, and variously sum up these intervals assented unto by all. Thus Philo, from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the temple, accounts but 920 years; but Josephus sets down 1062: Philo, from the building of the temple, to its destruction, 440; Josephus, 470: Philo, from the creation to the destruction of the temple, 3373; but Josephus, 3513: Philo, from the deluge to the destruction of the temple, 1718; but Josephus, 1913. In which computes there are manifest disparities, and such as much divide the concordance and harmony of times.

For the Samaritans; their account is different from these or any others; for they account from the creation to the deluge but 1302 years; which cometh to pass upon the different account of the ages of the patriarchs set down when they begat children. For whereas the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts account Jared 162 when he begat Enoch, they account but sixty-two: and so in others. Now the Samaritans were no incompetent judges of times and the chronology thereof; for they embrace the five books of Moses, and as it seemeth, preserve the text with far more integrity than the Jews: who, as Tertullian, Chrysostom, and others observe, did several ways corrupt the same, especially in passages concerning the prophecies of Christ. So that, as Jerome professeth, in his translation he was fain sometime to relieve himself by the Samaritan

Pentateuch; as amongst others in that text, Deu nomy xxvii. 26; *Maledictus omnis qui non permanser omnibus quæ scripta sunt in libro legis.* From h Saint Paul (Gal. iii. 10) inferreth there is no justific by the law, and urgeth the text according to the Septua Now the Jews, to afford a latitude unto themselves, in t copies expunged the word כל or syncategorematical t *omnis:* wherein lieth the strength of the law, and of apostle's argument; but the Samaritan Bible retaine right, and answerable unto what the apostle had urged.[4]

As for Christians, from whom we should expect exactest and most concurring account, there is also in t a manifest disagreement, and such as is not easily re ciled. For first, the Latins accord not in their accou to omit the calculation of the ancients, of Austin, B and others, the chronology of the moderns doth manife dissent. Josephus Scaliger, whom Helvicus seems to low, accounts the creation in 765 of the Julian period; from thence unto the nativity of our Saviour alloweth 3 years; but Dionysius Petavius, a learned chronologer, senteth from this compute almost forty years; placing creation in the 730th of the Julian period, and from the unto the incarnation accounteth 3983 years. For Greeks; their accounts are more anomalous: for if recur unto ancient computes, we shall find that Clem Alexandrinus, an ancient father and preceptor unto Orig accounted from the creation unto our Saviour, 5664 yea for in the first of his *Stromaticks*, he collecteth the ti from Adam unto the death of Commodus to be 5858 yea now the death of Commodus he placeth in the year af Christ 194, which number deducted from the former, the remaineth 5664. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, accounte unto the nativity of Christ 5515, deducible from the like w of compute; for in his first book *ad Autolychum*, he accounte from Adam unto Aurelius Verus 5695 years; now th emperor died in the year of our Lord 180, which deduct from the former sum, there remaineth 5515. Julius Af

[4] *the Samaritan, &c.*] It is also preserved in six MSS. in the colle tions of Dr. Kennicott, and De Rossi, in several copies of the Chald Targum, and in the LXX.—*Jeff.*

canus, an ancient chronologer, accounteth somewhat less, that is, 5500. Eusebius, Orosius, and others dissent not much from this, but all exceed five thousand.

The latter compute of the Greeks, as Petavius observeth, hath been reduced unto two or three accounts. The first accounts unto our Saviour 5501, and this hath been observed by Nicephorus, Theophanes, and Maximus. The other accounts 5509; and this of all at present is generally received by the church of Constantinople, observed also by the Moscovite, as I have seen in the date of the emperor's letters; wherein this year of ours, 1645, is from the year of the world 7154, which doth exactly agree unto this last account 5509: for if unto that sum be added 1645, the product will be 7154; by this chronology are many Greek authors to be understood: and thus is Martinus Crusius to be made out, when in his Turco-grecian history he delivers, the city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks in the year στθξα that is, 6961. Now according unto these chronologists, the prophecy of Elias the rabbin, so much in request with the Jews, and in some credit also with Christians, that the world should last but six thousand years; unto these I say, it hath been long and out of memory disproved; for the sabbatical and 7000th year wherein the world should end (as did the creation on the seventh day) unto them is long ago expired; they are proceeding in the eighth thousandth year, and numbers exceeding those days which men have made the types and shadows of these. But certainly what Marcus Leo the Jew conceiveth of the end of the heavens, exceedeth the account of all that ever shall be; for though he conceiveth the elemental frame shall end in the seventh or sabbatical millenary, yet cannot he opinion the heavens and more durable part of the creation shall perish before seven times seven or forty-nine, that is, the quadrant of the other seven, and perfect jubilee of thousands.[5]

[5] *Marcus Leo the Jew.*] The text convinceth this dotage of the Jew: St. Paule sayd 1500 years agoe, that the ends of the world were then coming, which was spoken not of hundreds of yeares but of thousands. Yf then Christ were borne in the 4000th yeare of the world, as the late learned Armachanus (Abp. Usher) opines (not without excellent and undeniable reasons easie to bee made good), wee must divide the age of

Thus may we observe the difference and wide disse men's opinions, and thereby the great incertainty in establishment. The Hebrews not only dissenting fron Samaritans, the Latins from the Greeks, but every from another. Insomuch that all can be in the rig is impossible that any one is so, not with assurance d minable. And therefore, as Petavius confesseth, to e the same exactly without inspiration, it is impossible, beyond the arithmetick of any but God himself. therefore also, what satisfaction may be obtained f those violent disputes, and eager enquiries, in what da the month the world began, either of March or Octol likewise in what face or position of the moon, whethe the prime or full, or soon after, let our second and seri considerations determine.

Now the reason and ground of this dissent is the happy difference between the Greek and Hebrew editi of the bible, for unto these two languages have all trans tions conformed; the Holy Scripture being first delive in Hebrew, and first translated into Greek. For t Hebrew; it seems the primitive and surest text to rely and to preserve the same entire and uncorrupt there ha been used the highest caution humanity could inve For, as R. Ben Maimon hath declared, if in the copyi thereof one letter were written twice, or if one letter b touched another, that copy was not admitted into the synagogues, but only allowable to be read in scho and private families. Neither were they careful only the exact number of their sections of the law, but had al the curiosity to number every word, and affixed the accou unto their several books. Notwithstanding all which, dive corruptions ensued, and several depravations slipt i arising from many and manifest grounds, as hath bee exactly noted by Morinus in his preface unto the Sep tuagint.

the world into 3 partes. The beginning of the world must bee counte as the first 2000 yeares: the midste 4000: and the end 6000 or perhap not soe much: for our Saviour sayes evidently there shall be an abbre viation, viz., in the last parte; but when that shall bee Deus novit.—*Wr.*

Our Lord's prediction is usually applied to the destruction of Jeru salem.

As for the Septuagint, it is the first and most ancient translation; and of greater antiquity than the Chaldee version; occasioned by the request of Ptolemeus Philadelphus king of Egypt, for the ornament of his memorable library, unto whom the high priest addressed six Jews out of every tribe, which amounteth unto 72; and by these was effected that translation we usually term the Septuagint, or translation of seventy. Which name, however it obtain from the number of their persons, yet in respect of one common spirit, it was the translation but as it were of one man; if, as the story relateth, although they were set apart and severed from each other, yet were their translations found to agree in every point, according as is related by Philo and Josephus; although we find not the same in Aristæas,* who hath expressly treated thereof. But of the Greek compute there have passed some learned dissertations not many years ago, wherein the learned Isaac Vossius[6] makes the nativity of the world to anticipate the common account one thousand four hundred and forty years.

This translation in ancient times was of great authority. By this many of the heathens received some notions of the creation and the mighty works of God. This in express terms is often followed by the evangelists, by the apostles, and by our Saviour himself in the quotations of the Old Testament. This for many years was used by the Jews themselves, that is, such as did Hellenize and dispersedly dwelt out of Palestine with the Greeks; and this also the succeeding Christians and ancient fathers observed; although there succeeded other Greek versions, that is, of Aquila, Theodosius, and Symmachus. For the Latin translation of Jerome called now the vulgar, was about 800 years after the Septuagint; although there was also a Latin translation before, called the Italic version, which was after lost upon the general reception of the translation of Jerome. Which notwithstanding (as he himself acknowledgeth†) had been needless, if the Septuagint copies had remained pure, and as

* *Aristæas ad Philociatorem de 72 interpretibus.*
† *Præfat. in Paralipom.*

[6] *Isaac Vossius.*] He contended for the inspiration of the Septuagint.—*Jeff.*

they were first translated. But (beside that different copies were used, that Alexandria and Egypt followed the copy of Hesychius, Antioch and Constantinople that of Lucian the martyr, and others that of Origen) the Septuagint was much depraved, not only from the errors of scribes, and the emergent corruptions of time, but malicious contrivance of the Jews; as Justin Martyr hath declared in his learned dialogue with Tryphon, and Morinus* hath learnedly shown from many confirmations.[7]

Whatsoever interpretations there have been since have been especially effected with reference unto these, that is, the Greek and Hebrew text; the translators sometimes following the one, sometimes adhering unto the other, according as they found them consonant unto truth, or most correspondent unto the rules of faith. Now, however it cometh to pass, these two are very different in the enumeration of genealogies, and particular accounts of time: for in the second interval, that is, between the flood and Abraham, there is by the Septuagint introduced one Cainan[8] to be the son of Arphaxad and father of Salah; whereas in the Hebrew there is no mention of such a person, but Arphaxad is set down to be the father of Salah. But in the first interval, that is, from the creation unto the flood, their disagreement is more considerable; for therein the Greek exceedeth the Hebrew and common account almost 600 years. And 'tis indeed a thing not very strange, to be at the difference of a third part, in so large and collective an account, if we consider how differently they are set forth in minor and less mistakable numbers. So in the prophecy of Jonah, both in the Hebrew and Latin text, it is said, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be overthrown;" but the Septuagint saith plainly, and that in letters at length, τρεῖς ἡμέρας, that is,

* *De Hebræi et Græci textus sinceritate.*

[7] *which was after lost, &c.*] This concluding sentence was first added in the 2nd edition.

[8] *Cainan.*] How this second Cainan was foisted into the translation of the Septuagint, see that learned tract in *Gregorye's Posthuma*, p. 77, which hee calls Καινὰν δεύτερος. Hee [meaning Sir Thomas] might have called him Ψευδοκαινὰν; which had been most sutable to this learned worke, of discovering comon errors.—*Wr.*

See also *Dr. Hale's New Analysis*, vol. i. pp. 90—94.

"Yet three days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." Which is a difference not newly crept in, but an observation very ancient, discussed by Austin and Theodoret, and was conceived an error committed by the scribe.[9] Men therefore have raised different computes of time, according as they have followed their different texts; and so have left the history of times far more perplexed than chronology hath reduced.

Again, however the texts were plain, and might in their numerations agree, yet were there no small difficulty to set down a determinable chronology or establish from hence any fixed point of time. For the doubts concerning the time of the judges are inexplicable; that of the reigns and succession of kings is as perplexed; it being uncertain whether the years both of their lives and reigns ought to be taken as complete, or in their beginning and but current accounts. Nor is it unreasonable to make some doubt whether in the first ages and long lives of our fathers, Moses doth not sometime account by full and round numbers, whereas strictly taken they might be some few years above or under: as in the age of Noah, it is delivered to be just five hundred when he begat Sem; whereas perhaps he might be somewhat above or below that round and complete number. For the same way of speech is usual in divers other expressions: thus do we say the Septuagint, and using the full and articulate number, do write the translation of seventy; whereas we have shown before the precise number was seventy-two. So is it said that Christ was three days in the grave; according to that of Matthew, "As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth:" which notwithstanding must be taken synecdochically, or by understanding a part for a whole day; for he remained but two nights in the grave: for he was buried in the afternoon of the first day, and arose very early in the morning on the third; that is, he was interred in the eve of the sabbath, and arose the morning after it.[1]

[9] *scribe.*] Writing γ for μ, which might easily bee, not in the original, but in the second transcript.—*Wr.*

[1] *after it.*] Before day: the whole being scarce 34 houres while he was in the grave, which is not the one halfe of three days and three nights, nor can be salved synechdochicallye.

Moreover, although the number of years be determined and rightly understood, and there be without doubt a certain

'Tis strange to see how all the nation of expositors, since Christe, as yf they were infected with a disease of supinity, thinke they have abundantly satisfied the texte, by telling us, that speech of Christe comparinge himself to Jonas, must be understood synechdochically, which is: 1. not only a weak interpretation; 2. but ridiculous to Jews, Turks, and Infidels; 3. and consequently derogatory to the trueth; who expressly puts in the reddition, 3 dayes and 3 nights, by an emphaticall expression. Which as itt was punctually fortold, the express time of 3 dayes and 3 nights; soe itt was as punctually performed (*usque ad apices*) for as Jonas was 3 days and 3 nights in the whale, which admits noe *synechdoche;* soe the sonn of man was in the grave 3 dayes and 3 nights without any abatement of a moment. That which begat this error was, a mistake of the dayes and nights, spoken of Jonas. And from thence not only unwarrantably but untruly applyed to Christ's stay in the grave. Wee must therefore distinguish of dayes and nights, and take them either in Moses' sense, for the whole revolution of the ☉ to the eastern pointe after 24 houres: which most men by like contagion of error, call the natural day, wheras itt is rather to bee cald artificiall, as being compounded of a day and a night, wheras the night is properly noe parte univocall of a day, but a contradistinct member thereto. Now in this sense yf the days and nights bee conceived; itt is impossible to make good the one halfe of 3 dayes and 3 nights by any figurative or synechdochical sense: for from the time of his enterring, very neer 6 at even on Friday to 6 at even on Saturday are but 24 houres: to which adde from 6 at even to 3 or 4 next morne (for itt was yet darke, when Mary Magd. came and saw the stone remooved), viz. 10 houres more, they will make in all but thirty foure houres, that is but $1\frac{10}{24}$ day and night of æquinoctial revolution. Or else in our Saviour's sense, Jo. xi. 9, where by the day Christe understands, the very day-light, or natural day, caused by the presence of the sun; to the which night is always opposed as contradistinct, as is manifest from that very place. For as itts alwayes midday directly under the ☉, soe there is midnight alwayes opposite to midnoone through the world. And these 2 have runn opposite round the world, *simul et semel* every 24 houres since the creation, and soe shall doe, while time shall bee noe more. I say therefore that thoughe in respect of Jesus' grave in the garden he lay but 36 houres in the earthe, yet in respect of the world for which he suffered, there were 3 distincte dayes and nights actually in being, while hee lay in the bowels of the earthe (which is to be distinctly noted to justifie of him, who did not, could not, æquivocate): Friday night in Judæa, and a day opposite therto in the other hemisphere, just 12 houres; Saturday 12 houres in Judæa, and the opposite night 12 hours; Saturday night in Judæa, and the opposite day elsewhere at the same time. And hee that denyes this, hath lost his sense: for I ask were there not actually 3 essentiall dayes and 3 nights (*sub coelo*) during his sepulture. And yf this cannot be denyed

truth herein, yet the text speaking obscurely or dubiously, there is ofttimes no slender difficulty at what point to begin or terminate the account. So when it is said, Exod. xii., the sojourning of the children of Israel who dwelt in Egypt was 430 years, it cannot be taken strictly, and from their first arrival into Egypt, for their habitation in that land was far

by any but a madman, I aske againe did Christe suffer for Judæa only, or for the whole world? least of all for Judæa, which for his unjust death was exterminate and continues accursed. Soe that henceforth wee shall need no synechdoche to make good the prophetick speech of him that could not lie: who sayde, *sic erit Filius hominis in corde terræ tribus diebus et tribus noctibus:* and this was truly fulfilled *usque ad momenta*, and therefore I dare believe it, and noe Jew or Turk can contradict itt. (Hee that made the several natures of day and night in this sense; sayd hee would lye in the grave 3 of these dayes and 3 nights.)—*Wr.*

This is ingenious, and to its author it seems abundantly satisfactory, proceeding on the hypothesis that as our Lord suffered for the whole world, the duration of his suffering must be understood with reference to the whole earth. The Dean adds to the two nights and one day which elapsed in Palestine,—the corresponding two days and one night, which elapsed at the antipodes of Judea. But this is liable to objection. It is just as truly *synechdochical* as the interpretation of Sir Thomas:—only that it takes two points on the earth's surface instead of one for the whole. Besides the ingenuity is needless. The Jews were in the habit of speaking *synechdochically* in that very respect that they speak of each part of a day and night (or of 24 hours) as a day and night—*νύκθημερα*. So that if Jonah was in the deep during less than 48 hours, provided that period comprised, in addition to one entire 24 hours, a portion of the preceding and of the following 24 hours,—then the Jews would say that he had been in the deep 3 day-nights or 3 days and 3 nights. As if we should say of a person who had left home on Friday afternoon and returned on Sunday morning, that he was from home Friday, Saturday, and Sunday—this might be thought to imply considerable portions of the day of Friday and of Sunday—but certainly it would not be necessary to the accuracy of such a report that he should have started immediately after midnight of Thursday, and returned at the same hour on Sunday. And yet he would otherwise not have been from home on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday—but only during parts of those days. With the Jews common parlance would only require that our Redeemer should have been in the heart of the earth, from the eve of the (Jewish) sabbath, however late, to the morning of the first day, however early, in order to justify the terms in which they would universally have spoken of the duration of his abode there—as comprising three days and three nights. We may observe too, that three days are uniformly spoken of as the time of our Lord's abode in the grave, whether it is spoken of typically or literally. Thus he says of himself, "I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected."

less; but the account must begin from the covenant of God with Abraham, and must also comprehend their sojourn in the land of Canaan, according as is expressed Gal. iii., "The covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was 430 years after cannot disannul." Thus that it also happened in the account of the seventy years of their captivity, according to that of Jeremy, "This whole land shall be a desolation, and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years."* Now where to begin or end this compute, ariseth no small difficulty; for there were three remarkable captivities and deportations of the Jews. The first was in the third or fourth year of Joachim, and first of Nabuchodonozor, when Daniel was carried away; the second in the reign of Jeconiah, and the eighth year of the same king; the third and most deplorable in the reign of Zedechias, and in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonozor, whereat both the temple and city were burned. Now such is the different conceit of these times, that men have computed from all; but the probablest account and most concordant unto the intention of Jeremy is from the first of Nabuchodonozor unto the first of King Cyrus over Babylon; although the prophet Zachary accounteth from the last. "O Lord of hosts, how long! wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?"† for he maketh this expostulation in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, wherein he prophesied, which is about eighteen years in account after the other.

Thus also although there be a certain truth therein, yet is there no easy doubt concerning the seventy weeks, or seventy times seven years of Daniel; whether they have reference unto the nativity or passion[2] of our Saviour, and

* Chap. xx. † Chap. i. 12.

[2] *nativity or passion.*] The learned thinke they have reference [that is of their determination] to neither of them. For most of the learned conceive, that those 70 weeks, or seven times seventy [viz. 490 years] ended with the destruction of the citye; which was 70 yeares after the nativitye, and 38 after the passion of Christe: and then 'twill bee noe hard matter to compute the pointe from whence those 490 yeares must bee supposed to begin: which wee shal find to bee in the 6th yeare of Darius Nothus; at what time the temple being finished by Artaxerxes commaund, formerly given Ao. Regni 20°. the commaund for the build-

especially from whence or what point of time they are to be computed. For thus it is delivered by the angel Gabriel: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people;" and again in the following verse: "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks, the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublesome times; and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off."[3] Now the going out of the commandment, to build the city, being the point from whence to compute, there is no slender controversy when to begin. For there are no less than four several edicts to this effect, the one in the first year of Cyrus,[4] the other in the second of Darius, the third and fourth in the seventh and in the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus: although as Petavius accounteth, it best accordeth unto the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, from whence Nehemiah deriveth his commission. Now that computes are made uncertainly with reference unto Christ, it is no wonder, since I perceive the time of his nativity is in controversy, and no less his age at his passion. For Clemens and Tertullian conceive he suffered at thirty; but Irenæus

ing of Jerusalem also was given by this Darius Nothus, Ao. Mundi 3532, which agrees exactlye with Scaliger's irrefragable computation. But to see this difficult question fully decided, and in a few lines, I can give no such direction, as that which Gregorye hath lately given us in his excellent tract *de Æris et Epochis*, cap. xi. which was publisht this last year 1649, and is a work worthye of a diligent reader.—*Wr.*

On referring to Rev. T. H. Horne's analytical view of Daniel, I find the following brief summary of this period. Its commencement "is fixed (Dan. ix. 25) to the time when the order was issued for rebuilding the temple in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezra vii. 11), seven weeks, or forty-nine years, was the temple in building (Dan. ix. 25); sixty-two weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years more, bring us to the public manifestation of the Messiah, at the beginning of John the Baptist's preaching; and one prophetic week or seven years, added to this, will bring us to the time of our Saviour's passion, or the thirty-third year of the Christian æra,—in all 490 years."—*Introduction, &c.* vol. iv. p. 1, ch. vi. § 4.

[3] *Know, &c.*] Dan. ix. 25.

[4] *the one in the first year, &c.*] A.M. 3419; 3430; 3492; 3505.—*Wr.* These dates however differ from those assigned by the most eminent of our more recent chronologists.

a father nearer his time, is further off in his account, that between forty and fifty.

Longomontanus, a late astronomer, endeavours to discov this secret from astronomical grounds, that is, the apogeu of the sun; conceiving the eccentricity invariable, and t apogeum yearly to move one scruple, two seconds, fif thirds, &c. Wherefore if in the time of Hipparchus, th is, in the year of the Julian period 4557, it was in the fif degree of Gemini, and in the days of Tycho Brahe, that in the year of our Lord 1588, or of the world 5554, t same was removed unto the fifth degree of Cancer; by th proportion of its motion, it was at the creation first in th beginning of Aries, and the perigeum or nearest point i Libra. But this conceit how ingenious or subtile soever, not of satisfaction; it being not determinable, or yet agree in what time precisely the apogeum absolveth one degree, a Petavius* hath also delivered.

Lastly, however these or other difficulties intervene, an that we cannot satisfy ourselves in the exact compute of time yet may we sit down with the common and usual account nor are these differences derogatory unto the advent or pas sion of Christ, unto which indeed they all do seem to point for the prophecies concerning our Saviour were indefinitely delivered before that of Daniel; so was that pronounced unto Eve in Paradise, that after of Balaam, those of Isaiah and the prophets, and that memorable one of Jacob, "the sceptre shall not depart from Israel until Shilo come;" which time notwithstanding it did not define at all. In what year therefore soever, either from the destruction of the temple, from the re-edifying thereof, from the flood, or from the creation, he appeared, certain it is, that in the fulness of time he came. When he therefore came, is not so considerable as that he is come: in the one there is consolation, in the other no satisfaction. The greater query is, when he will come again; and yet indeed it is no query at all; for that is never to be known, and therefore vainly enquired: 'tis a professed and authentick obscurity, unknown to all but to the omniscience of the Almighty. Certainly the ends of things are wrapt up in the hands of God, he that undertakes

* *De Doctrina Temporum*, l. 4.

the knowledge thereof forgets his own beginning, and disclaims his principles of earth. No man knows the end of the world, nor assuredly of any thing in it: God sees it, because unto his eternity it is present; he knoweth the ends of us, but not of himself; and because he knows not this, he knoweth all things, and his knowledge is endless, even in the object of himself.

CHAPTER II.

Of Men's Enquiries in what season or point of the Zodiack it began, that, as they are generally made, they are in vain, and as particularly, uncertain.

CONCERNING the seasons, that is, the quarters of the year some are ready to enquire, others to determine, in what season, whether in the autumn, spring, winter, or summer, the world had its beginning. Wherein we affirm, that, as the question is generally and in respect of the whole earth proposed, it is with manifest injury unto reason in any particular determined; because whenever the world had its beginning it was created in all these four. For, as we have elsewhere delivered, whatsoever sign the sun possesseth (whose recess or vicinity defineth the quarters of the year) those four seasons were actually existent; it being the nature of that luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year; all which it maketh at one time in the whole earth, and successively in any part thereof.[4] Thus if we suppose the sun created in Libra, in which sign unto some it maketh autumn; at the same time it had been winter unto the northern pole, for unto them at that time the sun beginneth to be invisible, and to show itself again unto the pole of the south. Unto the position of a right sphere, or directly under the equator, it had been summer; for unto that situation the

[4] *thereof.*] According as he makes his access too, or recess from the several [parts] of the earthe: now in that his accesse to the one is a recess from the other, it followes, that those from whom he partes have their autumne, those within the tropicks, over whose heads he passes, have their summer, and those on the other side beyond the tropicke towards whome hee goes have their new spring beginning in exchange of their former, causd by his absence.—*Wr.*

sun is at that time vertical. Unto the latitude of Capricorn, or the winter solstice, it had been spring; for unto that position it had been in a middle point, and that of ascent, or approximation; but unto the latitude of Cancer, or the summer solstice, it had been autumn; for then had it been placed in a middle point, and that of descent, or elongation.

And if we shall take literally what Moses describeth popularly, this was also the constitution of the first day. For when it was evening unto one longitude, it was morning unto another; when night unto one, day unto another. And therefore that question, whether our Saviour shall come again in the twilight (as is conceived he arose) or whether he shall come upon us in the night, according to the comparison of a thief, or the Jewish tradition, that he will come about the time of their departure out of Egypt, when they ate the passover, and the angel passed by the doors of their houses; this query, I say, needeth not further dispute. For if the earth be almost every where inhabited, and his coming (as divinity affirmeth) must needs be unto all; then must the time of his appearance be both in the day and night. For if unto Jerusalem, or what part of the world soever he shall appear in the night, at the same time unto the antipodes it must be day; if twilight unto them, broad day unto the Indians; if noon unto them, yet night unto the Americans; and so with variety according unto various habitations, or different positions of the sphere, as will be easily conceived by those who understand the affections of different habitations, and the conditions of Antœci, Periœci, and Antipodes. And so, although he appear in the night, yet may the day of judgment, or doomsday, well retain that name;* for that implieth one revolution of the sun, which maketh the day and night, and that one natural day. And yet, to speak strictly, if (as the apostle affirmeth) we shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye,[5] and (as the schools determine) the

* Νυχθήμερον.

[5] *twinkling, &c.*] Taking this for granted [which noe man dare denye] yet it is most truly sayde, that doomes day is the last daye, i. e. the last daye of the sons circling this lower world by his daylye course: which as itt hath [in itt selfe] noe rising or settinge, but caryeth the daye and midnoone always directly under him round the world perpetuallye: soe in what parte of the world that course shall

destruction of the world shall not be successive but in an instant, we cannot properly apply thereto the usual distinctions of time; calling that twelve hours, which admits not the parts thereof, or use at all the name of time, when the nature thereof shall perish.

But if the enquiry be made unto a particular place, and the question determined unto some certain meridian; as, namely, unto Mesopotamia,[6] wherein the seat of Paradise is presumed, the query becomes more reasonable, and is indeed in nature also determinable. Yet positively to define that season, there is no slender difficulty; for some contend that it began in the spring; as (beside Eusebius, Ambrose, Bede, and Theodoret), some few years past, Henrico Philippi in his chronology of the Scripture. Others are altogether for autumn; and from hence do our chronologers commence their compute, as may be observed in Helvicus, Jo. Scaliger, Calvisius, and Petavius.[7]

bee determind [and the day therewith] is noe waye considerable, and much lesse in what parte of the daye of 24 houres, that sodaine instant] of change shall bee; which of necessity must bee to some inhabitants of the world at the time of his risinge, to others at midnoone, to others at his sittinge, and to others at midnight: for all these are all at once, and in the very same instant, every day, in several partes of the worlde: as for example: in April when tis midday at London; 'tis just sonrise at Virginia; and just sonset at the hithermost partes of Nova Guinea, and yet itt is the same daye to all these three parcels of the world at once. But when that greate doome shall come, the course of the son shall instantly cease, and consequently the natural and usual course of day and night with itt: yet there shall bee noe want of lighte in that parte of the aire, or that parte of the earthe under the place, where the sonn of man shall call the world before his judgment-seate; unless any man bee soe simple to thinke that in the presence of God there shall be lesse light then in the presence of the son.—*Wr.*

[6] *Mesopotamia.*] Most thinke the valley of Jehosaphat.—*Wr.*

The valley of Jehoshaphat was situated eastward of Jerusalem, between that city and the Mount of Olives; and through which ran the brook Kedron:—Mesopotamia was a province between the Euphrates and Tigris.

[7] *Petavius.*] And yet itt must bee confest, that the spring, or sonns entrance into Aries is *verum caput et naturale Principium Anni*, renewing and reviving all things, as of old in Paradise, æqualling dayes and nights in all places, within the pole circles especially: and as to this all astronomers agree, soe, consonant thereto, all geographers consent, that Paradise was neere under the Æquinoctiall, or on this side of itt, under rise of the spring with the sonn.—*Wr.*

CHAPTER III.

Of the Divisions of the Seasons and Four Quarters of the Year, accorc unto Astronomers and Physicians; that the common compute of Ancients, and which is still retained by some, is very questionable.

As for the divisions of the year, and the quartering c this remarkable standard of time, there have passed especia two distinctions. The first in frequent use with astronome according to the cardinal intersections of the zodiack, that the two equinoctials and both the solstitial points, defini that time to be the spring of the year, wherein the sun do pass from the equinox of Aries unto the solstice of Cance the time between the solstice and the equinox of Libr summer; from thence unto the solstice of Capricornus, a tumn; and from thence unto the equinox of Aries agai winter. Now this division, although it be regular and equa is not universal; for it includeth not those latitudes whic have the seasons of the year double; as have the inhabitant under the equator, or else between the tropicks. For unt them the sun is vertical twice a year, making two distinc summers in the different points of verticality. So unt those which live under the equator, when the sun is in th equinox, it is summer, in which points it maketh spring o autumn unto us; and unto them it is also winter when the sun is in either tropick, whereas unto us it maketh alway summer in the one. And the like will happen unto those habitations, which are between the tropicks and the equator.

A second and more sensible division there is observed by Hippocrates, and most of the ancient Greeks, according to the rising and setting of divers stars; dividing the year, and establishing the account of seasons from usual alterations, and sensible mutations in the air, discovered upon the rising and setting of those stars: accounting the spring from the equinoctial point of Aries; from the rising of the Pleiades, or the several stars on the back of Taurus, summer; from the rising of Arcturus, a star between the thighs of Boëtes, autumn; and from the setting of the Pleiades, winter. Of these divisions, because they were unequal, they were fain to subdivide the two larger portions, that is, of the summer and

winter quarters; the first part of the summer they named θέρος, the second unto the rising of the dog-star, ὥρα, from thence unto the setting of Arcturus, ὀπώρα. The winter they divide also into three parts; the first part, or that of seed-time, they named σπορετὸν, the middle or proper winter, χειμὼν, the last, which was their planting or grafting time, φυταλιάν. This way of division was in former ages received, is very often mentioned in poets, translated from one nation to another; from the Greeks unto the Latins, as is received by good authors; and delivered by physicians, even unto our times.

Now of these two, although the first in some latitude may be retained, yet is not the other in any way to be admitted. For in regard of time (as we elsewhere declare) the stars do vary their longitudes, and consequently the times of their ascension and descension. That star which is the term of numeration, or point from whence we commence the account, altering his site and longitude in process of time, and removing from west to east, almost one degree in the space of seventy-two years, so that the same star, since the age of Hippocrates, who used this account, is removed *in consequentia* about twenty-seven degrees. Which difference of their longitudes doth much diversify the times of their ascents, and rendereth the account unstable which shall proceed thereby.

Again, in regard of different latitudes, this cannot be a settled rule, or reasonably applied unto many nations. For, whereas the setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, is designed the term of autumn, and the beginning of winter, unto some latitudes these stars do never set, as unto all beyond 67 degrees. And if in several and far distant latitudes we observe the same star as a common term of account unto both, we shall fall upon an unexpected, but an unsufferable absurdity; and by the same account it will be summer unto us in the north, before it be so unto those, which unto us are southward, and many degrees approaching nearer the sun. For if we consult the doctrine of the sphere, and observe the ascension of the Pleiades, which maketh the beginning of summer, we shall discover that in the latitude of 40 these stars arise in the 16th degree of Taurus, but in the latitude of 50, they ascend in the eleventh degree of the

same sign, that is, five days sooner; so shall it be sun unto London, before it be unto Toledo, and begin to sc in England, before it grow hot in Spain.

This is therefore no general way of compute, nor rea able to be derived from one nation unto another; the de of which consideration hath caused divers errors in L poets, translating these expressions from the Greeks; many difficulties even in the Greeks themselves, which, li in divers latitudes, yet observed the same compute. So t to make them out, we are fain to use distinctions; so times computing cosmically what they intended heliaca and sometimes in the same expression accounting the ris heliacally, the setting cosmically. Otherwise it will hardly made out, what is delivered by approved autho and is an observation very considerable unto those wh meet with such expressions, as they are very frequent in t poets of elder times, especially Hesiod, Aratus, Virgil, Ov Manilius, and authors geoponical, or which have treated *re rustica*, as Constantine, Marcus Cato, Columella, Pal dius, and Varro.

Lastly, the absurdity in making common unto many n tions those considerations whose verity is but particular un some, will more evidently appear, if we examine the rul and precepts of some one climate, and fall upon conside ation with what incongruity they are transferable unt others.

Thus it is advised by Hesiod:—

> Pleiadibus Atlante natis orientibus
> Incipe Messem, Arationem vero occidentibus,—

implying hereby the heliacal ascent and cosmical descent o those stars. Now herein he setteth down a rule to begi harvest at the arise of the Pleiades; which in his time wa in the beginning of May. This indeed was consonant unt the clime wherein he lived, and their harvest began about that season; but is not appliable unto our own, for therein we are so far from expecting an harvest, that our barley-seed is not ended. Again, correspondent unto the rule of Hesiod, Virgil affordeth another:—

> Ante tibi Eoæ Atlantides abscondantur,
> Debita quam sulcis committas semina,—

understanding hereby their cosmical descent, or their setting when the sun ariseth; and not their heliacal obscuration, or their inclusion in the lustre of the sun, as Servius upon this place would have it; for at that time these stars are many signs removed from that luminary. Now herein he strictly adviseth, not to begin to sow before the setting of these stars; which notwithstanding, without injury to agriculture cannot be observed in England; for they set unto us about the 12th of November, when our seed-time is almost ended.

And this diversity of clime and celestial observations, precisely observed unto certain stars and months, hath not only overthrown the deductions of one nation to another, but hath perturbed the observation of festivities and statary solemnities, even with the Jews themselves. For unto them it was commanded, that at their entrance into the land of Canaan, in the fourteenth of the first month (that is Abib or Nisan, which is spring with us), they should observe the celebration of the passover; and on the morrow after, which is the fifteenth day, the feast of unleavened bread; and in the sixteenth of the same month, that they should offer the first sheaf of the harvest. Now all this was feasible and of an easy possibility in the land of Canaan, or latitude of Jerusalem; for so it is observed by several authors in later times; and is also testified by Holy Scripture in times very far before.* For when the children of Israel passed the river Jordan, it is delivered by way of parenthesis, that the river overfloweth its banks in the time of harvest; which is conceived the time wherein they passed; and it is after delivered, that in the fourteenth day they celebrated the passover:† which according to the law of Moses, was to be observed in the first month, or month of Abib.

And therefore it is no wonder, what is related by Luke, that the disciples upon the *deuteroproton*, as they passed by, plucked the ears of corn. For the *deuteroproton* or second first sabbath, was the first sabbath after the *deutera* or second of the passover, which was the sixteenth of Nisan or Abib. And this is also evidenced from the received construction of the first and latter rain: "I will give you the rain of your

* Josh. iii. † Josh. v.

land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain :
for the first rain fell upon the seed-time about October, a
was to make the seed to root; the latter was to fill the e
and fell in Abib or March, the first month: according as
expressed, "And he will cause to come down for you
rain, the former rain and the latter rain in the first month
that is, the month of Abib, wherein the passover v
observed. This was the law of Moses, and this in the la
of Canaan was well observed, according to the first insti
tion: but since their dispersion, and habitation in countri
whose constitutions admit not such tempestivity of harve
(and many not before the latter end of summer), notwi
standing the advantage of their lunary account, and int
calary month Veader, affixed unto the beginning of the ye
there will be found a great disparity in their observatio
nor can they strictly, and at the same season with th
forefathers, observe the commands of God.

To add yet further, those geoponical rules and precepts
agriculture, which are delivered by divers authors, are not
be generally received, but respectively understood unto clim
whereto they are determined. For whereas one adviseth
sow this or that grain at one season, a second to set this
that at another, it must be conceived relatively, and eve
nation must have its country farm; for herein we m
observe a manifest and visible difference, not only in t
seasons of harvest, but in the grains themselves. For wi
us barley-harvest is made after wheat-harvest, but with t
Israelites and Egyptians it was otherwise. So is it express
by way of priority, Ruth ii.; "So Ruth kept fast by t
maidens of Boaz, to glean unto the end of barley-harvest a
of wheat-harvest;" which in the plague of hail in Egypt
more plainly delivered, Exod. ix.; "And the flax and t
barley were smitten, for the barley was in the ear, and t
flax was bolled; but the wheat and the rye were not smitte
for they were not grown up."

And thus we see, the account established upon the aris
or descent of the stars can be no reasonable rule unto distan
nations at all; and, by reason of their retrogression, bu
temporary unto any one. Nor must these respective expres

* Deut. xi. † Joel ii.

sions be entertained in absolute consideration; for so distinct is the relation, and so artificial the habitude of this inferior globe unto the superior, and even of one thing in each unto the other, that general rules are dangerous, and applications most safe that run with security of circumstance, which rightly to effect, is beyond the subtilty of sense, and requires the artifice of reason.[8]

CHAPTER IV.

Of some computation of days, and deductions of one part of the year unto another.

FOURTHLY, there are certain vulgar opinions concerning days of the year, and conclusions popularly deduced from certain days of the month; men commonly believing the days increase and decrease equally in the whole year; which notwithstanding is very repugnant unto truth. For they increase in the month of March, almost as much as in the two months of January and February: and decrease as much in September, as they do in July and August. For the days increase or decrease according to the declination of the sun, that is, its deviation northward or southward from the equator. Now this digression is not equal, but near the equinoxial intersections, it is right and greater, near the solstices more oblique and lesser. So from the eleventh of March the vernal equinox, unto the eleventh of April, the sun declineth to the north twelve degrees; from the eleventh of April, unto the eleventh of May, but eight; from thence unto the fifteenth of June, or the summer solstice, but three

[8] *reason.*] Hence itt may appeare that those rules of prognostic and signification, which the Ægyptian, Arabian, Græcian, yea, and Italian astronomers, have given concerning the starrs, and those clymates wherein they lived, cannot bee applied to our remote and colder clymes, nor to these later times (wherein the constellations of all the twelve signes are moved eastward almost 30 degrees; Aries into Taurus and that into Gemini, &c.) without manifest errors and grosse deceptions, and are therefore of late rejected by the most famous astronomers, Tycho, Copernicus, Longomontanus, and Kepler (as diabolical impostures). *De Cometa Anni* 1618.—*Wr.*

and a half: all which make twenty-two degrees and an half, the greatest declination of the sun.

And this inequality in the declination of the sun in the zodiack or line of life, is correspondent unto the growth or declination of man. For setting out from infancy, we increase, not equally, or regularly attain to our state or perfection; nor when we descend from our state, is our declination equal, or carrieth us with even paces unto the grave. For as Hippocrates affirmeth, a man is hottest in the first day of his life, and coldest in the last; his natural heat setteth forth most vigorously at first, and declineth most sensibly at last. And so though the growth of man end not perhaps until twenty-one, yet is his stature more advanced in the first septenary than in the second, and in the second more than in the third, and more indeed in the first seven years, than in the fourteen succeeding; for what stature we attain unto at seven years, we do sometimes but double, most times come short of at one and twenty. And so do we decline again: For in the latter age upon the tropick and first descension from our solstice, we are scarce sensible of declination: but declining further, our decrement accelerates, we set apace, and in our last days precipitate into our graves. And thus are also our progressions in the womb, that is, our formation, motion, our birth, or exclusion. For our formation is quickly effected, our motion appeareth later, and our exclusion very long after: if that be true which Hippocrates and Avicenna have declared, that the time of our motion is double unto that of formation, and that of exclusion treble unto that of motion. As if the infant be formed at thirty-five days, it moveth at seventy, and is born the two hundred and tenth day, that is, the seventh month; or if it receives not formation before forty-five days, it moveth the ninetieth day, and is excluded in the two hundred and seventieth, that is, the ninth month.

There are also certain popular prognosticks drawn from festivals in the calendar, and conceived opinions of certain days in months; so is there a general tradition in most parts of Europe, that inferreth the coldness of succeeding winter from the shining of the sun upon Candlemas day, or the purification of the Virgin Mary, according to the proverbial distich,

Si Sol splendescat Mariâ purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante.

So is it usual among us to qualify and conditionate the twelve months of the year, answerable unto the temper of the twelve days in Christmas; and to ascribe unto March certain borrowed days from April, all which men seem to believe upon annual experience of their own, and the received traditions of their forefathers.

Now it is manifest, and most men likewise know, that the calendars of these computers, and the accounts of these days are very different: the Greeks dissenting from the Latins, and the Latins from each other: the one observing the Julian or ancient account, as Great Britain and part of Germany; the other adhering to the Gregorian or new account, as Italy, France, Spain, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Now this latter account, by ten days at least, anticipateth the other; so that before the one beginneth the account, the other is past it; yet in the several calculations, the same events seem true, and men with equal opinion of verity, expect and confess a confirmation from them all. Whereby is evident the oraculous authority of tradition, and the easy seduction of men,[9] neither enquiring into the verity of the substance, nor reforming upon repugnance of circumstance.

And thus may divers easily be mistaken who superstitiously observe certain times, or set down unto themselves an observation of unfortunate months, or days, or hours. As did the Egyptians, two in every month, and the Romans the days after the nones, ides, and calends. And thus the rules of navigators must often fail, setting down, as Rhodiginus observeth, suspected and ominous days in every month, as the first and seventh of March, and fifth and sixth of April, the sixth, the twelfth, and fifteenth of February. For the accounts hereof in these months are very different in our days, and were different with several nations in ages past, and how strictly soever the account be made, and even by the selfsame calendar, yet it is possible that navigators may be out. For so were the Hollanders, who passing west-

[9] *men.*] By the jugling Priests in the old mythologies of the heathen deytyes, trulye taxte by the poet under that "*Quicquid Græcia mendax mandat in historiis.*—*Wr.*

ward through *fretum le Mayre*, and compassing the glob upon their return into their own country found that the had lost a day. For if two men at the same time trav from the same place, the one eastward, the other westward round about the earth, and meet in the same place fro whence they first set forth, it will so fall out that he whic hath moved eastward against the diurnal motion of the sun by anticipating daily something of its circle with its ow motion, will gain one day; but he that travelleth westward, with the motion of the sun, by seconding its revolution, shal lose or come short a day; and therefore also upon thes grounds that Delos was seated in the middle of the earth, i was no exact decision, because two eagles let fly east an west by Jupiter, their meeting fell out just in the islan Delos.

CHAPTER V.

A digression of the Wisdom of God in the Site and Motion of the Sun.

HAVING thus beheld the ignorance of man in some things his error and blindness in others, that is, in the measure o duration both of years and seasons, let us awhile admire the wisdom of God in this distinguisher of times, and visible deity (as some have termed it) the sun, which, though some from its glory adore, and all for its benefits admire, we shall advance from other considerations, and such as illustrate the artifice of its Maker. Nor do we think we can excuse the duty of our knowledge, if we only bestow the flourish of poetry hereon, or those commendatory conceits which popularly set forth the eminency of this creature, except we

[1] *westward.*] Captain Bodman, an auncient and discreete gentleman, and learned, for his many services to the State, being admitted a poore Knight at Windsor, was wont to tell mee, that at their returne from surrounding the world with Sir Francis Drake in the yeare 1579, they found that they lost a daye in their accomptes of their daylye saylinge, which agrees with this excellent observation of Dr. Browne; for their voyage was from England to the Streits of Magellan, and soe round by the Moluccas and Cape of Good Hope, back to England, which was totalye with the sonne, and therefore what they observed with admiration, concerning the losse of a day in their accompt, had a manifest reason and cause to justifie the trueth of that observation, and that it could not possiblye bee otherwise.—*Wr.*

ascend unto subtiler considerations, and such, as rightly understood, convincingly declare the wisdom of the Creator. Which since a Spanish physician* hath begun, we will enlarge with our deductions, and this we shall endeavour from two considerations, its proper situation and wisely ordered motion.

And first, we cannot pass over his providence, in that it moveth at all, for had it stood still, and were it fixed like the earth, there had been then no distinction of times, either of day or year, of spring, of autumn, of summer, or of winter; for these seasons are defined by the motions of the sun: when that approacheth nearest our zenith, or vertical point, we call it summer; when furthest off, winter; when in the middle spaces, spring or autumn; whereas, remaining in one place, these distinctions had ceased, and consequently the generation of all things, depending on their vicissitudes; making in one hemisphere a perpetual summer, in the other a deplorable and comfortless winter.[2] And thus had it also

* *Valeriva de Philos. Sacr.*

[2] *winter.*] All this must of necessity evidentlye follow, unlesse (according to the supposition of Copernicus, for I suppose it was but a postulate of art, nee parte of his creed) that the son is fixed in the midst or center of this universal frame of the world, altogether immoovable, and that the earth, with all the rest of the elements, is annually caryed round about the sonne in the sphere between Mars and Venus, parting that lovinge couple of godlings by its boysterous intrusion, but the mischeef is that besides this annual motion of the earth, mounted like Phaethon in the chariet and throne of the somne, the Copernicans are forced, contrary to their own principles, that *unius corporis cœlestis* (for see you must nowe accompte itt, though a dul and opacous planet, *unius est motus simplex*), to ascribe two other motions to the earth; the one a vertiginous rotation, whirling about his own center, wherby turning toward the son causeth daye, and turning from the son, night; both of them every twenty-four hours; the other a tottering motion of inclination to the son the sommer halfe yeare, and of reclination from the son in the halfe halfe, from whence must of necessity follow two vast and unconcedable postulates. First, that as the son, in his old sphere, is supposed in respect of his distance from the center to moove nee lesse than 18,000 miles every minute of an heur, yf the earth bee in the sons place, they must perforce acknowledge the same pernicitye in the earth, and yet not perceptible to our sense, nor to the wisest of the world, since the creation till our times. But to salve this, as they thinke, they suppose and postulate the second motion of rotation or whirling on his owne center, which others conceive to bee diametrally opposite to Scripture: but then there recoyles upon them this strange

been continual day unto some, and perpetual night unto others, for the day is defined by the abode of the sun above the horizon, and the night by its continuance below; so should we have needed another sun, one to illustrate our hemisphere, a second to enlighten the other, which inconvenience will ensue in what site soever we place it, whether in the poles or the equator, or between them both; no spherical body, of what bigness soever, illuminating the whole sphere of another, although it illuminate something more than half of a lesser, according unto the doctrine of the opticks.

His wisdom is again discernible, not only in that it moveth at all, and in its bare motion, but wonderful in contriving the line of its revolution which is so prudently effected, that by a vicissitude in one body and light it sufficeth the whole earth, affording thereby a possible or pleasurable habitation in every part thereof, and that is the line ecliptick, all which to effect by any other circle it had been impossible. For first, if we imagine the sun to make its course out of the ecliptick, and upon a line without any obliquity, let it be conceived within that circle that is either on the equator, or else on either side; for if we should place it either in the meridian or colures, beside the subversion of its course from east to west, there would ensue the like incommodities. Now if we conceive the sun to move between the obliquity of this ecliptick in a line upon one side of the equator, then would the sun be visible but unto one pole, that is the same which was nearest unto it. So that unto the one it would be perpetual day, unto the other perpetual night; the one would be oppressed with constant heat, the other with insufferable cold, and so the defect of alternation would utterly impugn the generation of all things, which naturally require a vicissitude of heat to their production, and no less to their increase and conservation.

But if we conceive it to move in the equator, first unto a parallel sphere, or such as have the pole for their zenith, it would have made neither perfect day nor night. For being in the equator it would intersect their horizon, and be half above and half beneath it, or rather it would have made

consequence that the earthe being 21,600 miles in compass, and whirling rounde every twenty-four howres, caryes every towne and howse 895 miles every houre, and yet not discernablye.—*Wr.*

perpetual night to both; for though in regard of the rational horizon, which bisecteth the globe into equal parts, the sun in the equator would intersect the horizon; yet in respect of the sensible horizon, which is defined by the eye, the sun would be visible unto neither. For if, as ocular witnesses report, and some also write, by reason of the convexity of the earth, the eye of man under the equator cannot discover both the poles, neither would the eye under the poles discover the sun in the equator. Thus would there nothing fructify either near or under them, the sun being horizontal to the poles, and of no considerable altitude unto parts a reasonable distance from them. Again, unto a right sphere, or such as dwell under the equator, although it made a difference in day and night, yet would it not make any distinction of seasons; for unto them it would be constant summer, it being always vertical, and never deflecting from them. So had there been no fructification at all, and the countries subjected would be as unhabitable, as indeed antiquity conceived them.

Lastly, it moving thus upon the equator, unto what position soever, although it had made a day, yet could it have made no year, for it could not have had those two motions[3] now

[3] *two motions.*] The motion from east to west is cald the motion of the world, bycause by itt all the whole frame of the universe is caryed round every 24 howres, and among the rest of the cælestial lights the sun alsoe, to whom this motion does not belong but passively onlye, and therefore heere was noe feare of crossing that undoubted principle which unavoydably recoyls upon the Copernicans, who to make good their hypothesis, fancye a rotation of dinetical, that is, a whirlinge rapture of the earthe about his owne axe every 24 houres, that is, 900 miles every howre, which is more impossible then for the heaven which wee call the primum mobile to turne about 400,000 miles every houre; unless they thinke that he who made itt soe infinitelye vast in compasse and in distance from us, could not make itt as swift in motion alsoe, as he makes his angels, or has he made his owne bodye in his ascention, or as he makes the lightning or the light itself.

The compass of the earth, which is 21,600 miles, divided by 24 leaves in the quotient $937\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ i. e. $\frac{1}{2}$ of miles, and soe many the Copernicans thinke the earth turnes every howre; that is above 15 miles every minute of an houre, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile every second, i. e. swifter then the natural motion of the heart. Proculdubio loca terræ sub polis sita, nequeunt ab æquatoris subjectis cerni: cum horison terrestris nusquam in ipso oceano tranquillo 60 miliarium visu terminetur: at polos cœli posse ab iisdem terræ incolis simul conspici, manifestum ex rarefactione quæ sydera attollit ultra distantiam horizontis rationalis.—*Wr.*

ascribed unto it, that is, from east to west, whereby it makes the day, and likewise from west to east, whereby the year is computed. For according to received astronomy, the poles of the equator are the same with those of the *primum mobile*. Now it is impossible that on the same circle,[4] having the same poles, both these motions, from opposite terms, should be at the same time performed, all which is salved, if we allow an obliquity in his annual motion, and conceive him to move upon the poles of the zodiack, distant from those of the world twenty-three degrees and an half. Thus may we discern the necessity of its obliquity, and how inconvenient its motion had been upon a circle parallel to the equator, or upon the equator itself.

Now with what providence this obliquity is determined, we shall perceive upon the ensuing inconveniences from any deviation. For first, if its obliquity had been less (as instead of twenty-three degrees, twelve or the half thereof) the vicissitude of seasons appointed for the generation of all things would surely have been too short; for different seasons would have huddled upon each other, and unto some it had not been much better than if it had moved on the equator. But had the obliquity been greater than now it is, as double, or of 40 degrees, several parts of the earth had not been able to endure the disproportionable differences of seasons, occasioned by the great recess, and distance of the sun. For unto some habitations the summer would have been extreme hot, and the winter extreme cold; likewise the summer temperate unto some, but excessive and in extremity unto others, as unto those who should dwell under the tropick of Cancer, as then would do some part of Spain, or ten degrees beyond, as Germany, and some part of England, who would have summers, as now the Moors of Africa. For the sun would sometime be vertical unto them; but they would have winters like those beyond the arctic circle, for in that season the sun would be removed above 80 degrees from them. Again, it would be temperate to some habitations in the summer, but very extreme in the winter; temperate to those in two or three degrees beyond the arctic circle, as now it is unto us, for they would be equidistant from that tropic, even as we

[4] *circle.*] Globe.—*Wr.*

are from this at present. But the winter would be extreme, the sun being removed above an hundred degrees, and so consequently would not be visible in their horizon, no position of sphere discovering any star distant above 90 degrees, which is the distance of every zenith from the horizon. And thus, if the obliquity of this circle had been less, the vicissitude of seasons had been so small as not to be distinguished; if greater, so large and disproportionable as not to be endured.

Now for its situation, although it held this ecliptic line, yet had it been seated in any other orb,[5] inconveniences would ensue of condition unlike the former; for had it been placed in the lowest sphere of the moon, the year would have consisted but of one month, for in that space of time it would have passed through every part of the ecliptic; so would there have been no reasonable distinction of seasons required for the generation and fructifying of all things, contrary seasons which destroy the effects of one another so suddenly succeeding. Besides, by this vicinity unto the earth, its heat had been intolerable; for if, as many affirm,[6] there is a different sense of heat from the different points of its proper orb, and that in the apogeum, or highest point, which happeneth in Cancer, it is not so hot under that tropic, on this side the equator, as unto the other side in the perigeum or lowest part of the eccentric, which happeneth in Capricornus, surely, being placed in an orb far lower, its heat would be unsufferable, nor needed we a fable to set the world on fire.

But had it been placed in the highest orb, or that of the eighth sphere, there had been none but Plato's year, and a far less distinction of seasons; for one year had then been many, and according unto the slow revolution of that orb which absolveth not his course in many thousand years, no man had lived to attain the account thereof. These are the inconveniences ensuing upon its situation in the extreme orbs; and had it been placed in the middle orbs of the planets, there would have ensued absurdities of a middle nature unto them.

[5] *orb.*] Orbit.

[6] *as many affirm.*] Especially Scaliger, in that admirable work of his exercitations upon Cardan de Subtilitate. *Exercit.* 99, § 2, p. 342.—*Wr.*

Now whether we adhere unto the hypothesis of Copernicus,[7] affirming the earth to move and the sun to stand still; or whether we hold, as some of late have concluded, from the spots in the sun, which appear and disappear again, that besides the revolution it maketh with its orbs, it hath also a dinetical[8] motion, and rolls upon its own poles; whether I say we affirm these or no, the illations before mentioned are not thereby infringed. We therefore conclude this contemplation, and are not afraid to believe it may be literally said of the wisdom of God, what men will have but figuratively spoken of the works of Christ, that if the wonders thereof were duly described, the whole world, that is, all within the last circumference, would not contain them. For as his wisdom is infinite, so cannot the due expressions thereof be finite, and if the world comprise him not, neither can it comprehend the story of him.

CHAPTER VI.

Concerning the vulgar opinion, that the Earth was slenderly peopled before the Flood.

BESIDE the slender consideration, men of latter times do hold of the first ages, it is commonly opinioned, and at first thought generally imagined, that the earth was thinly inhabited, at least not remotely planted, before the flood, whereof there being two opinions, which seem to be of some extremity, the one too largely extending, the other too narrowly

[7] *Copernicus.*] Copernicus, to make good his hypothesis, is forced to ascribe a triple motion to the earthe: the first annuall, round about the sonne, which hee places in the midst of the universe, and the earthe to bee caryed, as the sonne was ever supposed to be, in a middle orbe between Venus and Mars; the second not a motion of declination from the æquator to bothe the tropicks onlye, causinge the different seasons of the yeare, but more properlye a motion of inclination likewise to the sonne, which supposes also the poles of the earth to bee mooved, and the third motion is that called dineticall, or rotation upon his owne axis, causing day and night.—*Wr.*

[8] *dinetical.*] Signifies whirlinge, from δίνη, which in the Greeke is a whirlpole, soe that the dineticall motion of the son is such, in their opinion, as that of the materiall globes, which wee make to turne upon their axis in a frame.—*Wr.*

contracting the populosity of those times, we shall not pass over this point without some enquiry into it.[9]

Now for the true enquiry thereof, the means are as obscure as the matter, which being naturally to be explored by history, human or divine, receiveth thereby no small addition of obscurity. For as for human relations, they are so fabulous in Deucalion's flood, that they are of little credit about Ogyges' and Noah's. For the heathens, as Varro accounteth, make three distinctions of time. The first from the beginning of the world unto the general deluge of Ogyges, they term *Adelon*,[1] that is, a time not much unlike that which was before time, immanifest and unknown; because thereof there is almost nothing or very obscurely delivered; for though divers authors have made some mention of the deluge, as Manethon the Egyptian priest, Xenophon, *De Æquivocis*, Fabius Pictor, *De Aureo seculo*, Mar. Cato, *De Originibus*, and Archilochus the Greek, who introduceth also the testimony of Moses, in his fragment *De Temporibus;* yet have they delivered no account of what preceded or went before. Josephus, I confess, in his discourse against Appion, induceth the antiquity of the Jews unto the flood, and before, from the testimony of human writers, insisting especially upon Maseus of Damascus, Jeronymus Ægyptius, and Berosus; and confirming the long duration of their lives, not only from these, but the authority of Hesiod, Erathius, Hellanicus, and Age-

[9] *whereof, &c.*] Instead of this passage, the first five editions have the following :—"So that some conceiving it needless to be universal, have made the deluge particular, and about those parts where Noah built his ark; which opinion, because it is not only injurious to the text, human history, and common reason, but also derogatory to the great work of God, the universal inundation, it will be needful to make some further inquisition; and although predetermined by opinion, whether many might not suffer in the first flood, as they shall in the last flame, that is who knew not Adam nor his offence, and many perish in the deluge, who never heard of Noah or the ark of his preservation."

[1] *Adelon.*] To the heathen who either knew nothing of the creation, or at least beleeved itt not, the first distinction of time must needs bee ἄδηλον, that is utterly unknowne, for the space of 1656 from the creation to the flood, and the second, the *mythicon*, little better, as the very name they give itt (yt is fabulous), importes, whereas in the church of God, the third (which they call historicall, and began not till after the 3000th yeare of the world's creation with them) was continued in a perfect narration and unquestionable historye from the beginning of time through those 3000 yeares.—*Wr.*

silaus. Berosus, the Chaldean priest, writes most plainly, mentioning the city of Enos, the name of Noah and his sons, the building of the ark, and also the place of its landing. And Diodorus Siculus hath in his third book a passage, which examined, advanceth as high as Adam; for the Chaldeans, saith he, derive the original of their astronomy and letters forty-three thousand years before the monarchy of Alexander the Great; now the years whereby they computed the antiquity of their letters, being, as Xenophon interprets, to be accounted lunary, the compute will arise unto the time of Adam. For forty-three thousand lunary years make about three thousand six hundred thirty-four years, which answereth the chronology of time from the beginning of the world unto the reign of Alexander, as Annius of Viterbo computeth, in his comment upon Berosus.

The second space or interval of time is accounted from the flood unto the first Olympiad, that is, the year of the world 3174, which extendeth unto the days of Isaiah the prophet, and some twenty years before the foundation of Rome. This they term *mythicon* or fabulous, because the account thereof, especially of the first part, is fabulously or imperfectly delivered. Hereof some things have been briefly related by the authors above mentioned, more particularly by Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Trogus Pompeius. The most famous Greek poets lived also in this interval, as Orpheus, Linus, Museus, Homer, Hesiod; and herein are comprehended the grounds and first invention of poetical fables, which were also taken up by historical writers, perturbing the Chaldean and Egyptian records with fabulous additions, and confounding their names and stories with their own inventions.

The third time succeeding until their present ages, they term *historicon*, that is, such wherein matters have been more truly historified, and may therefore be believed. Of these times also have written Herodotus,[2] Thucydides, Xeno-

[2] *Herodotus.*] Yet the first parte of his historye begins not till the times of Apries, that is, Hophreas, whose reign began not till the seige of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor, 475 yeares after Saul, the first king of Israel, and at least 1224 yeares after the flood, of all which time (which to them was most obscure and fabulous) the sacred storye is see plaine that thence Eusebius tooke his argument to convince the heathen.

phon, Diodorus, and both of these and the other preceding such as have delivered universal histories or chronologies; as (to omit Philo, whose narrations concern the Hebrews) Eusebius, Julius Africanus, Orosius, Ado of Vienna, Marianus Scotus, *Historia tripartita*, *Urspergensis*, Carion, Pineda, Salian, and with us Sir Walter Raleigh.

Now from the first hereof, that most concerneth us, we have little or no assistance, the fragments and broken records hereof inforcing not at all our purpose. And although some things not usually observed may be from thence collected, yet do they not advantage our discourse, nor any way make evident the point in hand. For the second, though it directly concerns us not, yet in regard of our last medium and some illustrations therein, we shall be constrained to make some use thereof. As for the last, it concerns us not at all; for treating of times far below us, it can no way advantage us. And though divers in this last age have also written of the first, as all that have delivered the general accounts of time, yet are their tractates little auxiliary unto ours, nor afford us any light to detenebrate and clear this truth.

As for Holy Scripture and divine relation, there may also seem therein but slender information, there being only left a brief narration hereof by Moses, and such as affords no positive determination. For the text delivereth but two genealogies, that is, of Cain and Seth; in the line of Seth there are only ten descents, in that of Cain but seven, and those in a right line with mention of father and son, excepting that of Lamech, where is also mention of wives, sons, and a daughter. Notwithstanding, if we seriously consider what is delivered therein, and what is also deducible, it will be probably declared what is by us intended, that is, the populous and ample habitation of the earth before the flood. Which we shall labour to induce not from postulates and entreated maxims, but undeniable principles declared in Holy Scripture, that is, the length of men's lives before the flood, and the large extent of time from creation thereunto.

We shall only first crave notice, that although in the relation of Moses there be very few persons mentioned, yet are there many more to be presumed; nor when the Scripture

of their novel idolatryes, the most whereof sprang upp in the end of these fabulous times.—*Wr.*

in the line of Seth nominates but ten persons, are they to be conceived all that were of this generation. The Scripture singly delivering the holy line, wherein the world was to be preserved, first in Noah, and afterward in our Saviour. For in this line it is manifest there were many more born than are named, for it is said of them all, that they begat sons and daughters. And whereas it is very late before it is said they begat those persons which are named in the Scripture, the soonest at 65, it must not be understood that they had none before, but not any in whom it pleased God the holy line should be continued. And although the expression that they begat sons and daughters, be not determined to be before or after the mention of those, yet must it be before in some; for before it is said that Adam begat Seth at the 130th year, it is plainly affirmed that Cain knew his wife, and had a son, which must be one of the daughters of Adam, one of those whereof it is after said, he begat sons and daughters. And so, for ought can be disproved, there might be more persons upon earth than are commonly supposed when Cain slew Abel, nor the fact so heinously to be aggravated in the circumstance of the fourth person living. And whereas it is said, upon the nativity of Seth, God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, it doth not imply he had no other all this while; but not any of that expectation, or appointed (as his name implies) to make a progression in the holy line, in whom the world was to be saved, and from whom he should be born, that was mystically slain in Abel.

Now our first ground to induce the numerosity of people before the flood, is the long duration of their lives, beyond seven, eight, and nine hundred years. Which how it conduceth unto populosity, we shall make but little doubt, if we consider there are two main causes of numerosity in any kind or species, that is, a frequent and multiparous way of breeding, whereby they fill the world with others, though they exist not long themselves; or a long duration and subsistence, whereby they do not only replenish the world with a new annumeration of others, but also maintain the former account in themselves. From the first cause we may observe examples in creatures oviparous, as birds and fishes; in vermiparous, as flies, locusts, and gnats; in animals also vivi-

parous, as swine and conies. Of the first there is a great example in the herd of swine in Galilee, although an unclean beast and forbidden unto the Jews. Of the other a remarkable one in Athenæus, in the Isle Astipalea, one of the Cyclades, now called Stampalia, wherein from two that were imported, the number so increased, that the inhabitants were constrained to have recourse unto the oracle of Delphos, for an invention how to destroy them.

Others there are which make good the paucity of their breed with the length and duration of their days, whereof there want not examples in animals uniparous. First, in bisulcous or cloven-hoofed, as camels and beeves, whereof there is above a million annually slain in England. It is also said of Job, that he had a thousand yoke of oxen, and six thousand camels; and of the children of Israel passing into the land of Canaan, that they took from the Midianites threescore and ten thousand beeves; and of the army of Semiramis, that there were therein one hundred thousand camels. For solipeds or firm-hoofed animals, as horses, asses, mules, &c., they are also in mighty numbers; so it is delivered that Job had a thousand she asses; that the Midianites lost sixty-one thousand asses. For horses, it is affirmed by Diodorus, that Ninus brought against the Bactrians two hundred eighty thousand horses; after him Semiramis five hundred thousand horses, and chariots one hundred thousand. Even in creatures sterile, and such as do not generate, the length of life conduceth much unto the multiplicity of the species; for the number of mules which live far longer than their dams or sires, in countries where they are bred, is very remarkable, and far more common than horses.

For animals multifidous, or such as are digitated or have several divisions in their feet, there are but two that are uniparous, that is, men and elephants, who, though their productions be but single, are notwithstanding very numerous. The elephant, as Aristotle affirmeth, carrieth the young two years, and conceiveth not again, as Edvardus Lopez affirmeth, in many years after, yet doth their age requite this disadvantage, they living commonly one hundred, sometime two hundred years. Now although they be rare with us in Europe, and altogether unknown unto America, yet in the

two other parts of the world they are in great abundance, as appears by the relation of Garcias ab Horto, physician to the Viceroy at Goa, who relates that at one venation the king of Siam took four thousand, and is of opinion they are in other parts in greater number than herds of beeves in Europe. And though this, delivered from a Spaniard unacquainted with our northern droves, may seem very far to exceed, yet must we conceive them very numerous, if we consider the number of teeth transported from one country to another, they having only two great teeth, and those not falling or renewing.

As for man, the disadvantage in his single issue is the same with these, and in the lateness of his generation somewhat greater than any; yet in the continual and not interrupted time hereof, and the extent of his days, he becomes at present, if not than any other species, at least more numerous than these before mentioned. Now being thus numerous at present, and in the measure of threescore, fourscore, or an hundred years, if their days extended unto six, seven, or eight hundred, their generations would be proportionably multiplied, their times of generation being not only multiplied, but their subsistence continued. For though the great-grandchild went on, the *petrucius** and first original would subsist and make one of the world, though he outlived all the terms of consanguinity, and became a stranger unto his proper progeny. So, by compute of Scripture, Adam lived unto the ninth generation, unto the days of Lamech, the father of Noah; Methuselah unto the year of the flood, and Noah was contemporary unto all from Enoch unto Abraham. So that although some died, the father beholding so many descents, the number of survivors must still be very great; for if half the men were now alive which lived in the last century, the earth would scarce contain their number. Whereas in our abridged and septuagesimal ages, it is very rare, and deserves a distich† to behold the fourth generation. Xerxes' complaint still remaining, and what he lamented in his army, being almost deplorable in the whole world; men seldom arriving unto those years whereby Methuselah ex-

* The term for that person for whom consanguineal relations are accounted, as in the *Arbor civilis*.

† *Mater ait nata, dic natæ filia, &c.*

ceeded nine hundred, and what Adam came short of a thousand, was defined long ago to be the age of man.

Now, although the length of days conduceth mainly unto the numerosity of mankind, and it be manifest from Scripture they lived very long, yet is not the period of their lives determinable, and some might be longer livers than we account that any were. For, to omit that conceit of some that Adam was the oldest man, in as much as he is conceived to be created in the maturity of mankind, that is, at sixty, for in that age it is set down they begat children, so that adding this number unto his 930, he was 21 years older than any of his posterity; that even Methuselah was the longest liver of all the children of Adam we need not grant, nor is it definitively set down by Moses. Indeed of those ten mentioned in Scripture, with their several ages, it must be true, but whether those seven of the line of Cain and their progeny, or any of the sons' and daughters' posterity after them outlived those, is not expressed in Holy Scripture, and it will seem more probable that of the line of Cain some were longer lived than any of Seth, if we concede that seven generations of the one lived as long as nine of the other. As for what is commonly alleged that God would not permit the life of any unto a thousand, because, alluding unto that of David, no man should live one day in the sight of the Lord, although it be urged by divers, yet is it methinks an inference somewhat rabbinical, and not of power to persuade a serious examiner.

Having thus declared how powerfully the length of lives conduced unto the populosity of those times, it will yet be easier acknowledged if we descend to particularities, and consider how many in seven hundred years might descend from one man; wherein considering the length of their days, we may conceive the greatest number to have been alive together. And this, that no reasonable spirit may contradict, we will declare with manifest disadvantage: for whereas the duration of the world unto the flood was above 1600 years, we will make our compute in less than half that time. Nor will we begin with the first man, but allow the earth to be provided of women fit for marriage the second or third first centuries, and will only take as granted, that they might beget children at sixty, and at an hundred years have twenty,

allowing for that number forty years. Nor will we herein single out Methuselah, on account from the longest livers, but make choice of the shortest of any we find recorded in the text, excepting Enoch, who, after he had lived as many years as there be days in the year, was translated at 365. And thus from one stock of seven hundred years, multiplying still by twenty, we shall find the product to be one thousand three hundred forty-seven millions, three hundred sixty-eight thousand, four hundred and twenty.

Century	1	20
	2	400
	3	8000
	4	160,000
	5	3,200,000
	6	64,000,000
	7	1,280,000,000
Product		1,347,368,420

Now, if this account of the learned Petavius will be allowed, it will make an unexpected increase, and a larger number than may be found in Asia, Africa, and Europe; especially if in Constantinople, the greatest city thereof, there be no more than Botero accounteth, seven hundred thousand souls. Which duly considered, we shall rather admire how the earth contained its inhabitants, than doubt its inhabitation; and might conceive the deluge not simply penal, but in some way also necessary, as many have conceived of translations,[3] if Adam had not sinned, and the race of man had remained upon earth immortal.

Now, whereas some to make good their longevity, have imagined that the years of their compute were lunary, unto these we must reply; that if by a lunary year they understand twelve revolutions of the moon, that is, 354 days, eleven fewer than in the solary year; there will be no great difference, at least not sufficient to convince or extenuate the question. But if by a lunary year they mean one revolution of the moon, that is, a month; they first introduce a

[3] *translations.*] That is, that after some terme of yeares they should not dye, but have been translated as Henoch was, into Heaven.—*Wr.*

year never used by the Hebrews in their civil accounts; and what is delivered before of the Chaldean years (as Xenophon gives a caution) was only received in the chronology of their arts. Secondly, they contradict the Scripture, which makes a plain enumeration of many months in the account of the deluge; for so it is expressed in the text: "In the tenth month, in the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen." Concordant whereunto is the relation of human authors; *Inundationes plures fuere, prima novimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco Ogyge. Meminisse hoc loco par est post primum diluvium Ogygi temporibus notatum, cum novem, et amplius mensibus diem continua nox inumbrasset, Delon ante omnes terras radiis solis illuminatum sortitumque ex eo nomen.** And lastly, they fall upon an absurdity, for they make Enoch to beget children about six years of age. For, whereas it is said he begat Methuselah at sixty-five, if we shall account every month[4] a year, he was at that time some six years and an half, for so many months are contained in that space of time.

Having thus declared how much the length of men's lives conduced unto the populosity of their kind, our second foundation must be the large extent of time, from the creation unto the deluge (that is, according unto received computes, about 1655 years), almost as long a time as hath passed since the nativity of our Saviour.[5] And this we

* *Xenophon de Æquivocis. Solinus.*

[4] *month.*] The spirit in many places (as of Daniel, and the Apocalyps) by dayes means yeares: but in noe place yeares for dayes or monthes.—*Wr.*

[5] *Saviour.*] And according to this number there are, that take upon them to judge that when the yeares of the church's age comes to as many since Christ's birthe, as those yeares of the world had from the creation to the flood, the consummation or consumption of the world by fire prophesyed by St. Peter, 2nd Epist. 3 chap. v. 10, must needs bee then or thereabouts fulfilled, as itt was before by water at those years. For counting (say they) as the Apostle there does, that with God 1000 yeares are but as one daye, and that (as all agree) in this yeare of Christ, 1650, there are just 5600 yeares of the world past since the creation, that is almost 6 dayes of the weeke, and that the dayes of the world shal bee, as our Saviour foretold, much shortened, i. e. shall not continue to the full end of 6000 yeares, i. e. 6 of God's dayes: they conclude that the seventh day of æternal rest of the world and all the works

cannot but conceive sufficient for a very large increase, if we do but affirm what reasonable enquirers will not deny,—that the earth might be as populous in that number of years before the flood, as we can manifest it was in the same number after. And, whereas there may be conceived some disadvantage, in regard that at the creation the original of mankind was in two persons, but after the flood their propagation issued at least from six; against this we might very well set the length of their lives before the flood, which were abbreviated after, and in half this space contracted into hundreds and threescores. Notwithstanding, to equalize accounts, we will allow three hundred years, and so long a time as we can manifest from the Scripture, there were four men at least that begat children, Adam, Cain, Seth, and Enos; so shall we fairly and favourably proceed, if we affirm the world to have been as populous in sixteen hundred and fifty years before the flood, as it was in thirteen hundred after. Now how populous and largely inhabited it was within this period of time, we shall declare from probabilities, and several testimonies of Scripture and human authors.

And first, to manifest the same near those parts of the earth where the ark is presumed to have rested, we have the relation of Holy Scripture, accounting the genealogy of Japhet, Cham, and Sem, and in this last, four descents unto the division of the earth in the days of Peleg, which time although it were not upon common compute much above an hundred years, yet were men at this time mightily increased. Nor can we well conceive it otherwise, if we consider they began already to wander from their first habitation, and were able to attempt so mighty a work as the building of a city and a tower, whose top should reach unto the heavens. Whereunto there was required no slender number of persons, if we consider the magnitude thereof, expressed by some,

therin cannot bee far of. But kew far off, or how neere, is not for man to enquire, much less to define otherwise then by way of Christian caution, to bee always readye for the coming of that kingdome, which wee every (day) pray, may come speedilye. For doubtles yf 1600 yeares agoe the Spirit thought itt requisite to rowse them up with that memento, "the Lord is at hand, bee yee therefore sober and watche," itt may well bee an alarum to us, on whom the ends of the world are come.—*Wr.*

and conceived to be *turris Beli* in Herodotus;[6] and the multitudes of people recorded at the erecting of the like or inferior structures; for at the building of Solomon's temple there were threescore and ten thousand that carried burdens, and fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains, beside the chief of his officers three thousand and three hundred; and at the erection of the pyramids in the reign of king Cheops, as Herodotus reports, there were *decem myriades*, that is, an hundred thousand men. And though it be said of the Egyptians,

Porrum et cæpe nefas violare et frangere morsu;*

yet did the sums expended in garlick and onions amount unto no less than one thousand six hundred talents.

The first monarchy or kingdom of Babylon is mentioned in Scripture under the foundation of Nimrod, which is also recorded in human history; as beside Berosus, in Diodorus and Justin; for Nimrod of the Scriptures is Belus of the Gentiles, and Assur the same with Ninus his successor. There is also mention of divers cities, particularly of Nineveh and Resen, expressed emphatically in the text to be a great city.

That other countries round about were also peopled, appears by the wars of the monarchs of Assyria with the Bactrians, Indians, Scythians, Ethiopians, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Persians, Susians; they vanquished (as Diodorus relateth) Egypt, Syria, and all Asia Minor, even from Bosphorus unto Tanais. And it is said, that Semiramis in her expedition against the Indians brought along with her the king of Arabia. About the same time of the Assyrian monarchy, do authors place that of the Sycionians in Greece, and soon after that of the Argives, and not very long after, that of the Athenians under Cecrops; and within our period assumed are historified many memorable actions of the Greeks, as the expedition of the Argonauts, with the most famous wars of Thebes and Troy.

* Juvenal.

[6] *conceived to be, &c.*] Mr. Beke, however, is of opinion that "the city and tower of Babel, the Babel of Nimrod and the Babel or Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar, were three totally distinct places."—*Origines Biblicæ*, p. 17.

That Canaan also and Egypt were well peopled far within this period, besides their plantation by Canaan and Misraim, appeareth from the history of Abraham, who in less than 400 years after the flood, journeyed from Mesopotamia unto Canaan and Egypt, both which he found well peopled and policied into kingdoms. Wherein also in 430 years, from threescore and ten persons which came with Jacob into Egypt, he became a mighty nation; for it is said, at their departure, there journeyed from Rhamesis to Succoth about six hundred thousand on foot, that were men, besides children. Now how populous the land from whence they came was, may be collected not only from their ability in commanding such subjections and mighty powers under them, but from the several accounts of that kingdom delivered by Herodotus. And how soon it was peopled, is evidenced from the pillar of their king Osyris, with this inscription in Diodorus: *Mihi pater est Saturnus deorum junior, sum vero Osyris rex, qui totum peragravi orbem usque ad Indorum fines, ad eos quoque sum profectus qui septentrioni subjacent usque ad Istri fontes, et alias partes usque ad Oceanum.* Now, according unto the best determinations, Osyris was Misraim, and Saturnus Egyptius the same with Cham; after whose name Egypt is not only called in Scripture the land of Ham, but thus much is also testified by Plutarch; for in his treatise *de Osyride*, he delivereth that Egypt was called *Chamia, à Chamo Noe filio*, that is, from Cham the son of Noah. And if, according to the consent of ancient fathers, Adam was buried in the same place where Christ was crucified, that is Mount Calvary, the first man ranged far before the flood, and laid his bones many miles from that place, where it's presumed he received them. And this migration was the greater, if, as the text expresseth, he was cast out of the east side of paradise to till the ground; and as the position of the Cherubim implieth, who were placed at the east end of the garden to keep him from the tree of life.

That the remoter parts of the earth were in this time inhabited, is also inducible from the like testimonies, for (omitting the numeration of Josephus and the genealogies of the sons of Noah) that Italy was inhabited appeareth from the records of Livy and Dionysius Halicarnasseus, the story of Æneas, Evander, and Janus, whom Annius of

Viterbo, and the chorographers of Italy, do make to be the same with Noah. That Sicily was also peopled is made out from the frequent mention thereof in Homer, the records of Diodorus and others, but especially from a remarkable passage touched by Aretius and Ranzanus, bishop of Lucerium, but fully explained by Thomas Fazelli, in his accurate history of Sicily, that is, from ancient inscription in a stone at Panormo, expressed by him in its proper characters, and by a Syrian thus translated: *Non est alius Deus præter unum Deum, non est alius potens præter eundem Deum, neque est alius victor præter eundem quem colimus Deum: Hujus turris præfectus est* Sapha *filius* Eliphat, *filii* Esau, *fratris* Jacob, *filii* Isaac, *filii* Abraham; *et turri quidem ipsi nomen est* Baych, *sed turri huic proximæ nomen est* Pharath. The antiquity of the inhabitation of Spain is also confirmable, not only from Berosus in the plantation of Tubal, and a city continuing yet in his name, but the story of Gerion, the travels of Hercules and his pillars, and especially a passage in Strabo, which advanceth unto the time of Ninus, thus delivered in his fourth book: the Spaniards (saith he) affirm that they have had laws and letters above six thousand years. Now the Spaniards or Iberians observing (as Xenophon hath delivered) *annum quadrimestrem*, four months unto a year, this compute will make up 2000 solary years, which is about the space of time from Strabo, who lived in the days of Augustus, unto the reign of Ninus.

That Mauritania and the coast of Africa were peopled very soon, is the conjecture of many wise men, and that by the Phœnicians,[7] who left their country upon the invasion of Canaan by the Israelites. For beside the conformity of the Punick or Carthaginian language with that of Phœnicia, there is a pregnant and very remarkable testimony hereof in Procopius, who in his second *de bello Vandalico*, recordeth that in a town of Mauritania Tingitana, there was to be seen upon two white columns in the Phœnician language these ensuing words; *Nos Maurici sumus qui fugimus*

[7] *by the Phœnicians.*] "Tyri et Sidonis in Phœnicis litore civitatum Carthago colonia; unde et *Pœni*, sermone corrupto quasi *Phœni* appellantur."—*Hieron.* See *Selden, De Diis Syriis, Prolegomena*, cap. 2, p. 10-24.—*Jeff.*

à facie Jehoschue filii Nunis prædatoris. The Fortunate Islands or Canaries were not unknown; for so doth Strabo interpret that speech in Homer of Proteus unto Menelaus.

> Sed te qua terræ postremus terminus extat,
> Elysium in Campum cœlestia numina ducunt.

The like might we affirm from credible histories both of France and Germany, and perhaps also of our own country. For omitting the fabulous and Trojan original delivered by Jeffrey of Monmouth, and the express text of Scripture, that the race of Japhet did people the isles of the Gentiles; the British original was so obscure in Cæsar's time, that he affirmeth the inland inhabitants were Aborigines, that is, such as reported that they had their beginning in the island. That Ireland our neighbour island was not long time without inhabitants, may be made probable by sundry accounts, although we abate the tradition of Bartholanus the Scythian, who arrived three hundred years[8] after the flood, or the relation of Giraldus, that Cæsaria, the daughter of Noah, dwelt there before.

Now should we call in the learned account of Bochartus,* deducing the ancient names of countries from Phœnicians, who by their plantations, discoveries, and sea negociations, have left unto very many countries, Phœnician denominations, the enquiry would be much shorter; and if Spain, in the Phœnician original, be but the region of conies, Lusitania, or Portugal, the country of almonds, if Britannica were at first Baratanaca, or the land of tin, and Ibernia or Ireland were but Ibernae, or the farthest inhabitation, and these names imposed and dispersed by Phœnician colonies, in their several navigations, the antiquity of habitations might be more clearly advanced.

Thus though we have declared how largely the world was

* *Bochart. Geog. Sacr. part* 2.

[8] *three hundred years.*] This yeare, 1650, is the 5600 yeare of the worlde since the creation; out of which, yf you take the yeare of the floodd, viz. in the yeare of the world 1656, and also the 300 yeares more here mentioned, the summe will be 1956, which being againe deducted out of the present yeare of the world 5600, there remaine 3644 yeares this yeare, since Bartolanus is said to arrive in Irelande, which neither Scripture nor any story mentions, and therefore is a feigned and foolish tradition.—*Wr.*

inhabited within the space of 1300 years, yet must it be conceived more populous than can be clearly evinced; for a greater part of the earth hath ever been peopled, than hath been known or described by geographers, as will appear by the discoveries of all ages. For neither in Herodotus or Thucydides do we find any mention of Rome, nor in Ptolemy of many parts of Europe, Asia, or Africa; and because many places we have declared of long plantation, of whose populosity notwithstanding or memorable actions we have no ancient story; if we may conjecture of these by what we find related of others, we shall not need many words, nor assume the half of 1300 years. And this we might illustrate from the mighty acts of the Assyrians, performed not long after the flood, recorded by Justin and Diodorus, who makes relation of expeditions by armies more numerous than have been ever since. For Ninus,[9] king of Assyria, brought against the Bactrians 700,000 foot, 200,000 horse, 10,600 chariots. Semiramis, his successor, led against the Indians 1,300,000 foot, 500,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and as many upon camels.[1] And it is said Staurobates, the Indian king, met her with greater forces than she brought against him; all which was performed within less than four hundred years after the flood.

Now if any imagine the unity of their language did hinder their dispersion before the flood, we confess it some hindrance at first, but not much afterward. For though it might restrain their dispersion, it could not their populosity, which necessarily requireth transmigration and emission of colonies; as we read of Romans, Greeks,

[9] *Ninus*] Soe Ninus had in his armye 974,200, reckoning to every chariot six fightinge men (on each side three) besides the charioteer; but Semiramis her army was not less then 2,000,000, i. e. above twice soe manye; and yf Staurobates his army were greater, doubtless never any since that time came neere those numbers. Then reckoninge at the least of horses, 4 in each chariot, and of camels, in all 500,000 beasts in her armye, and as many or more on the adverse side, what countryes could hold, much less feed them? For Sennacherib's army did not reach to the twentithe parte of these conjoyned numbers, and yet he boasted to have drunk the rivers drye.—*Wr.*

[1] *upon camels.*] 300,000 ox hides stuffed to represent elephants, and carried upon camels.—*Jeff.*

Phœnicians, in ages past, and have beheld examples thereof in our days. We may also observe that after the flood, before the confusion of tongues, men began to disperse. For it is said they journeyed towards the east, and the Scripture itself expresseth a necessity conceived of their dispersion, for the intent of erecting the tower is so delivered in the text, "lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the earth."

Again, if any apprehend the plantation of the earth more easy in regard of navigation and shipping discovered since the flood, whereby the islands and divided parts of the earth are now inhabited; he must consider that whether there were islands or no before the flood, is not yet determined, and is with probability denied by very learned authors.

Lastly, if we shall fall into apprehension that it was less inhabited, because it is said in the sixth of Genesis, about 120 years before the flood, "And it came to pass that when men began to multiply upon the face of the earth;" beside that this may be only meant of the race of Cain, it will not import they were not multiplied before, but that they were at that time plentifully increased; for so is the same word used in other parts of Scripture. And so is it afterward in the ninth chapter said, that "Noah began to be an husbandman," that is, he was so, or earnestly performed the acts thereof; so is it said of our Saviour, that he "began to cast them out that bought and sold in the temple," that is, he actually cast them out, or with alacrity effected it.

Thus have I declared some private and probable conceptions in the enquiry of this truth; but the certainty hereof let the arithmetic of the last day determine, and therefore expect no further belief than probability and reason induce. Only desire men would not swallow dubiosities for certainties, and receive as principles points mainly controvertible; for we are to adhere unto things doubtful in a dubious and opinionative way. It being reasonable for every man to vary his opinion according to the variance of his reason, and to affirm one day what he denied another. Wherein although at last we miss of truth, we die notwithstanding in harmless and inoffensive errors, because we

adhere unto that, whereunto the examen of our reasons, and honest enquiries induce us.[2]

CHAPTER VII.

Of East and West.

THE next shall be of east and west; that is, the proprieties and conditions ascribed unto regions respectively unto those situations; which hath been the obvious conception of philosophers and geographers, magnifying the condition of India, and the eastern countries, above the setting and occidental climates: some ascribing hereto the generation of gold, precious stones, and spices, others the civility and natural endowments of men; conceiving the bodies of this situation to receive a special impression from the first salutes of the sun, and some appropriate influence from his ascendent and oriental radiations. But these proprieties, affixed unto bodies, upon considerations reduced from east, west, or those observable points of the sphere, how specious and plausible soever, will not upon enquiry be justified from such foundations.

For to speak strictly, there is no east and west in nature, nor are those absolute and invariable, but respective and mutable points, according unto different longitudes, or distant parts of habitation, whereby they suffer many and considerable variations. For first, unto some the same part will be east or west in respect of one another, that is, unto such as inhabit the same parallel, or differently dwell from east to west. Thus, as unto Spain Italy lieth east, unto Italy Greece, unto Greece Persia, and unto Persia China; so again, unto the country of China Persia lieth west, unto Persia Greece, unto Greece Italy, and unto Italy Spain. So that the same country is sometimes east and sometimes west; and Persia though east unto Greece, yet is it west unto China.

Unto other habitations the same point will be both east

[2] *induce us.*] And whatsoever is beyond this search must bee imputed to an invincible ignorance.—*Wr.*

and west; as unto those that are Antipodes or seated in points of the globe diametrically opposed. So the Americans are antipodal unto the Indians, and some part of India is both east and west unto America, according as it shall be regarded from one side or the other, to the right or to the left; and setting out from any middle point, either by east or west, the distance unto the place intended is equal, and in the same space of time in nature also performable.

To a third that have the poles for their vertex[3] or dwell in the position of a parallel sphere, there will be neither east nor west, at least the greatest part of the year. For if (as the name oriental implieth) they shall account that part to be east wherever the sun ariseth, or that west where the sun is occidental or setteth; almost half the year they have neither the one nor the other. For half the year it is below the horizon, and the other half it is continually above it, and circling[4] round about them intersecteth not the horizon, nor leaveth any part for this compute. And if (which will seem very reasonable) that part should be termed the eastern point where the sun at equinox, and but once in the year, ariseth, yet will this also disturb the cardinal accounts, nor will it with propriety admit that appellation. For that surely cannot be accounted east which hath the south on both sides; which notwithstanding this position must have. For if, unto such as live under the pole, that be only north which is above them, that must be southerly which is below them, which is all the other portion of the globe, beside that part possessed by them. And thus, these points of east and west being not absolute in any, respective in some, and not at all relating unto others, we cannot hereon establish so general considerations, nor reasonably erect such immutable assertions, upon so unstable foundations.

Now the ground that begat or promoted this conceit

[3] *vertex.*] This is spoken by way of supposition, yf any such there be, that dwell under the pole.—*Wr.*

[4] *and circling.*] And aboutt the tenthe of Marche, before and after, the discus of the son wheles about the verge of the horizon, and rises not totally above itt for the space of almost as many dayes as there are minutes in his diameter: appearing by those degrees in every circulation (of 24 houres time) more and more conspicuous, as hee uses to doe, when he gets out of total eclypse.—*Wr.*

was, first, a mistake in the apprehension of east and west, considering thereof as of the north and south, and computing by these as invariably as by the other. But herein, upon second thoughts, there is a great disparity: for the north and southern pole are the invariable terms of that axis whereon the heavens do move, and are therefore incommunicable and fixed points, whereof the one is not apprehensible in the other. But with east and west it is quite otherwise: for the revolution of the orbs being made upon the poles of north and south, all other points about the axis are mutable; and wheresoever therein the east point be determined, by succession of parts in one revolution every point becometh east. And so, if where the sun ariseth that part be termed east, every habitation, differing in longitude, will have this point also different, in as much as the sun successively ariseth unto every one.[5]

The second ground, although it depend upon the former, approacheth nearer the effect; and that is, the efficacy of the sun, set out and divided according to priority of ascent; whereby his influence is conceived more favourable unto one country than another, and to felicitate India more than any after. But hereby we cannot avoid absurdities, and such as infer effects controlable by our senses. For first, by the same reason that we affirm the Indian richer than the American, the American will also be more plentiful than the Indian, and England or Spain more fruitful than Hispaniola or golden Castile;[6] in as much as the sun ariseth unto the one sooner than the other; and so accountably unto any nation subjected unto the same parallel, or with a considerable diversity of longitude from each other. Secondly, an unsufferable absurdity will ensue; for thereby a country may be more fruitful than itself. For India is more fertile than Spain, because more east, and that the sun ariseth first unto it; Spain likewise by the same reason more fruitful than America, and America than India; so that Spain is less fruitful than that country, which a less fertile country than itself excelleth.

Lastly, if we conceive the sun hath any advantage by

[5] *every one.*] Every generall meridian hath a several east pointe and west (in their horizon) that live under itt.—*Wr.*

[6] *Castile.*] Virginia is about 7 houres distant from London, for when 'tis noone heere, 'tis 5 in the morne with them.—*Wr.*

priority of ascent, or makes thereby one country more happy than another, we introduce injustifiable determinations, and impose a natural partiality on that luminary, which being equidistant from the earth, and equally removed in the east as in the west, his power and efficacy in both places must be equal, as Boëtius hath taken notice, and Scaliger* hath graphically declared. Some have therefore forsaken this refuge of the sun, and to salve the effect have recurred unto the influence of the stars, making their activities national, and appropriating their powers unto particular regions. So Cardan conceiveth, the tail of Ursa Major peculiarly respecteth Europe: whereas indeed once in twenty-four hours it also absolveth its course over Asia and America. And therefore it will not be easy to apprehend those stars peculiarly glance on us, who must of necessity carry a common eye and regard unto all countries, unto whom their revolution and verticity is also common.

The effects therefore, or[7] different productions in several countries, which we impute unto the action of the sun, must surely have nearer and more immediate causes than that luminary.[8] And these if we place in the propriety of clime, or condition of soil wherein they are produced, we shall more reasonably proceed, than they who ascribe them unto the activity of the sun. Whose revolution being regular, it hath no power nor efficacy peculiar from its orientality, but equally disperseth his beams unto all which equally, and in the same restriction, receive his lustre. And being an universal and indefinite agent, the effects or productions we behold receive not their circle from his causality, but are determined by the principles of the place, or qualities of that region which admits them. And this is evident not only in gems, minerals, and metals, but observable in plants and animals; whereof some are common unto many countries, some peculiar unto one, some not communicable unto another. For the hand of God that first

* *De gemmis exercitat.*

[7] *or.*] Reade *of.*—*Wr.* The Dr.'s is the true reading; see it repeated a few lines further on.

[8] *luminary.*] Cald by God the greate lighte.—*Wr.*

created the earth, hath with variety disposed the principles of all things; wisely contriving them in their proper seminaries, and where they best maintained the intention of their species; whereof if they have not a concurrence, and be not lodged in a convenient matrix, they are not excited by the efficacy of the sun; nor failing in particular causes, receive a relief or sufficient promotion from the universal. For although superior powers co-operate with inferior activities, and many (as some conceive) carry a stroke in the plastick and formative draught of all things, yet do their determinations belong unto particular agents, and are defined from their proper principles. Thus the sun, which with us is fruitful in the generation of frogs, toads, and serpents, to this effect proves impotent in our neighbour island;[9] wherein as in all other, carrying a common aspect, it concurreth but unto predisposed effects, and only susci-

[9] *which with us, &c.*] Itt is a true and remarkable thing that wheras Islip and Bletchinton, in Oxon shire, are not distant above 2 miles, and noe river between, yet noe man living remembers a snake or adder found alive in Bletchinton (which abounds with frogs and toods), and yf they bee brought from Islip, or other partes, unto that towne, they dye, as venemous things doe on Irish earthe, brought thence by ship into our gardens in England: nor is this proper to Irish earthe, but to the timber brought thence, as appeares in that vast roof of King's College Chappel in Cambridge, where noe man ever saw a spider, or their webs, bycause itt is all of Irish timber.—*Wr.*

On reading the preceding passage, I wrote to a friend in Cambridge requesting that some inquiry might be made as to the matter of fact. I subjoin an extract from his reply:—

"Ever since I was a boy, I have heard the traditional account of the roof, and more particularly the organ loft of King's College Chapel, being formed of Irish oak, and that no spiders or their webs are to be found upon it. I yesterday took an opportunity of making a personal enquiry and examination—two curators had, I found, since passed to the silent tomb, a third whom I now met with had not even heard of the circumstance, though an intelligent man, and who seemed to enter at once into the nature of my enquiries. He wished me to go up to the roof and examine for myself, assuring me, that no trouble was taken to sweep it over at any time; I went up and could not succeed in discovering the least appearance of a cobweb, much less of a spider; from the stone roof, which is underneath the wooden roof, he informed me that in some parts the spider's webs were very abundant and troublesome.

"I saw the organist, who seemed to be aware of the tradition, though almost forgotten, and who told me there was plenty of dust for want of proper care of the place, but he believed there were no spiders; he had officiated many years, but had never seen one.

tates those forms, whose determinations are seminal, and proceed from the idea of themselves.

Now, whereas there be many observations concerning east, and divers considerations of art which seem to extol the quality of that point, if rightly understood they do not really promote it. That the astrologer takes account of nativities from the ascendant, that is, the first house of the heavens, whose beginning is toward the east, it doth not advantage the conceit. For he establisheth not his judgment upon the orientality thereof, but considereth therein his first ascent above the horizon; at which time its efficacy becomes observable, and is conceived to have the signification of life, and to respect the condition of all things, which at the same time arise from their causes, and ascend to their horizon with it. Now this ascension indeed falls out respectively in the east; but, as we have delivered before, in some positions there is no eastern point from whence to compute these ascensions. So is it in a parallel sphere; for unto them six houses are continually depressed, and six never elevated; and the planets themselves, whose revolutions are of more speed, and influences of higher consideration, must find in that place a very imperfect regard; for half their period they absolve above, and half beneath the horizon. And so, for six years, no man can have the happiness to be born under Jupiter: and for fifteen together all must escape the ascendant dominion of Saturn.

That Aristotle, in his *Politicks*, commends the situation of a city which is open towards the east, and admitteth the rays of the rising sun, thereby is implied no more particular efficacy than in the west: but that position is commended, in regard the damps and vaporous exhalations, engendered in the absence of the sun, are by his returning rays the sooner dispelled; and men thereby more early enjoy a clear and healthy habitation.[1] Upon the like considerations it is, that

"The curator has promised to bring me a spider or web if he can find one, and seemed much pleased with the, to him, novel information."

The Hon. D. Barrington (in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lix. p. 30) says, that he had examined several ancient timber roofs, without being able to detect any spider's webs. He accounts, however, for this, on the principle that *flies* are not to be found in such situations, and therefore spiders do not frequent them. How would this remark agree with the number of cobwebs found in the stone roof of King's College?

[1] *habitation.*] The waters of those springs are held to bee most medi-

Marcus Varro * commendeth the same situation, and exposeth his farm unto the equinoxial ascent of the sun; and that Palladius adviseth the front of his edifice should so respect the south, that in the first angle it receive the rising rays of the winter sun, and decline a little from the winter setting thereof. And concordant hereunto is the instruction of Columella, *De positione villæ;* which he contriveth into summer and winter habitations, ordering that the winter lodgings regard the winter ascent of the sun, that is south-east; and the rooms of repast at supper, the equinoxial setting thereof, that is, the west; that the summer lodgings regard the equinoxial meridian: but the rooms of cenation in the summer, he obverts unto the winter ascent, that is, south-east; and the balnearies, or bathing-places, that they may remain under the sun until evening, he exposeth unto the summer setting, that is, north-west; in all which, although the cardinal points be introduced, yet is the consideration solary, and only determined unto the aspect or visible reception of the sun.

Jews and Mahometans in these and our neighbour parts are observed to use some gestures towards the east, as at their benediction, and the killing of their meat. And though many ignorant spectators, and not a few of the actors, conceive some magick or mystery therein, yet is the ceremony only topical, and in a memorial relation unto a place they honour. So the Jews do carry a respect and cast an eye upon Jerusalem, for which practice they are not without the example of their forefathers, and the encouragement of their wise king; for so it is said that Daniel "went into his house, and his windows being opened towards Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed." † So is it expressed in the prayer of Solomon: "What prayer or supplication soever be made by any man, which shall spread forth his hands towards this house; if thy people go out to battle, and shall pray unto the Lord towards the city which thou

* *De Re Rustica.* † Dan. vi.

cinal (of all others) which rise into the easte, for this very reason here alleaged: hence in the west parts of England, to difference such from all others, they call them by a significant name, East-up-springs, intimating by that proper name, a proper kind of excellencye, above other springs, especially yf the soile from whence they rise bee chalke, or pure gravell.—*Wr.*

hast chosen, and towards the house which I have chosen to build for thy name, then hear thou in heaven their prayer and their supplication, and maintain their cause." Now the observation hereof, unto the Jews that are dispersed westward, and such as most converse with us, directeth their regard unto the east; but the words of Solomon are appliable unto all quarters of heaven, and by the Jews of the east and south must be regarded in a contrary position. So Daniel in Babylon looking toward Jerusalem had his face toward the west. So the Jews in their own land looked upon it from all quarters: for the tribe of Judah beheld it to the north; Manasses, Zabulon, and Napthali unto the south; Reuben and Gad unto the west; only the tribe of Dan regarded it directly or to the due east. So when it is said: "When you see a cloud rise out of the west, you say there cometh a shower, and so it is;"* the observation was respective unto Judea; nor is this a reasonable illation, in all other nations whatsoever. For the sea lay west unto that country, and the winds brought rain from that quarter; but this consideration cannot be transferred unto India or China, which have a vast sea eastward, and a vaster continent toward the west. So likewise, when it is said in the vulgar translation, "Gold cometh out of the north,"† it is no reasonable inducement unto us and many other countries, from some particular mines septentrional unto his situation, to search after that metal in cold and northern regions, which we most plentifully discover in hot and southern habitations.

For the Mahometans, as they partake with all religions in something, so they imitate the Jews in this. For in their observed gestures, they hold a regard unto Mecca and Medina Talnaby, two cities in Arabia Felix, where their prophet was born and buried, whither they perform their pilgrimages, and from whence they expect he should return again. And therefore they direct their faces unto these parts; which, unto the Mahometans of Barbary and Egypt, lie east, and are in some point thereof unto many other parts of Turkey. Wherein notwithstanding there is no oriental respect; for with the same devotion on the other side, they regard these parts toward the west, and so with variety wheresoever they are seated, conforming unto the ground of their conception.

* Luke xii. † Job xxxvii.

Fourthly, whereas in the ordering of the camp of Israel, the east quarter is appointed unto the noblest tribe, that is, the tribe of Judah, according to the command of God, "In the east side toward the rising of the sun shall the standard of the tribe of Judah pitch;"* it doth not peculiarly extol that point. For herein the east is not to be taken strictly, but as it signifieth or implieth the foremost place; for Judah had the van, and many countries through which they passed were seated easterly, unto them. Thus much is implied by the original, and expressed by translations which strictly conform thereto. So Tremellius, *Castra habentium ab anteriore parte Orientem versus, vexillum esto castrorum Judæ:* so hath R. Solomon Jarchi expounded it; the foremost or before is the east quarter, and the west is called behind. And upon this interpretation may all be salved that is allegeable against it. For if the tribe of Judah were to pitch before the tabernacle at the east, and yet to march first, as is commanded, Numb. x., there must ensue a disorder in the camp, nor could they conveniently observe the execution thereof. For when they set out from Mount Sinai, where the command was delivered, they made northward unto Rithmah; from Rissah unto Eziongaber about fourteen stations they marched south; from Almon Diblathaim through the mountains of Abarim and plains of Moab toward Jordan the face of their march was west. So that if Judah were strictly to pitch in the east of the tabernacle, every night he encamped in the rear; and if (as some conceive) the whole camp could not be less than twelve miles long, it had been preposterous for him to have marched foremost, or set out first, who was most remote from the place to be approached.

Fifthly, that learning, civility, and arts, had their beginning in the east, it is not imputable either to the action of the sun, or its orientality, but the first plantation of man in those parts, which unto Europe do carry the respect of east. For on the mountains of Ararat, this is, part of the hill Taurus, between the East Indies and Scythia, as Sir W. Raleigh accounts it, the ark of Noah rested; from the east they travelled that built the tower of Babel: from thence they were dispersed and successively enlarged, and learning, good arts, and all civility communicated. The progression whereof was very

* Numb. ii.

sensible, and if we consider the distance of time between the confusion of Babel, and the civility of many parts now eminent therein, it travelled late and slowly into our quarters. For notwithstanding the learning of bards and Druids of elder times, he that shall peruse that work of Tacitus, *De moribus Germanorum*, may easily discern how little civility two thousand years had wrought upon that nation; the like he may observe concerning ourselves from the same author in the life of Agricola, and more directly from Strabo, who, to the dishonour of our predecessors, and the disparagement of those that glory in the antiquity of their ancestors, affirmeth the Britons were so simple, that though they abounded in milk, they had not the artifice of cheese.

Lastly, that the globe itself is by cosmographers divided into east and west, accounting from the first meridian, it doth not establish this conceit. For that division is not naturally founded, but artificially set down, and by agreement, as the aptest terms to define or commensurate the longitude of places. Thus the ancient cosmographers do place the division of the east and western hemisphere, that is, the first term of longitude, in the Canary or Fortunate Islands; conceiving these parts the extremest habitations westward. But the moderns have altered that term, and translated it unto the Azores or islands of St. Michael, and that upon a plausible conceit of the small or insensible variation of the compass in those parts. Wherein nevertheless, and though upon a second invention, they proceed upon a common and no appropriate foundation; for even in that meridian farther north or south the compass observably varieth;[2] and there are also other

[2] *varieth.*] Mr. Gunter, about 35 yeares agoe, observd the variation of the compass at Redriff not to bee greate by an excellent needle of 8 inches lengthe; yet now at this day the variation in the very same place is about halfe a pointe different, as some artizans confidently avouch upon experience; and our best mathematicians aver that there is a variation of the former variations dayly; whereof the cause may bee in the several loadstones brought from several places. For the mines of iron, whence they are taken, not running all exactly north and southe, may imprinte a different force, and verticity in the needles teucht by them, according to the difference of their own situation. See that the variation is not, or can bee in respect of the pole, but of the needles. It would be therefore exactly inquired by several large stones old and new, whether the verticity of them severally be alwayes the same in the same place or noe.—*Wr.*

places wherein it varieth not, as Alphonso and Rodoriges de Lago will have it about Capo de las Agullas, in Africa; as Maurolycus affirmeth in the shore of Peloponnesus, in Europe; and as Gilbertus averreth, in the midst of great regions, in most parts of the earth.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the River Nilus.

HEREOF uncontrollably and under general consent many opinions are passant, which notwithstanding, upon due examination, do admit of doubt or restriction. It is generally esteemed, and by most unto our days received, that the river of Nilus hath seven ostiaries, that is, by seven channels disburdened itself into the sea. Wherein, notwithstanding, beside that we find no concurrent determination of ages past, and a positive and undeniable refute of these present, the affirmative is mutable, and must not be received without all limitation.

For some, from whom we receive the greatest illustrations of antiquity, have made no mention hereof. So Homer hath given no number of its channels, nor so much as the name thereof in use with all historians. Eratosthenes in his description of Egypt hath likewise passed them over. Aristotle is so indistinct in their names and numbers, that in the first of *Meteors* he plainly affirmeth, the region of Egypt (which we esteem the ancientest nation of the world) was a mere gained ground, and that by the settling of mud and limous matter brought down by the river Nilus, that which was at first a continued sea,[3] was raised at last into a firm and habitable country. The like opinion he held of Mæotis Palus, that by the floods of Tanais and earth brought down thereby, it grew observably shallower in his days, and would in process of time become a firm land. And though[4] his

[3] *sea.*] Moore.

[4] *And though.*] Yet after Aristotel 740 yeares, about the yeare of Christ 410, itt became soe fordable that the Huns and Vandals (observing a hinde to goe usually through itt to the pastures in Natolia) came in such swarmes over the same way, that at last they overrann all Europe also.—*Wr.*

conjecture be not as yet fulfilled, yet is the like observable in the river Gihon,[5] a branch of Euphrates and river of Paradise, which having in former ages discharged itself into the Persian Sea, doth at present fall short, being lost in the lakes of Chaldea, and hath left between them and the sea a large and considerable part of dry land.

Others expressly treating hereof, have diversely delivered themselves. Herodotus in his *Euterpe* makes mention of seven, but carelessly of two hereof, that is, Bolbitinum and Bucolicum;[6] for these, saith he, were not the natural currents, but made by art for some occasional convenience. Strabo, in his geography, naming but two, Peleusiacum and Canopicum, plainly affirmeth there were more than seven; *Inter hæc alia quinque*, &c. There are, saith he, many remarkable towns within the currents of Nile, especially such which have given the names unto the ostiaries thereof, not unto all, for they are eleven,[7] and four besides, but unto seven and most considerable, that is, Canopicum, Bolbitinum, Selenneticum, Sebenneticum,[8] Pharniticum, Mendesium, Taniticum, and Pelusium, wherein to make up the number, one of the artificial channels of Herodotus is accounted. Ptolemy, an Egyptian, and born at the Pelusian mouth of Nile, in his geography maketh nine,[9] and in the third map of Africa, hath unto their mouths prefixed their several names, Heracleoticum, Bolbitinum, Sebenneticum, Pineptum, Diolcos, Pathmeticum, Mendesium, Taniticum, Peleusiacum, wherein notwithstanding there are no less than three different names from those delivered by Pliny. All which considered, we may easily discern that authors accord not either in name or number, and must needs confirm the judgment of Maginus, *de Ostiorum Nili numero et nominibus, valde antiqui scriptores discordant.*

[5] *Gihon.*] The river which rann by Verulam was once navigable up to the wals thereof, as appears by story, and anchors digd up, but is now rich land, 20 miles lower.—*Wr.*

[6] *but carelessly, &c.*] Yet these are now the principal branches remaining.

[7] *eleven.*] Thirteen in all by Strabo, yet Honterus reckons 17.—*Wr.*

[8] *Sebenneticum.*] Is aunciently divided into Saiticum and Mendesium.—*Wr.*

[9] *nine.*] Of note, the rest smaller branches, and soe not considerable, and therefore omitted.—*Wr.*

Modern geographers[1] and travellers do much abate of this number, for as Maginus and others observe, there are now but three or four mouths thereof; as Gulielmus Tyrius long ago, and Bellonius since, both ocular enquirers, with others have attested. For below Cairo, the river divides itself into four branches, whereof two make the chief and navigable streams, the one running to Pelusium of the ancients, and now Damietta;[2] the other unto Canopium, and now Rosetta;[3] the other two, saith Mr. Sandys, do run between these, but poor in water. Of those seven mentioned by Herodotus, and those nine by Ptolemy, these are all I could either see or hear of. Which much confirmeth the testimony of the bishop of Tyre, a diligent and ocular enquirer, who in his Holy War doth thus deliver himself: "We wonder much at the ancients, who assigned seven mouths unto Nilus, which we can no otherwise salve than that by process of time, the face of places is altered, and the river hath lost its channels, or that our forefathers did never obtain a true account thereof."[4]

And therefore, when it is said in Holy Scripture, "The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind he shall shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod,"* if this expression concerneth the river Nilus, it must only respect the seven principal streams. But the place is very obscure, and whether thereby be not meant the river Euphrates, is not without some controversy; as is collectible from the subsequent words; "And there shall be an high way for the remnant of his people, that shall be left from Assyria;" and also from the bare name river, emphatically signifying Euphrates, and thereby the division of the Assyrian empire into many fractions, which might facilitate their return; as Grotius† hath observed, and is more plainly

* Isa. xi. 15. † *Gr. Not. in Isaiam.*

[1] *geographers.*] But Honterus, in his geographical map of Ægypt, sets downe 17, distinct in situation and name, and hee wrote not soe long agoe, that they should since bee varyed.—*Wr.*

[2] *now Damietta.*] This is the Bucolic of Herodotus.

[3] *now Rosetta.*] The Bolbitine branch of Herodotus.

[4] *Which much confirmeth, &c.*] This sentence and the following paragraph were first added in the 2nd edition.

made out, if the * Apocrypha of Esdras, and that of the † Apocalypse have any relation hereto.[5]

Lastly, whatever was or is their number, the contrivers of cards and maps afford us no assurance or constant description therein. For whereas Ptolemy hath set forth nine; Hondius in his map of Africa, makes but eight, and in that of Europe ten: Ortelius, in the map of the Turkish empire, setteth down eight, in that of Egypt eleven; and Maginus, in his map of that country, hath observed the same number. And if we enquire farther, we shall find the same diversity and discord in divers others.

Thus may we perceive that this account was differently related by the ancients, that it is undeniably rejected by the moderns, and must be warily received by any. For if we receive them all into account, they were more than seven; if only the natural sluices they were fewer; and however we receive them, there is no agreeable and constant description thereof; and therefore how reasonable it is to draw continual and durable deductions from alterable and uncertain foundations; let them consider who make the gates of Thebes, and the mouths of this river a constant and continued periphrasis for this number,[6] and in their

* 2 Esdr. xiii. 43, 47. † Apoc. xvi. 12.

[5] *And therefore, &c.*] Bishop Lowth considers this passage as conveying an allusion to the passage of the Red Sea. But he cites a story told by "Herodotus (i. 189), of his Cyrus, that may somewhat illustrate this passage; in which it is said that God would inflict a kind of punishment and judgment on the Euphrates, and render it fordable by dividing it into seven streams. Cyrus, being impeded in his march to Babylon by the Gyudes, a deep and rapid river, which falls into the Tygris, and having lost one of his sacred white horses that attempted to pass it, was so enraged against the river, that he threatened to reduce it, and make it so shallow that it should be easily fordable, even by women, who should not be up to their knees in passing it. Accordingly he set his whole army to work, and cutting 360 trenches from both sides of the river, turned the waters into them, and drained them off."

[6] *number.*] Why should wee call the ancients to accompt for that which, tho' then true, is now altered after 2000 yeares. Let us rather hence collect the mutability of all things under the moone.—*Wr.*

In the first edition the following words are added to this paragraph, but have been omitted in all the subsequent editions:—"conceiving a perpetuity in mutability upon unstable foundations erecting eternal assertions."

poetical expressions do give the river that epithet unto this number.

The same river is also accounted the greatest of the earth, called therefore *Fluviorum pater*, and *totius Orbis maximus*, by Ortelius. If this be true, many maps must be corrected, or the relations of divers good authors renounced.

For first, in the delineations of many maps of Africa, the river Niger exceedeth it about ten degrees in length, that is, no less than six hundred miles. For arising beyond the equator it maketh northward almost 15 degrees, and deflecting after westward, without meanders, continueth a straight course about 40 degrees, and at length with many great currents disburdeneth itself into the occidental ocean. Again, if we credit the descriptions of good authors, other rivers excel it in length, or breadth, or both. Arrianus, in his history of Alexander, assigneth the first place unto the river Ganges; which truly according unto later relations, if not in length, yet in breadth and depth, may be granted to excel it. For the magnitude of Nilus consisteth in the dimension of longitude, and is inconsiderable in the other; what stream it maintaineth beyond Syene or Esna, and so forward unto its original, relations are very imperfect; but below these places, and further removed from the head, the current is but narrow; and we read, in the history of the Turks, the Tartar horsemen of Selimus swam over the Nile from Cairo to meet the forces of Tonumbeus. Baptista Scortia,* expressly treating hereof, preferreth the river of Plate in America, for that, as Maffeus hath delivered, falleth into the ocean in the latitude of forty leagues, and with that force and plenty, that men at sea do taste fresh water before they approach so near as to discover the land. So is it exceeded by that which by Cardan is termed the greatest in the world, that is the river Oregliana in the same continent; which, as Maginus delivereth, hath been navigated 6000 miles, and opens in a channel of ninety leagues broad, so that, as Acosta, an ocular witness, recordeth, they that sail in the middle can make no land on either side.[7]

Now the ground of this assertion was surely the magni-

* *De naturâ et incremento Nili.*

[7] *side.*] Oregliana river is 6000 miles longe, 270 miles broad at the mouth.—*Wr.*

fying esteem of the ancients, arising from the indiscovery of its head.[8] For as things unknown seem greater than they are, and are usually received with amplifications above their nature; so might it also be with this river, whose head being unknown and drawn to a proverbial obscurity, the opinion thereof became without bounds, and men must needs conceit a large extent of that to which the discovery of no man had set a period. And this is an usual way, to give the superlative[9] unto things of eminency in any kind, and when a thing is very great, presently to define it to be the greatest of all. Whereas indeed superlatives are difficult; whereof there being but one in every kind, their determinations are dangerous, and must not be made without great circumspection. So the city of Rome is magnified by the Latins to be the greatest of the earth; but time and geography inform us that Cairo is bigger, and Quinsay, in China, far exceedeth both. So is Olympus extolled by the Greeks, as an hill attaining unto heaven; but the enlarged geography of after times makes slight account hereof, when they discourse of Andes in Peru, or Teneriffe in the Canaries.[1] And we understand, by a person who hath lately had a fair opportunity to behold the magnified Mount Olympus, that it is exceeded by some peaks of the Alps. So have all ages conceived, and most are still ready to swear, the wren is the least of birds;

[8] *head.*] Maximus Tyrius, tutor to Aurel. Antonin. emperor, taxeth the vaine solicitude of Alexander to discover the head of the Nile, and enquired rather *si a Deo bona omnia, unde mala fluunt, &c.*—*Wr.*

[9] *superlative.*] A noble lord was wont to say the best trowts are in as many places of England, as afford any trowtes, for every place magnifies theire owne. Hence Tullye wittily drew an argument from the mouths of all the philosophers against themselves, that the secte of the Academicks (whereof he was one) was the best. For, saythe hee, aske the Stoicke which is the best, and he will say the Stoick. But then aske which is the next best, hee will say the Academick. Soe aske of the Peripatetick, the Cynicke, the Pythagorian, the Platonick, and the Pyrronian or sceptick, which of all is the best, each of these will magnifie and advance his owne as the prime, but next his owne the Academicke. Therefore hee concludes, and that most invinciblye, that which by the confession of all interests in severall is the second, is in every truthe the firste: for what each speakes of his owne is partiall, but whatt all confesse to be the second best after their owne, is by all confession the very prime of all.—*Wr.*

[1] *Canaries.*] Pico, in the Azores, 3 miles highe like a sugar loafe.—*Wr.*

yet the discoveries of America, and even of our own plantations, have showed us one far less, that is, the humbird, not much exceeding a beetle. And truly, for the least and greatest, the highest and the lowest of every kind, as it is very difficult to define them in visible things, so is it to understand in things invisible. Thus is it no easy lesson to comprehend the first matter, and the affections of that which is next neighbour unto nothing, but impossible truly to comprehend God, who indeed is all in all. For things, as they arise into perfection, and approach unto God, or descend to imperfection, and draw nearer unto nothing, fall both imperfectly into our apprehensions, the one being too weak for our conceptions, our conceptions too weak for the other.

Thirdly, divers conceptions there are concerning its increment or inundation. The first unwarily opinions, that this increase or annual overflowing is proper unto Nile, and not agreeable unto any other river, which notwithstanding is common unto many currents of Africa. For about the same time the river Niger and Zaire do overflow, and so do the rivers beyond the Mountains of the Moon, as Suama and Spirito Santo. And not only these in Africa, but some also in Europe and Asia;[2] for so is it reported of Menan in India, and so doth Botero report of Duina in Livonia, and the same is also observable in the river Jordan, in Judea, for

[2] *some in Europe and Asia.*] And in America, where the *Rio de la Plata* is flooded at certain periods, and like the Nile inundates and fertilizes the country. The Indians then leave their huts, and betake themselves to their canoes, in which they float about, until the waters have retired. In the month of April, in 1793, it happened that a current of wind, of an extraordinary nature and violence, heaped up the immense mass of water of this river to a distance of ten leagues, so that the whole country was submersed, and the bed of the river remained dry in such a manner, that it might be walked over with dry feet. The vessels which had foundered and sunk, were all exposed again, and there was found, among others, an English vessel, which had perished in 1762. Many people descended into this bed, visited and spoiled the vessels thus laid dry, and returned with their pockets filled with silver and other precious articles, which had been buried more than thirty years in the deep. This phenomenon, which may be regarded as one of the greatest convulsions of nature, lasted three days, at the expiration of which the wind abated, and the waters returned with fury into their natural bed.—*Bulletin Universel.*

so is it delivered that "Jordan overfloweth all his banks in the time of harvest."*[3]

The effect indeed is wonderful in all, and the causes surely best resolvable from observations made in the countries themselves, the parts through which they pass, or whence they take their original. That of Nilus hath been attempted by many, and by some to that despair of resolution, that they have only referred it unto the providence of God, and his secret manuduction of all things unto their ends. But divers have attained the truth, and the cause alleged by Diodorus, Seneca, Strabo, and others, is allowable; that the inundation of Nilus in Egypt proceeded from the rains in Ethiopia, and the mighty source of waters falling towards the fountains thereof. For this inundation unto the Egyptians happeneth when it is winter unto the Ethiopians, which habitations, although they have no cold winter, the sun being no further removed from them in Cancer than unto us in Taurus, yet is the fervour of the air so well remitted, as it admits a sufficient generation of vapours, and plenty of showers ensuing thereupon.[4] This theory of the ancients is since confirmed by experience of the moderns: by Franciscus Alvarez, who lived long in those parts, and left a description of Ethiopia, affirming that from the middle of June unto September, there fell in this time continual rains. As also Antonius Ferdinandus, who in an epistle written from thence, and noted by Codignus, affirmeth that during the winter, in those countries, there passed no day without rain.

Now this is also usual, to translate a remarkable quality into a propriety, and where we admire an effect in one, to opinion there is not the like in any other. With these conceits do common apprehensions entertain the antidotal and

* Josh. iii.

[3] *harvest.*] Maio incunte.

[4] *thereupon.*] This observation is worthye of notinge, yf you understand itt of that Æthiopia, which borders on the springs of Nilus, supposed generally to flow out of the Mountains of the Moon, that is, 15 degrees beyond the equinoctiall. Whereas Prester John's courte, of residence wherein Alvarez lived, is 12 degrees on this side the line, i. e. 27 degrees, or 1620 miles at least. And this rayne, which fell in his courte from June to September overthrows the former instance of the winter raines at the Mountains of the Moon, although that bee the only and the true cause of the rising of Nilus.—*Wr.*

wondrous condition of Ireland, conceiving only in that land an immunity from venomous creatures; but unto him that shall further enquire, the same will be affirmed of Creta, memorable in ancient stories, even unto fabulous causes, and benediction from the birth of Jupiter. The same is also found in Ebusus or Evisa, an island near Majorca, upon the coast of Spain. With these apprehensions do the eyes of neighbour spectators behold Etna, the flaming mountain in Sicilia; but navigators tell us there is a burning mountain[5] in Iceland, a more remarkable one in Teneriffe of the Canaries, and many volcanoes or fiery hills elsewhere. Thus crocodiles were thought to be peculiar unto Nile, and the opinion so possessed Alexander, that when he had discovered some in Ganges, he fell upon a conceit he had found the head of Nilus; but later discoveries affirm they are not only in Asia and Africa, but very frequent in some rivers of America.

Another opinion[6] confineth its inundation, and positively affirmeth, it constantly increaseth the seventeenth day of June; wherein perhaps a larger form of speech were safer, than that which punctually prefixeth a constant day thereto. For this expression is different from that of the ancients, as Herodotus, Diodorus, Seneca, &c., delivering only that it happeneth about the entrance of the sun into Cancer; wherein they warily deliver themselves, and reserve a reasonable latitude.[7] So, when Hippocrates saith, *Sub Cane et ante Canem difficiles sunt purgationes*, there is a latitude of days comprised therein; for under the dog-star he containeth not only the day of his ascent, but many following, and some ten days preceding. So Aristotle delivers the affections of animals, with the very terms of *circa, et magna ex parte*; and, when Theodorus translateth that part of his "*coeunt thunni et scombri mense Februario post Idus, pariunt Junio ante Nonas*," Scaliger for "*ante Nonas*" renders it "*Junii initio*," because that exposition affordeth the latitude of divers days.

[5] *burning mountain.*] Called Hecla.

[6] *Another, &c.*] Lord Bacon, *Natural History, Experiment* 743.

[7] *latitude.*] This is all one with the former, for in their times the ☉ then entered ♋ or rather sooner see that this *about* hath a large latitude: for at the sumer solstice, or his coming to Cancer, hee does little varye his declination for almost a month's space.—*Wr.*

For affirming it happeneth before the Nones, he alloweth but one day, that is the Calends; for in the Roman account, the second day is the fourth of the Nones of June.[9]

Again, were the day definitive, it had prevented the delusion of the devil, nor could he have gained applause by its prediction; who, notwithstanding (as Athanasius in the life of Anthony relateth), to magnify his knowledge in things to come, when he perceived the rains to fall in Ethiopia, would presage unto the Egyptians the day of its inundation. And this would also make useless that natural experiment observed in earth or sand about the river; by the weight whereof (as good authors report) they have, unto this day, a knowledge of its increase.[1]

Lastly, it is not reasonable from variable and unstable causes to derive a fixed and constant effect, and such are the causes of this inundation, which cannot indeed be regular, and therefore their effects not prognosticable, like eclipses. For, depending upon the clouds and descent of showers in Ethiopia, which have their generation from vaporous exhalations, they must submit their existence unto contingencies, and endure anticipation and recession from the moveable condition of their causes. And therefore some years there hath been no increase at all, as some conceive in the years of famine under Pharaoh; as Seneca and divers relate of the eleventh year of Cleopatra; nor nine years together, as is testified by Calisthenes. Some years it hath also retarded, and come far later than usually it was expected, as according

[9] *June.*] Reckoning the nones as they doe the calends *a retro.*—*Wr.*

[1] *increase.*] They have now a more certain way, for all the ancients agree that Nilus begins to flow about the beginning of July (the sonn going out of Cancer into Leo), and about the end of September returnes within his bankes againe. From the first rise to his wonted level are commonly 100 days: the just hight is 16 cubits. In 12 cubits they are sure of a famine, in 13 of scarcitye and dearthe, 14 cubits makes them merye, 15, secure, and 16, triumphe, beyonde this (which is rare) they looke sad agen, not for feare of want, but lest the slow fall of the waters should defer the seed-time to longe; which usually begins in 9ber, and the harvest is in Maye. But of this you may read at large in Plinye's *Natural Historye,* lib. v. cap. 9, and lib. xviii. cap. 18. But most excellently in Seneca's iv. lib. of natural quæstions, which is worthe the reading. Itt seems that in the 7 yeares of famine wherof Joseph (instructed by God) prophesyed, there had noe rain faln in Æthiopia, and that therefore Nilus had not overflowed.—*Wr.*

to Sozomen and Nicephorus it happened in the days of Theodosius; whereat the people were ready to mutiny, because they might not sacrifice unto the river, according to the custom of their predecessors.

Now this is also an usual way of mistake, and many are deceived who too strictly construe the temporal considerations of things. The books will tell us, and we are made to believe, that the fourteenth year males are seminifical and pubescent; but he that shall enquire into the generality, will rather adhere unto the cautelous assertion of Aristotle, that is, *bis septem annis exactis*, and then but *magna ex parte*. That whelps are blind nine days, and then begin to see, is generally believed; but as we have elsewhere declared, it is exceeding rare, nor do their eyelids usually open until the twelfth, and sometimes not before the fourteenth day. And to speak strictly, an hazardable determination it is, unto fluctuating and indifferent effects to affix a positive type or period. For in effects of far more regular causalities, difficulties do often arise, and even in time itself, which measureth all things, we use allowance in its commensuration. Thus while we conceive we have the account of a year in 365 days, exact enquirers and computists will tell us, that we escape six hours,[2] that is, a quarter of a day. And so in a day, which every one accounts twenty-four hours, or one revolution of the sun; in strict account we must allow the addition of such a part as the sun doth make in his proper motion, from west to east, whereby in one day he describeth not a perfect circle.

Fourthly, it is affirmed by many, and received by most, that it never raineth in Egypt, the river supplying that defect, and bountifully requiting it in its inundation: but this must also be received in a qualified sense, that is, that it rains but seldom at any time in the summer, and very rarely in the winter. But that great showers do sometimes fall

[2] *escape six hours.*] *Lege* overreckon every common yeare 10′ 44″ according to Alphonsus, and every 4th yeare, 42′ 56″. But Tycho by long and exact observation sayes the retrocession made by this overreckoninge is now but 41′, precisely: so that in 300 yeares to come the retrocession of the æquinoxes in the Julian kalendar (for in heaven they are fixed) cannot bee above one day: soe that the kalendar reformed would remaine to all times.—*Wr.*

upon that region, beside the assertion of many writers, we can confirm from honourable and ocular testimony,* and that not many years past it rained in Grand Cairo divers days together.

The same is also attested concerning other parts of Egypt, by Prosper Alpinus, who lived long in that country, and hath left an accurate treatise of the medical practice thereof. *Cayri rarò decidunt pluviæ; Alexandriæ, Pelusiique et in omnibus locis mari adjacentibus, pluit largissime et sæpe;* that is, it raineth seldom at Cairo, but at Alexandria, Damietta, and places near the sea, it raineth plentifully and often. Whereto we might add the latter testimony of learned Mr. Greaves, in his accurate description of the Pyramids.[4]

Beside, men hereby forget the relation of Holy Scripture. "Behold I will cause it to rain a very great hail,[5] such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof, even until now."† Wherein God threatening such a rain as had not happened, it must be presumed they had been acquainted with some before, and were not ignorant of the substance, the menace being made in the circumstance. The same concerning hail is inferrible from Prosper Alpinus, *Rarissimè nix, grando,* it seldom snoweth or haileth: whereby we must concede that snow and hail do sometimes fall, because they happen seldom.[6]

Now this mistake ariseth from a misapplication of the bounds or limits of time, and an undue transition from one unto another; which to avoid, we must observe the punctual differences of time, and so distinguish thereof, as not to confound or lose the one in the other. For things may come to pass, *semper, plerumque, sæpe; aut nunquam, aliquando, raro;* that is, always, or never, for the most part, or sometimes, oft-times, or seldom. Now the deception is usual which is made by the mis-application of these; men pre-

* Sir William Paston, Baronet. † Exod. ix.

[4] *The same is also, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[5] *rain—hail.*] Haile is raine as itt fals first out of the clowds, but freeses as itt fals, and turnes into haile-stones, yf the lower ayre bee colder then that from whence it fals.—*Wr.*

[6] *The same concerning hail, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

sently concluding that to happen often, which happeneth but sometimes: that never, which happeneth but seldom; and that always, which happeneth for the most part. So is it said, the sun shines every day in Rhodes, because for the most part it faileth not. So we say and believe that a chameleon never eateth, but liveth only upon air; whereas indeed it is seen to eat very seldom, but many there are who have beheld it to feed on flies. And so it is said, that children born in the eighth month live not, that is, for the most part, but not to be concluded always: nor it seems in former ages in all places, for it is otherwise recorded by Aristotle concerning the births of Egypt.

Lastly, it is commonly conceived that divers princes have attempted to cut the isthmus or tract of land which parteth the Arabian and Mediterranean seas. But upon enquiry I find some difficulty concerning the place attempted; many with good authority affirming, that the intent was not immediately to unite these seas, but to make a navigable channel between the Red Sea and the Nile, the marks whereof are extant to this day. It was first attempted by Sesostris, after by Darius, and in a fear to drown the country, deserted by them both, but was long after re-attempted and in some manner effected by Philadelphus. And so the Grand Signior, who is lord of the country, conveyeth his galleys into the Red Sea by the Nile; for he bringeth them down to Grand Cairo, where they are taken in pieces, carried upon camels' backs, and rejoined together at Suez, his port and naval station for the sea; whereby in effect he acts the design of Cleopatra, who after the battle of Actium in a different way would have conveyed her galleys into the Red Sea.

And therefore that proverb to cut an isthmus, that is, to take great pains, and effect nothing, alludeth not unto this attempt, but is by Erasmus applied unto several other; as that undertaking of the Cnidians to cut their isthmus, but especially that of Corinth so unsuccessfully attempted by many emperors. The Cnidians were deterred by the peremptory dissuasion of Apollo, plainly commanding them to desist, for if God had thought it fit, he would have made that country an island at first. But this, perhaps, will not be thought a reasonable discouragement unto the activity of

those spirits which endeavour to advantage nature by art, and upon good grounds to promote any part of the universe; nor will the ill success of some be made a sufficient determent unto others, who know that many learned men affirm, that islands were not from the beginning, that many have been made since by art, that some isthmuses have been eat through by the sea, and others cut by the spade. And if policy would permit, that of Panama, in America, were most worthy the attempt, it being but few miles over, and would open a shorter cut unto the East Indies and China.[5]

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Red Sea.

CONTRARY apprehensions are made of the Erythræan or Red Sea, most apprehending a material redness therein, from whence they derive its common denomination; and some so lightly conceiving hereof, as if it had no redness at all, are fain to recur unto other originals of its appellation. Wherein to deliver a distinct account, we first observe that without

[5] *China.*] Betweene Panama and the Nombre de Dios, which lyes on bothe sides that strip of lande, the Spaniards accompte about 40 miles at most; but the Spaniard enjoying both those havens, and consequentlye having the free trade of both seas without corrivalitye of other nations (which yf that passage were open would not longe bee his alone), will never endure such an attempt, and for that cause hath fortified bothe those havens soe stronglye that hee may enjoye this proprietye without controule. But itt withall supposes that to cutt through the ridge of mountains which lies betweene those 2 havens is impossible, and would prove more unfecible then that of Ægypt, which yf itt might be compassed would be of more advantage to these 3 parts of the world than that of Panama, and nearer by 1000 leagues to us, the remotest kingdome trading to the East Indyes.—*Wr.*

This long projected intercourse with the East Indies seems—under the present enterprising Pacha of Egypt, to be in a fair way of accomplishment. Letters thither having been actually sent off by the Mediterranean mail in the spring of 1835. The Pacha has sent to M. Brunel requesting his assistance in carrying on the great work of improvement in the channel of the Nile; and one of our British engineers, Mr. Galloway, who has the conduct of a railway constructing between Cairo and Suez, has been created a Bey of Egypt.

consideration of colour it is named the Arabian Gulph. The Hebrews, who had best reason to remember it, do call it Zuph, or the weedy sea,[6] because it was full of sedge, or they found it so in their passage. The Mahometans, who are now lords thereof, do know it by no other name than the Gulph of Mecca, a city of Arabia.

The stream of antiquity deriveth its name from King Erythrus, so slightly conceiving of the nominal deduction from redness, that they plainly deny there is any such accident in it. The words of Curtius are plainly beyond evasion: *Ab Erythro rege inditum est nomen, propter quod ignari rubere aquas credunt.* Of no more obscurity are the words of Philostratus, and of later times, Sabellicus; *Stultè persuasum est vulgo rubras alicubi esse maris aquas, quin ab Erythro rege nomen pelago inditum.* Of this opinion was Andreas Corsalius, Pliny, Solinus, Dio Cassius, who although they denied not all redness, yet did they rely upon the original from King Erythrus.

Others have fallen upon the like, or perhaps the same conceit under another appellation, deducing its name not from King Erythrus, but Esau or Edom, whose habitation was upon the coasts thereof.* Now Edom is as much as Erythrus, and the Red Sea no more than the Idumean, from whence the posterity of Edom removing towards the Mediterranean coast, according to their former nomination by the Greeks, were called Phœnicians, or red men, and from a plantation and colony of theirs, an island near Spain was by the Greek describers termed Erythra, as is declared by Strabo and Solinus.

* More exactly hereof Bochartus and Mr. Dickinson.

[6] *the weedy sea.*] Bruce however says that he never saw a weed in it: and attributes this name to the plants of coral with which it abounds.

"Heb. xi. 29, commonly called the Red Sea. But this is a vulgar error, and the appellation rather arose from its proper name *Mare Erythræum*, which (the commentators say) was derived from king Erythrus, undoubtedly the same with Esau and Edom, who was a *red* man—so Grotius and others. It is called by Moses, at Exod. xv. 22, ים סוף, the weedy sea, and such the accounts of modern tourists, as Niebuhr and others (see Huruen), testify it to be. But whether these weeds give a colour to it, so as to originate the name Red Sea, is, I think, very doubtful."—*Bloomfield, Recensio Synoptica, in loc.*

Very many, omitting the nominal derivation, do rest in the gross and literal conception thereof, apprehending a real redness and constant colour of parts. Of which opinion are also they which hold, the sea receiveth a red and minious tincture from springs, wells, and currents that fall into it; and of the same belief are probably many Christians, who conceiving the passage of the Israelites through the sea to have been the type of baptism, according to that of the apostle, "All were baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea,"* for the better resemblance of the blood of Christ, they willingly received it in the apprehension of redness, and a colour agreeable unto its mystery; according unto that of Austin,† *Significat mare illud rubrum baptismum Christi, unde nobis baptismus Christi, nisi sanguine Christi consecratus?*

But divers moderns not considering these conceptions, and appealing unto the testimony of sense, have at last determined the point, concluding a redness herein, but not in the sense received. Sir Walter Raleigh, from his own and Portugal observations, doth place the redness of the sea in the reflection from red islands, and the redness of the earth at the bottom, wherein coral grows very plentifully, and from whence in great abundance it is transported into Europe. The observations of Albuquerque, and Stephanus de Gama (as, from Johannes de Bairros, Fernandius de Cordova relateth), derive this redness from the colour of the sand and argillous earth at the bottom, for being a shallow sea, while it rolleth to and fro, there appeareth redness upon the water, which is most discernible in sunny and windy weather. But that this is no more than a seeming redness, he confirmeth by an experiment: for in the reddest part taking up a vessel of water, it differed not from the complexion of other seas. Nor is this colour discoverable in every place of that sea, for, as he also observed, in some places it is very green, in others white and yellow, according to the colour of the earth or sand at the bottom. And so may Philostratus be made out, when he saith, this sea is blue; or Bellonius denying this redness, because he beheld not that colour about Suez; or when Corsalius at the mouth thereof could not discover the same.

* 1 Cor. x. 2. † *Aug. in Johannem.*

Now although we have enquired the ground of redness in this sea, yet are we not fully satisfied. For (what is forgot by many, and known by few) there is another Red Sea, whose name we pretend not to make out from these principles, that is, the Persian Gulph or Bay, which divideth the Arabian and Persian shore, as Pliny hath described it, *Mare rubrum in duos dividitur sinus, is qui ab Oriente est, Persicus appellatur;* or, as Solinus expresseth it, *Qui ab Oriente est, Persicus appellatur, ex adverso unde Arabia est, Arabicus;* whereto assenteth Suidas, Ortelius, and many more. And therefore there is no absurdity in Strabo, when he delivereth that Tigris and Euphrates do fall into the Red Sea, and Fernandius de Cordova justly defendeth his countryman Seneca in that expression:—

> Et qui renatum prorsus excipiens diem
> Tepidum Rubenti Tigrin immiscet freto.

Nor hath only the Persian Sea received the same name with the Arabian, but what is strange and much confounds the distinction, the name thereof is also derived from King Erythrus, who was conceived to be buried in an island of this sea, as Dionysius, Afer, Curtius, and Suidas do deliver. Which were of no less probability than the other, if (as with the same authors Strabo affirmeth), he was buried near Caramania, bordering upon the Persian Gulph. And if his tomb was seen by Nearchus, it was not so likely to be in the Arabian Gulph; for we read that from the river Indus he came unto Alexander, at Babylon, some few days before his death. Now Babylon was seated upon the river Euphrates, which runs into the Persian Gulph; and therefore, however the Latin expresseth it in Strabo, that Nearchus suffered much in the Arabian Sinus, yet is the original κόλπος πέρσικος, that is, the Gulph of Persia.

That therefore the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulph, received its name from personal derivation, though probable, is but uncertain; that both the seas of one name should have one common denominator, less probable; that there is a gross and material redness in either, not to be affirmed; that there is an emphatical or appearing redness in one, not well to be denied. And this is sufficient to make good the allegory of the Christians, and in this distinction may we justify the name

of the Black Sea, given unto Pontus Euxinus; the name of Xanthus, or the Yellow River of Phrygia; and the name of Mar Vermeio, or the Red Sea in America.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Blackness of Negroes.

It is evident, not only in the general frame of nature, that things most manifest unto sense, have proved obscure unto the understanding; but even in proper and appropriate objects, wherein we affirm the sense cannot err, the faculties of reason most often fail us. Thus of colours in general, under whose gloss and varnish all things are seen, few or none have yet beheld the true nature, or positively set down their incontrollable causes. Which while some ascribe unto the mixture of the elements, others to the graduality of opacity and light, they have left our endeavours to grope them out by twilight, and by darkness almost to discover that whose existence is evidenced by light. The chemists have laudably reduced their causes unto sal, sulphur, and mercury, and had they made it out so well in this as in the objects of smell and taste, their endeavours had been more acceptable: for whereas they refer sapor unto salt, and odor unto sulphur, they vary much concerning colour; some reducing it unto mercury; some to sulphur; others unto salt. Wherein indeed the last conceit doth not oppress the former; and though sulphur seem to carry the master-stroke, yet salt may have a strong co-operation. For beside the fixed and terrestrious salt, there is in natural bodies a sal nitre referring unto sulphur; there is also a volatile or armoniack salt retaining unto mercury; by which salts the colours of bodies are sensibly qualified, and receive degrees of lustre or obscurity, superficiality or profundity, fixation or volatility.

Their general or first natures being thus obscure, there will be greater difficulties in their particular discoveries; for being farther removed from their simplicities, they fall into more complexed considerations; and so require a subtiler act of reason to distinguish and call forth their natures. Thus although a man understood the general nature of colours, yet

were it no easy problem to resolve, why grass is green? Why garlic, molyes, and porrets have white roots, deep green leaves, and black seeds? Why several docks and sorts of rhubarb with yellow roots, send forth purple flowers? Why also from lactory or milky plants, which have a white and lacteous juice dispersed through every part, there arise flowers blue and yellow? moreover, beside the special and first digressions ordained from the creation, which might be urged to salve the variety in every species, why shall the marvel of Peru produce its flowers of different colours, and that not once, or constantly, but every day, and variously? Why tulips of one colour produce some of another, and running through almost all, should still escape a blue?[7] And lastly, why some men, yea and they a mighty and considerable part of mankind, should first acquire and still retain the gloss and tincture of blackness? Which whoever strictly enquires, shall find no less of darkness in the cause, than in the effect itself; there arising unto examination no such satisfactory and unquarrellable reasons, as may confirm the causes generally received, which are but two in number;—the heat and scorch of the sun, or the curse of God on Cham and his posterity.

The first was generally received by the ancients, who in obscurities had no higher recourse than unto nature; as may appear by a discourse concerning this point in Strabo: by Aristotle it seems to be implied, in those problems which enquire, why the sun makes men black, and not the fire? why it whitens wax, yet blacks the skin? by the word Ethiops itself, applied to the memorablest nations of negroes, that is, of a burnt and torrid countenance. The fancy of the fable infers also the antiquity of the opinion; which deriveth the complexion from the deviation of the sun: and the conflagration of all things under Phaeton. But this opinion, though generally embraced, was I perceive rejected by Aristobulus, a very ancient geographer, as is discovered by Strabo. It hath been doubted by several modern writers, particularly by Ortelius; but amply and satisfactorily discussed as we know by no man. We shall therefore endeavour a full delivery hereof, declaring the grounds of doubt, and reasons of denial,

[7] *should still escape a blue.*] Dr. Shaw remarks, in his *Panorama of Nature*, p. 619, that shells are of almost all colours but blue. The reason seems to be the effects of salt water on that colour.—*Jeff.*

which rightly understood, may, if not overthrow, yet shrewdly shake the security of this assertion.

And first, many which countenance the opinion in this reason, do tacitly and upon consequence overthrow it in another. For whilst they make the river Senega to divide and bound the Moors, so that on the south side they are black, on the other only tawny, they imply a secret causality herein from the air, place, or river; and seem not to derive it from the sun, the effects of whose activity are not precipitously abrupted, but gradually proceed to their cessations.

Secondly, if we affirm that this effect proceeded, or as we will not be backward to concede, it may be advanced and fomented from the fervour of the sun; yet do we not hereby discover a principle sufficient to decide the question concerning other animals; nor doth he that affirmeth that heat makes man black, afford a reason why other animals in the same habitations maintain a constant and agreeable hue unto those in other parts, as lions, elephants, camels, swans, tigers, ostriches, which, though in Ethiopia, in the disadvantage of two summers, and perpendicular rays of the sun, do yet make good the complexion of their species, and hold a colourable correspondence unto those in milder regions. Now did this complexion proceed from heat in man, the same would be communicated unto other animals, which equally participate the influence of the common agent. For thus it is in the effects of cold, in regions far removed from the sun; for therein men are not only of fair complexions, gray-eyed, and of light air; but many creatures exposed to the air, deflect in extremity from their natural colours; from brown, russet, and black, receiving the complexion of winter, and turning perfect white. Thus Olaus Magnus relates, that after the autumnal equinox, foxes begin to grow white; thus Michovius reporteth, and we want not ocular confirmation, that hares and partridges turn white in the winter; and thus a white crow, a proverbial rarity with us, is none unto them; but that inseparable accident of porphyry is separated in many hundreds.

Thirdly, if the fervour of the sun, or intemperate heat of clime did solely occasion this complexion, surely a migration or change thereof might cause a sensible, if not a total mutation; which notwithstanding experience will not admit.

For Negroes transplanted, although into cold and phlegmatick habitations, continue their hue both in themselves, and also their generations, except they mix with different complexions; whereby, notwithstanding there only succeeds a remission of their tinctures, there remaining unto many descents a strong shadow of originals, and if they preserve their copulations entire, they still maintain their complexions. As is very remarkable in the dominions of the Grand Signior, and most observable in the Moors in Brasilia, which, transplanted about an hundred years past, continue the tinctures of their fathers unto this day. And so likewise fair or white people translated into hotter countries receive not impressions amounting to this complexion, as hath been observed in many Europeans who have lived in the land of Negroes: and as Edvardus Lopez testifieth of the Spanish plantations, that they retained their native complexions unto his days.

Fourthly, if the fervour of the sun were the sole cause hereof in Ethiopia or any land of Negroes, it were also reasonable that inhabitants of the same latitude, subjected unto the same vicinity of the sun, the same diurnal arch, and direction of its rays, should also partake of the same hue and complexion; which notwithstanding they do not. For the inhabitants of the same latitude in Asia are of a different complexion, as are the inhabitants of Cambogia and Java; insomuch that some conceive the Negro is properly a native of Africa, and that those places in Asia, inhabited now by Moors, are but the intrusions of Negroes, arriving first from Africa, as we generally conceive of Madagascar, and the adjoining islands, who retain the same complexion unto this day. But this defect is more remarkable in America; which although subjected unto both the tropicks, yet are not the inhabitants black between, or near, or under either: neither to the southward in Brasilia, Chili, or Peru; nor yet to the northward in Hispaniola, Castilia, del Oro, or Nicaragua. And although in many parts thereof there be at present swarms of Negroes serving under the Spaniard, yet were they all transported from Africa, since the discovery of Columbus; and are not indigenous or proper natives of America.

Fifthly, we cannot conclude this complexion in nations

from the vicinity or habitude they hold unto the sun; for even in Africa they be Negroes under the southern tropick, but are not all of this hue either under or near the northern. So the people of Gualata, Agades, Garamantes, and of Goaga, all within the northern tropicks, are not Negroes; but on the other side Capo Negro, Cefala, and Madagascar, they are of a jetty black.

Now if to salve this anomaly we say, the heat of the sun is more powerful in the southern tropick, because in the sign of Capricorn falls out the perigeum or lowest place of the sun in his eccentric, whereby he becomes nearer unto them than unto the other in Cancer, we shall not absolve the doubt. And if any insist upon such niceties, and will presume a different effect of the sun, from such a difference of place or vicinity: we shall balance the same with the concernment of its motion, and time of revolution, and say he is more powerful in the northern hemisphere, and in the apogeum: for therein his motion is slower, and so is his heat respectively unto those habitations, as of more duration, so also of more effect. For though he absolve his revolution in 365 days, odd hours and minutes, yet by reason of eccentricity, his motion is unequal, and his course far longer in the northern semicircle, than in the southern; for the latter he passeth in 178 days, but the other takes him 187, that is, nine days more. So is his presence more continued unto the northern inhabitants; and the longest day in Cancer is longer unto us than that in Capricorn unto the southern habitator. Beside, hereby we only infer an inequality of heat in different tropicks, but not an equality of effects in other parts subjected to the same. For in the same degree, and as near the earth he makes his revolution unto the American, whose inhabitants, notwithstanding, partake not of the same effect. And if herein we seek a relief from the dog-star, we shall introduce an effect proper unto a few, from a cause common unto many: for upon the same grounds that star should have as forcible a power upon America and Asia; and although it be not vertical unto any part of Asia, but only passeth by Beach, in *Terra Incognita;* yet is it so unto America, and vertically passeth over the habitations of Peru and Brasilia.

Sixthly, and which is very considerable, there are Negroes

in Africa beyond the southern tropick, and some so far removed from it, as geographically the clime is not intemperate, that is, near the Cape of Good Hope, in 36 of the southern latitude. Whereas in the same elevation northward, the inhabitants of America are fair; and they of Europe in Candy, Sicily, and some other parts of Spain, deserve not properly so low a name as tawny.

Lastly, whereas the Africans are conceived to be more peculiarly scorched and torrified from the sun, by addition of dryness from the soil, from want and defect of water, it will not excuse the doubt. For the parts which the Negroes possess, are not so void of rivers and moisture, as is presumed; for on the other side the Mountains of the Moon, in that great tract called Zanzibar, there are the mighty rivers of Suama, and Spirito Santo; on this side, the great river Zaire, the mighty Nile and Niger; which do not only moisten and contemperate the air by their exhalations, but refresh and humectate the earth by their annual inundations. Beside in that part of Africa, which with all disadvantage is most dry (that is, in situation between the tropicks, defect of rivers and inundations, as also abundance of sands), the people are not esteemed Negroes; and that is Libya, which with the Greeks carries the name of all Africa. A region so desert, dry, and sandy, that travellers (as Leo reports) are fain to carry water on their camels; whereof they find not a drop sometime in six or seven days. Yet is this country accounted by geographers no part of *Terra Nigritarum*, and Ptolemy placeth therein the *Leuco-Æthiopes*, or pale and tawny Moors.

Now the ground of this opinion might be the visible quality of blackness observably produced by heat, fire, and smoke; but especially with the ancients the violent esteem they held of the heat of the sun, in the hot or torrid zone; conceiving that part unhabitable, and therefore, that people in the vicinities, or frontier thereof, could not escape without this change of their complexions. But how far they were mistaken in this apprehension, modern geography hath discovered: and as we have declared, there are many within this zone whose complexions descend not so low as unto blackness. And if we should strictly insist hereon, the possibility might fall into question; that is, whether

the heat of the sun, whose fervour may swart a living part, and even black a dead or dissolving flesh, can yet in animals, whose parts are successive and in continual flux, produce this deep and perfect gloss of blackness.

Thus having evinced, at least made dubious, the sun is not the author of this blackness, how, and when this tincture first began is yet a riddle, and positively to determine it surpasseth my presumption. Seeing therefore we cannot discover what *did* effect it, it may afford some piece of satisfaction to know what *might* procure it. It may be therefore considered whether the inward use of certain waters or fountains of peculiar operations, might not at first produce the effect in question. For of the like we have records in Aristotle, Strabo, and Pliny, who hath made a collection hereof, as of two fountains in Bœotia, the one making sheep white, the other black; of the water of Siberis which made oxen black, and the like effect it had also upon men, dying not only the skin, but making their hairs black and curled. This was the conceit of Aristobulus; who received so little satisfaction from the other (or that it might be caused by heat, or any kind of fire), that he conceived it as reasonable to impute the effect unto water.

Secondly, it may be perpended whether it might not fall out the same way that Jacob's cattle became speckled, spotted, and ring-straked, that is, by the power and efficacy of imagination; which produceth effects in the conception correspondent unto the fancy of the agents in generation, and sometimes assimilates the idea of the generator into a reality in the thing engendered. For, hereof there pass for current many indisputed examples; so in Hippocrates we read of one, that from an intent view of a picture conceived a Negro; and in the history of Heliodore,* of a Moorish queen, who upon aspection of the picture of Andromeda, conceived and brought forth a fair one. And thus perhaps might some say was the beginning of this complexion, induced first by imagination, which having once impregnated the seed, found afterward concurrent co-operations, which were continued by climes, whose constitution advantaged the first impression. Thus Plotinus conceiveth white peacocks first came in. Thus many opi-

* Vide *plura apud Tho. Fienum, de viribus imaginationis.*

nion that from aspection of the snow, which lieth along in northern regions, and high mountains, hawks, kites, bears, and other creatures become white; and by this way Austin conceiveth the devil provided they never wanted a white-spotted ox in Egypt; for such an one they worshipped, and called Apis.

Thirdly, it is not indisputable whether it might not proceed from such a cause and the like foundation of tincture, as doth the black jaundice, which meeting with congenerous causes might settle durable inquinations, and advance their generations unto that hue, which were naturally before but a degree or two below it. And this transmission we shall the easier admit in colour, if we remember the like hath been effected in organical parts and figures; the symmetry whereof being casually or purposely perverted their morbosities have vigorously descended to their posterities, and that in durable deformities. This was the beginning of Macrocephali, or people with long heads, whereof Hippocrates* hath clearly delivered himself: *Cùm primùm editus est infans, caput ejus tenellum manibus effingunt, et in longitudine adolescere cogunt; hoc institutum primum hujusmodi, naturæ dedit vitium, successu verò temporis in naturam abiit, ut proinde instituto nihil amplius opus esset; semen enim genitale ex omnibus corporis partibus provenit, ex sanis quidem sanum, ex morbosis morbosum. Si igitur ex calvis calvi, ex cæsis cæsii, et ex distortis, ut plurimum, distorti gignuntur, eademque in cæteris formis valet ratio; quid prohibet cur non ex macrocephalis macrocephali gignantur?* Thus as Aristotle observeth, the deer of Arginusa had their ears divided; occasioned at first by slitting the ears of deer. Thus have the Chinese little feet, most Negroes great lips and flat noses; and thus many Spaniards, and Mediterranean inhabitants, which are of the race of Barbary Moors (although after frequent commixture), have not worn out the Camoys† nose unto this day.

Artificial Negroes, or Gipsies, acquire their complexion by anointing their bodies with bacon and fat substances, and so exposing them to the sun. In Guinea Moors and others, it hath been observed, that they frequently moisten their skins with fat and oily materials, to temper the irksome

* *De Aere, Aquis, et Locis.* † Flat Nose.

dryness thereof from the parching rays of the sun. Whether this practice at first had not some efficacy toward this complexion, may also be considered.[8]

Lastly, if we still be urged to particularities, and such as declare how, and when the seed of Adam did first receive this tincture; we may say that men became black in the same manner that some foxes, squirrels, lions, first turned of this complexion, whereof there are a constant sort in divers countries; that some choughs came to have red legs and bills; that crows became pied.[9] All which mutations, however they began, depend on durable foundations; and such as may continue for ever. And if as yet we must farther define the cause and manner of this mutation, we must confess, in matters of antiquity, and such as are decided by history, if their originals and first beginnings escape a due relation, they fall into great obscurities, and such as future ages seldom reduce unto a resolution. Thus if you deduct the administration of angels, and that they dispersed the creatures into all parts after the flood, as they had congregated them into Noah's ark before, it will be no easy question to resolve, how several sorts of animals were first dispersed into islands, and almost how any into America. How the venereal contagion began in that part of the earth, since history is silent, is not easily resolved by philosophy. For whereas it is imputed unto anthropophagy, or the eating man's flesh, that cause hath been common unto many other countries, and there have been cannibals or men-eaters in the three other parts of the world, if we credit the relations of Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny. And thus if the favourable pen of Moses had not revealed the confusion of tongues, and positively declared their division at Babel; our disputes concerning their beginning had been without end,[1] and I fear we must have left the hopes of that decision unto Elias.*

* *Elias cum venerit, solvet dubium.*

[8] *Artificial Negroes, &c.*] First added in the 3rd edition.

[9] *some choughs, &c.*] This, however, is not a parallel case to the *varieties* existing among different individuals of the same *species*. The chough and the pied crow are distinct species.—The former (*Corvus gracula*) has *always* red legs and bills; the latter *Corvus caryocatactes*) is *always* pied.

[1] *had not revealed the confusion, &c.*] The question which forms the

And if any will yet insist, and urge the question farther still upon me, I shall be enforced unto divers of the like

subject of this and the two following chapters, appears to me to be very much of the same class as those adverted to in the present passage: questions utterly incapable of solution, in the absence of positive information. We know the proximate cause of the different complexions existing among the blacker and tawny varieties of the human race, to be the different hues of the colouring matter contained in the *rete mucosum;* but as to the originating cause, we can scarcely arrive at even a probable conjecture. There have existed various opinions as to the original complexion of mankind. Not only have the Negroes deemed themselves the "fairer," describing the devil and all terrible objects as being white;—but they have contended that our first progenitor was, like themselves, black. Job Ben Solomon, an African prince, when in England, was in company with Dr. Watts. The Dr. enquiring of him why he and his countrymen were black, since Adam was white? Job answered, "How you know Adam white? We think Adam black; and we ask how you came to be white?" A question which it is not probable the Dr. was able to answer.—*Mo. Rev.* vol. xxxviii. p. 541. Mr. Payne Knight, in his work *On Taste,* p. 15, is of the same opinion, that Adam in Paradise was an *African Black!!* Dr. Pritchard has also endeavoured to show that all men were originally Negroes. Blumenbach on the other hand supposes the original to have been Caucasian. The influence of climate has been the most generally assigned cause of the blackness of Negroes,—by some of the greatest naturalists both in ancient and modern times; for example by Pliny, Buffon, Smith, and Blumenbach. But it is a theory which surely a careful investigation of facts will be sufficient to overthrow. In addition to our author's observations to this effect, see those of the English editors of *Cuvier's Animal Kingdom,* vol. i. p. 174.

Nor is the difficulty as to the originating cause of the varieties in the human race confined to the mere question of complexion. It extends to the variations in hair and beard—to the configuration of the head—to the character and expression of countenance—the stature and symmetry of the body—and to the still more important—differences in moral and intellectual character. But of what use is it to exercise ingenuity as to the reasons of these particular variations? We see that the most astonishing variety pervades and adorns the whole range of creation. Let us be content to resolve it into the highest cause to which we can ascend, the will of that Being who has thus surrounded himself with the glory of his own works.

I subjoin some remarks by Mr. Brayley, bearing on a part of the subject.

In an elaborate paper by Dr. Stark, on the influence of colour on heat and odours, published in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1833, are contained some observations and experiments which tend to throw considerable light upon this subject. Dr. Franklin, it is stated by the author of the paper, from the result of his experiments with coloured cloths on the absorption of heat, drew the conclusion, "that black clothes are not so

nature, wherein perhaps I shall receive no greater satisfaction. I shall demand how the camels of Bactria came to have two bunches on their backs, whereas the camels of Arabia in all relations have but one? How oxen in some countries began and continue gibbous or bunch-backed? What way those many different shapes, colours, hairs, and natures of dogs came in?[2] How they of some countries became depilous, and without any hair at all, whereas some sorts in excess abound therewith? How the Indian hare came to have a long tail, whereas that part in others attains

fit to wear in a hot sunny climate or season as white ones, because in such clothes the body is more heated by the sun, when we walk abroad and are at the same time heated by the exercise; which double heat is apt to bring on putrid, dangerous fevers;" that soldiers and seamen in tropical climates should have a white uniform; that white hats should be generally worn in summer; and that garden walls for fruit trees would absorb more heat from being blackened.

"Count Rumford and Sir Evrd. Home, on the contrary," Dr. Stark continued, "come to a conclusion entirely the reverse of this. The count asserts, that if he were called upon to live in a very warm climate, he would blacken his skin or wear a black shirt; and Sir Everard, from direct experiments on himself and on a Negro's skin, lays it down as evident, 'that the power of the sun's rays to scorch the skins of animals is destroyed when applied to a dark surface, although the absolute heat, in consequence of the absorption of the rays, is greater.' Sir Humphry Davy explains this fact by saying, 'that the radiant heat in the sun's rays is converted into sensible heat.' With all deference to the opinion of this great man, it by no means explains why the surface of the skin was kept comparatively cool. From the result of the experiments detailed (in Dr. Stark's paper), it is evident, that if a black surface absorbs caloric in greatest quantity, it also gives it out in the same proportions, and thus a circulation of heat is as it were established, calculated to promote the insensible perspiration, and to keep the body cool. This view is confirmed by the observed fact of the stronger odour exhaled by the bodies of black people."—*Br.*

[2] *What way those many, &c.*] Rev. Mr. White, in his delightful *Natural History of Selborne*, describes a very curious breed of *eatible* dogs from China—"such as are fattened in that country for the purpose of being eaten: they are about the size of a moderate spaniel; of a pale yellow colour, with coarse bristling hair on their backs, sharp upright ears, and peaked heads, which give them a very fox-like appearance. They bark much in a short, thick manner, like foxes; and have a surly savage demeanour, like their ancestors, which are not domesticated; but bred up in sties, where they are fed for the table with rice-meal and other farinaceous food." On the subject of canine varieties Sir W. Jardine in a note refers to "some very interesting observations, in the fifth number of the *Journal of Agriculture*, by Mr. J. Wilson."

no higher than a scut? How the hogs of Illyria, which Aristotle speaks of, became solipedes or whole-hoofed, whereas in other parts[3] they are bisulcous, and described cleven-hoofed, by God himself? All which, with many others, must needs seem strange unto those that hold there were but two of the unclean sort in the ark; and are forced to reduce these varieties to unknown originals.

However therefore this complexion was first acquired, it is evidently maintained by generation, and by the tincture of the skin as a spermatical part traduced from father unto son; so that they which are strangers contract it not, and the natives which transmigrate, amit it not without commixture, and that after divers generations. And this affection (if the story were true) might wonderfully be confirmed, by what Maginus and others relate of the emperor of Ethiopia, or Prester John, who, derived from Solomon, is not yet descended into the hue of his country, but remains a Mulatto, that is, of a mongrel complexion unto this day. Now although we conceive this blackness to be seminal, yet are we not of Herodotus' conceit, that their seed is black. An opinion long ago rejected by Aristotle, and since by sense and enquiry. His assertion against the historian was probable, that all seed was white; that is, without great controversy in viviparous animals, and such as have testicles, or preparing vessels, wherein it receives a manifest dealbation. And not only in them, but (for ought I know) in fishes, not abating the seed of plants; whereof at least in most, though the skin and covering be black, yet is the seed and fructifying part not so: as may be observed in the seeds of onions, piony, and basil. Most controvertible it seems in the spawn of frogs and lobsters, whereof notwithstanding at the very first the spawn is white, contracting by degrees a blackness, answerable in the one unto the colour of the shell, in the other unto the porwigle or tadpole; that is, that animal which

[3] *in other parts.*] Not in all, for about Aug. 1625, at a farm 4 miles from Winchester, I beheld with wonder a great heard of swine, whole footed, and taller than any other that ever I saw.—*Wr.*

In several of the examples in this paragraph, the same error has been committed, as in that of the "chough" and "pied crow," just before; viz. the confounding of species with varieties.

first proceedeth from it. And thus may it also be in the generation and sperm of Negroes; that being first and in its naturals white, but upon separation of parts, accidents before invisible become apparent; there arising a shadow or dark efflorescence in the outside, whereby not only their legitimate and timely births, but their abortions are also dusky, before they have felt the scorch and fervor of the sun.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the same.

A SECOND opinion[4] there is, that this complexion was first a curse of God derived unto them from Cham, upon whom it was inflicted for discovering the nakedness of Noah. Which notwithstanding is sooner affirmed than proved, and carried with it sundry improbabilities. For first, if we derive the curse on Cham, or in general upon his posterity, we shall denigrate a greater part of the earth than was ever so conceived, and not only paint the Ethiopians and reputed sons of Cush, but the people also of Egypt, Arabia, Assyria, and Chaldea, for by this race were these countries also peopled. And if concordantly unto Berosus, the fragment of Cato *de Originibus*, some things of Halicarnasseus, Macrobius, and out of them Leandro and Annius, we shall conceive of the travels of Camese or Cham, we may introduce a generation of Negroes as high as Italy, which part was never

[4] *a second opinion.*] Possevine, in his 2 tom. and 252 page, does much applaud himself as the first inventor of this conceite. But Scaliger, in his 244 exercitation, sifting that quere of Cardan, why those that inhabite the hither side of the river Senega, in Affrick, are dwarfish and ash colour; those on the other side are tall and Negroes; rejects all arguments drawn from naturall reasons of the soile, &c. and concludes that the Asanegi on this side the river formerly inhabited on both sides of it, but were driven out of their countrye into this side of the river by the black Moores, drawne thither by the richnes of the soile on the further side. And doubtles considering that the maritime Moors of Barbarye, who lye 900 miles on this side the tropicke, are blacker then those of the posteritye of Chus, in Arabia, which lyes under the tropick; wee must needs conclude that this is but a poore conceyte, not unlike many other roving phancyes wherein the Jesuit is wont to vaunt himselfe.—*Wr.*

culpable of deformity, but hath produced the magnified examples of beauty.

Secondly, the curse mentioned in Scripture was not denounced upon Cham, but Canaan, his youngest son; and the reasons thereof are divers. The first from the Jewish tradition, whereby it is conceived that Canaan made the discovery of the nakedness of Noah, and notified it unto Cham. Secondly, to have cursed Cham, had been to curse all his posterity, whereof but one was guilty of the fact. And lastly, he spared Cham because he had blessed him before. Now if we confine this curse unto Canaan, and think the same fulfilled in his posterity, then do we induce this complexion on the Sidonians, then was the promised land a tract of Negroes, for from Canaan were descended the Canaanites, Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, and Hivites, which were possessed of that land.

Thirdly, although we should place the original of this curse upon one of the sons of Cham, yet were it not known from which of them to derive it. For the particularity of their descents is imperfectly set down by accountants, nor is it distinctly determinable from whom thereof the Ethiopians are proceeded. For whereas these of Africa are generally esteemed to be the issue of Chus, the elder son of Cham, it is not so easily made out. For the land of Chus, which the Septuagint translates Ethiopia, makes no part of Africa, nor is it the habitation of blackamoors, but the country of Arabia, especially the *Happy* and *Stony* possessions and colonies of all the sons of Chus, excepting Nimrod and Havilah, possessed and planted wholly by the children of Chus, that is, by Sabtah and Ramah, Sabtacha, and the sons of Raamah, Dedan, and Sheba; according unto whose names the nations of those parts have received their denominations, as may be collected from Pliny and Ptolemy, and as we are informed by credible authors, they hold a fair analogy in their names even unto our days. So the wife of Moses translated in Scripture an Ethiopian, and so confirmed by the fabulous relation of Josephus, was none of the daughters of Africa, nor any Negro of Ethiopia, but the daughter of Jethro, prince and priest of Midian, which was a part of Arabia the *Stony*, bordering upon the Red Sea. So the queen of Sheba came not unto Solomon out of Ethiopia,

but from Arabia, and that part thereof which bore the name of the first planter, the son of Chus. So whether the eunuch, which Philip the deacon baptized, were servant unto Candace, queen of the African Ethiopia (although Damianus à Goes, Codignus, and the Ethiopic relations aver it), is yet by many, and with strong suspicions, doubted. So that the army of a million, which Zerah, king of Ethiopia, is said to bring against Asa, was drawn out of Arabia, and the plantations of Chus; not out of Ethiopia, and the remote habitations of the Moors. For it is said that Asa pursuing his victory took from him the city Gerar; now Gerar was no city in or near Ethiopia, but a place between Cadesh and Zur, where Abraham formerly sojourned. Since therefore these African Ethiopians are not convinced by the common acception to be the sons of Chus, whether they be not the posterity of Phut or Mizraim, or both, it is not assuredly determined. For Mizraim, he possessed Egypt, and the east parts of Africa. From Lubym, his son, came the Libyans, and perhaps from them the Ethiopians. Phut possessed Mauritania, and the western parts of Africa, and from these perhaps descended the Moors of the west, of Mandinga, Meleguette, and Guinea. But from Canaan, upon whom the curse was pronounced, none of these had their original; for he was restrained unto Canaan and Syria, although in after ages many colonies dispersed, and some thereof upon the coasts of Africa, and prepossessions of his elder brothers.

Fourthly, to take away all doubt or any probable divarication, the curse is plainly specified in the text, nor need we dispute it, like the mark of Cain; *Servus servorum erit fratribus suis*,—"Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren;" which was after fulfilled in the conquest of Canaan, subdued by the Israelites, the posterity of Sem. Which prophecy Abraham well understanding, took an oath of his servant not to take a wife for his son Isaac out of the daughters of the Canaanites, and the like was performed by Isaac in the behalf of his son Jacob. As for Cham and his other sons, this curse attained them not; for Nimrod, the son of Chus, set up his kingdom in Babylon, and erected the first great empire; Mizraim and his posterity grew mighty monarchs in Egypt; and the empire of the Ethiopians hath been as large as either. Nor did the

curse descend in general upon the posterity of Canaan, for the Sidonians, Arkites, Hamathites, Sinites, Arvadites, and Zemerites seem exempted. But why there being eleven sons, five only were condemned, and six escaped the malediction, is a secret beyond discovery.[5]

Lastly, whereas men affirm this colour was a curse, I cannot make out the propriety of that name, it neither seeming so to them, nor reasonably unto us, for they take so much content therein, that they esteem deformity by other colours, describing the devil and terrible objects white; and if we seriously consult the definitions of beauty, and exactly perpend what wise men determine thereof, we shall not apprehend a curse, or any deformity therein. For first, some place the essence thereof in the proportion of parts, conceiving it to consist in a comely commensurability of the whole unto the parts, and the parts between themselves, which is the determination of the best and learned writers. Now hereby the Moors are not excluded from beauty, there being in this description no consideration of colours, but an apt connection and frame of parts and the whole. Others there be, and those most in number, which place it not only in proportion of parts, but also in grace of colour. But to make colour essential unto beauty, there will arise no slender difficulty. For Aristotle, in two definitions of pulchritude, and Galen in one, have made no mention of colour. Neither will it agree unto the beauty of animals, wherein notwithstanding here is an approved pulchritude. Thus horses are handsome under any colour, and the symmetry of parts obscures the consideration of complexions. Thus in concolour animals and such as are confined unto one colour, we measure not their beauty thereby; for if a crow or blackbird grow white, we generally account it more pretty; and in almost a monstrosity descend not to opinion of deformity. By this way likewise the Moors escape the curse of deformity, there concurring no stationary colour, and sometimes not any unto beauty.

The Platonick contemplators reject both these descriptions founded upon parts and colours, or either, as M. Leo, the Jew, hath excellently discoursed in his *Genealogy of Love*, defining beauty a formal grace, which delights and moves

[5] *Nor did the curse, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

them to love which comprehend it. This grace, say they, discoverable outwardly, is the resplendour and ray of some interior and invisible beauty, and proceedeth from the forms of compositions amiable. Whose faculties if they can aptly contrive their matter, they beget in the subject an agreeable and pleasing beauty; if overruled thereby, they evidence not their perfections, but run into deformity. For seeing that out of the same materials, Thersites and Paris, monstrosity and beauty may be contrived, the forms and operative faculties introduce and determine their perfections. Which in natural bodies receive exactness in every kind, according to the first idea of the Creator, and in contrived bodies the fancy of the artificer, and by this consideration of beauty, the Moors also are not excluded, but hold a common share therein with all mankind.

Lastly, in whatsoever its theory consisteth, or if in the general we allow the common conceit of symmetry and of colour, yet to descend unto singularities, or determine in what symmetry or colour it consisted, were a slippery designation. For beauty is determined by opinion, and seems to have no essence that holds one notion with all; that seeming beauteous unto one, which hath no favour with another; and that unto every one, according as custom hath made it natural, or sympathy and conformity of minds shall make it seem agreeable. Thus flat noses seem comely unto the Moor, an aqueline or hawked one unto the Persian, a large and prominent nose unto the Roman; but none of all these are acceptable in our opinion. Thus some think it most ornamental to wear their bracelets on their wrists, others say it is better to have them about their ankles; some think it most comely to wear their rings and jewels in the ear, others will have them about their privities; a third will not think they are complete except they hang them in their lips, cheeks, or noses. Thus Homer to set off Minerva, calleth her γλαυκῶπις, that is, gray, or light-blue eyed; now this unto us seems far less amiable than the black. Thus we that are of contrary complexions accuse the blackness of the Moors as ugly; but the spouse in the Canticles excuseth this conceit, in that description of hers, I am black but comely. And howsoever Cerberus, and the furies of hell be described by the poets under this complexion, yet in the

beauty of our Saviour, blackness is commended, when it is said, his locks are bushy and black as a raven. So that to infer this as a curse, or to reason it as a deformity, is no way reasonable; the two foundations of beauty, symmetry and complexion, receiving such various apprehensions, that no deviation will be expounded so high as a curse or undeniable deformity, without a manifest and confessed degree of monstrosity.

Lastly, it is a very injurious method unto philosophy, and a perpetual promotion of ignorance, in points of obscurity, nor open unto easy considerations, to fall upon a present refuge unto miracles; or recur unto immediate contrivance from the unsearchable hands of God. Thus, in the conceit of the evil odour of the Jews, Christians, without a further research into the verity of the thing, or enquiry into the cause, draw up a judgment upon them from the passion of their Saviour. Thus in the wondrous effects of the clime of Ireland, and the freedom from all venomous creatures, the credulity of common conceit imputes this immunity unto the benediction of St. Patrick, as Beda and Gyraldus have left recorded. Thus the ass having a peculiar mark of a cross made by a black list down his back, and another athwart, or at right angles down his shoulders: common opinion ascribes this figure unto a peculiar signation, since that beast had the honour to bear our Saviour on his back. Certainly this is a course more desperate than antipathies, sympathies, or occult qualities; wherein by a final and satisfactive discernment of faith, we lay the last and particular effects upon the first and general cause of all things; whereas in the other, we do but palliate our determinations, until our advanced endeavours do totally reject, or partially salve their evasions.

CHAPTER XII.

A Digression concerning Blackness.

THERE being therefore two opinions repugnant unto each other, it may not be presumptive or sceptical to doubt of both. And because we remain imperfect in the general theory of colours, we shall deliver at present a short dis-

covery of blackness; wherein although perhaps we afford no greater satisfaction than others, yet shall we empirically and sensibly discourse hereof; deducing the causes of blackness from such originals in nature, as we do generally observe things are denigrated by art. And herein I hope our progression will not be thought unreasonable; for, art being the imitation of nature, or nature at the second hand, it is but a sensible expression of effects dependent on the same, though more removed causes: and therefore the works of the one may serve to discover the other. And though colours of bodies may arise according to the receptions, refraction, or modification of light; yet are there certain materials which may dispose them unto such qualities.[7]

And first, things become, by a sooty or fuliginous matter proceeding from the sulphur of bodies, torrified; not taking *fuligo* strictly, but in opposition unto ἀτμὶς, that is, any kind of vaporous or madefying excretion, and comprehending ἀναθυμίασις, that is, as Aristotle defines it, a separation of moist and dry parts made by the action of heat or fire, and colouring bodies objected. Hereof in his *Meteors*, from the qualities of the subject, he raiseth three kinds; the exhalations from ligneous and lean bodies, as bones, hair, and the like, he called κάπνος, *fumus;* from fat bodies, and such as have not their fatness conspicuous or separated, he termeth λίγνις, *fuligo*, as wax, resin, pitch, or turpentine; that from unctuous bodies, and such whose oiliness is evident, he named κνίσσα or *nidor*. Now every one of these do blacken bodies objected unto them, and are to be conceived in the sooty and fuliginous matter expressed.

I say, proceeding from the sulphur of bodies torrified, that is, the oil, fat, and unctuous parts, wherein consist the principles of flammability. Not pure and refined sulphur, as in the spirits of wine often rectified; but containing terrestrious parts, and carrying with it the volatile salt of the body, and such as is distinguishable by taste in soot: nor vulgar and usual sulphur, for that leaves none or very little blackness, except a metalline body receive the exhalation.

I say, torrified, singed, or suffering some impression from fire; thus are bodies casually or artificially denigrated, which

[7] *And though colours, &c.*] First added in the 6th edit.

in their naturals are of another complexion; thus are charcoals made black by an infection of their own *suffitus;* so is it true what is affirmed of combustible bodies, *adusta nigra, perusta alba:* black at first from the fuliginous tincture, which being exhaled they become white, as is perceptible in ashes. And so doth fire cleanse and purify bodies, because it consumes the sulphurous parts, which before did make them foul, and therefore refines those bodies which will never be mundified by water. Thus camphire, of a white substance, by its *fuligo* affordeth a deep black. So is pitch black, although it proceed from the same tree with resin, the one distilling forth, the other forced by fire. So of the *suffitus* of a torch, do painters make a velvet black; so is lamp-black made; so of burnt hart-horns a sable; so is bacon denigrated in chimneys; so in fevers and hot distempers from choler adust is caused a blackness in our tongues, teeth, and excretions; so are *ustilago*, brant-corn and trees black by blasting; so parts cauterized, gangrenated, siderated, and mortified, become black, the radical moisture, or vital sulphur suffering an extinction, and smothered in the part affected. So not only actual but potential fire—not burning fire, but also corroding water—will induce a blackness. So are chimneys and furnaces generally black, except they receive a clear and manifest sulphur; for the smoke of sulphur will not black a paper, and is commonly used by women to whiten tiffanies, which it performeth by an acid, vitriolous, and penetrating spirit ascending from it, by reason whereof it is not apt to kindle anything: nor will it easily light a candle, until that spirit be spent, and the flame approacheth the match. This is that acid and piercing spirit which, with such activity and compunction invadeth the brains and nostrils of those that receive it. And thus when Bellonius affirmeth the charcoals made out of the wood of oxycedar are white, Dr. Jordan, in his judicious discourse of mineral waters, yieldeth the reason, because their vapours are rather sulphureous than of any other combustible substance. So we see that Tinby coals will not black linen hanged in the smoke thereof, but rather whiten it by reason of the drying and penetrating quality of sulphur, which will make red roses white. And therefore to conceive a general blackness in hell, and yet therein the pure and refined flames

of sulphur, is no philosophical conception, nor will it well consist with the real effects of its nature.

These are the advenient and artificial ways of denigration, answerably whereto may be the natural progress. These are the ways whereby culinary and common fires do operate, and correspondent hereunto may be the effects of fire elemental. So may bitumen, coals, jet, black-lead, and divers mineral earths become black; being either fuliginous concretions in the earth, or suffering a scorch from denigrating principles in their formation. So men and other animals receive different tinctures from constitution and complexional efflorescences, and descend still lower, as they partake of the fuliginous and denigrating humour. And so may the Ethiopians or Negroes become coal-black, from fuliginous efflorescences and complexional tinctures arising from such probabilities, as we have declared before.

The second way whereby bodies become black, is an atramentous condition or mixture, that is, a vitriolate or copperas [8] quality conjoining with a terrestrious and astringent humidity; for so is *atramentum scriptorium*, or writing ink commonly made by copperas cast upon a decoction or infusion of galls. I say a vitriolous or copperas quality; for vitriol is the active or chief ingredient in ink, and no other salt that I know will strike the colour with galls: neither alum, sal-gem, nitre, nor ammoniack. Now, artificial copperas, and such as we commonly use, is a rough and acrimonious kind of salt drawn out of ferreous and eruginous earths, partaking chiefly of iron and copper; the blue of copper, the green most of iron. Nor is it unusual to dissolve fragments of iron in the liquor thereof, for advantage in the concretion. I say, a terrestrious or astringent humidity; for without this there will ensue no tincture; for copperas in a decoction of lettuce or mallows affords no black, which with an astringent mixture it will do, though it be made up with oil, as in printing and painting ink.[9] But whereas in this composition we use only nut-galls, that is, an excrescence from the oak, therein we follow and beat upon the old receipt; for any plant of austere and stiptick

[8] *copperas.*] Reade *copper-rust.*

[9] *as in printing, &c.*] There is noe copper-rust in printinge ink, which is made of lamp black and oyle.—*Wr.*

parts will suffice, as I have experimented in *bistort, myrobalans, myrtus brabantica, balaustium*, and red roses. And indeed, most decoctions of astringent plants, of what colour soever, do leave in the liquor a deep and muscadine red; which by additon of vitriol descends into a black: and so Dioscorides in his receipt of ink, leaves out gall, and with copperas makes use of soot.[1]

Now, if we enquire in what part of vitriol this atramental and denigrating condition lodgeth, it will seem especially to lie in the more fixed salt thereof. For the phlegm or aqueous evaporation will not denigrate; nor yet spirits of vitriol, which carry with them volatile and nimbler salt. For if upon a decoction of copperas and gall, be poured the spirits or oil of vitriol, the liquor will relinquish his blackness; the gall and parts of the copperas precipitate unto the bottom, and the ink grow clear again, which it will not so easily do in common ink, because that gum is dissolved therein, which hindereth the separation. But colcothar, or vitriol burnt, though unto a redness, containing the fixed salt, will make good ink; and so will the lixivium, or lye made thereof with warm water; but the terra or insipid earth remaining, affords no black at all, but serves in many things for a gross and useful red. And though spirits of vitriol, projected upon a decoction of galls, will not raise a black, yet if these spirits be any way fixed, or return into vitriol again, the same will act their former parts, and denigrate as before. And if we yet make a more exact enquiry, by what this salt of vitriol more peculiarly gives this colour, we shall find it to be from a metalline condition, and especially an iron property or ferreous participation. For blue copperas[2] which deeply partakes of the copper, will do it but weakly, verdigris which is made of copper will not do it at all. But the filings of iron infused in vinegar, will with a decoction of galls make good ink, without any copperas at all; and so will infusion of load-stone, which is of affinity with iron. And though more conspicuously in iron, yet such a calcanthous or atramentous quality we will not wholly reject in other metals; whereby we often observe black tinctures in their solutions. Thus a lemon, quince, or sharp apple cut with a

[1] *soot.*] But he meant torche or lamp soote.—*Wr.*

[2] *copperas.*] Reade *copper-rust,* and soe itt is.—*Wr.*

knife becomes immediately black. And from the like cause, artichokes. So sublimate beat up with whites of eggs, if touched with a knife, becomes incontinently black. So *aqua fortis*, whose ingredient is vitriol, will make white bodies black. So leather, dressed with the bark of oak, is easily made black by a bare solution of copperas. So divers mineral waters and such as participate of iron, upon an infusion of galls, become of a dark colour, and entering upon black. So steel infused, makes not only the liquor dusky, but, in bodies wherein it concurs with proportionable tinctures, makes also the excretions black. And so also from this vitriolous quality, *mercurius dulcis*, and vitriol vomitive, occasions black ejections. But whether this denigrating quality in copperas proceedeth from an iron participation, or rather in iron from a vitriolous communication; or whether black tinctures from metallical bodies be not from vitriolous parts contained in the sulphur, since common sulphur containeth also much vitriol, may admit consideration. However in this way of tincture, it seemeth plain, that iron and vitriol are the powerful denigrators.[3]

Such a condition there is naturally in some living creatures. Thus that black humour by Aristotle named θολὸς, and commonly translated *atramentum*, may be occasioned in the cuttle-fish. Such condition there is naturally in some plants, as blackberries, walnut-rinds, black cherries; whereby they extinguish inflammations, corroborate the stomach, and are esteemed specifical in the epilepsy. Such an atramentous condition there is to be found sometime in the blood, when that which some call *acetum*, *vitriolum*, concurs with parts prepared for this tincture. And so from these conditions the Moors might possibly become Negroes, receiving atramentous impressions in some of those ways, whose possibility is by us declared.

Nor is it strange that we affirm there are vitriolous parts, qualities, and even at some distance vitriol itself in living bodies; for there is a sour stiptick salt diffused through the earth, which passing a concoction in plants, becometh milder and more agreeable unto the sense; and this is that vegetable vitriol, whereby divers plants contain a grateful sharpness, as lemons, pomegranates, cherries; or an

[3] *But whether, &c.*] First added in 3rd edition.

austere and inconcocted roughness, as sloes, medlars, and quinces. And that not only vitriol is a cause of blackness, but the salts of natural bodies do carry a powerful stroke in the tincture and varnish of all things, we shall not deny, if we contradict not experience, and the visible art of dyers, who advance and graduate their colours with salts.[4] For the decoctions of simples which bear the visible colours of bodies decocted, are dead and evanid, without the commixtion of alum, argol, and the like. And this is also apparent in chemical preparations. So cinnabar[5] becomes red by the acid exhalation of sulphur, which otherwise presents a pure and niveous white. So spirits of salt upon a blue paper make an orient red. So tartar,[6] or vitriol upon an infusion of violets affords a delightful crimson. Thus it is wonderful what variety of colours the spirits of saltpetre, and especially, if they be kept in a glass while they pierce the sides thereof; I say, what orient greens they will project. From the like spirits in the earth the plants thereof perhaps acquire their verdure. And from such solary* irradiations may those wondrous varieties arise, which are observable in animals, as mallard's heads, and peacock's feathers, receiving intention or alteration according as they are presented unto the light.

Thus saltpetre, ammoniack, and mineral spirits emit delectable and various colours; and common *aqua fortis* will in some green and narrow-mouthed glasses, about the verges thereof, send forth a deep and *gentianella* blue.

Thus have we at last drawn our conjectures unto a period; wherein if our contemplations afford no satisfaction unto others, I hope our attempts will bring no condemnation on ourselves: for (besides that adventures in knowledge are laudable, and the essays of weaker heads afford oftentimes improveable hints unto better), although in this long journey we miss the intended end, yet are there many things of truth disclosed by the way; and the collateral verity may unto reasonable speculations somewhat requite the capital indiscovery.

* Whence the colours of plants, &c. may arise.

[4] *salts.*] And allums, which are a kind of salte.—*Wr.*

[5] *cinnabar.*] Soe the oyle of tartar poured on the filing of Brasil wood make an excellent red inke.—*Wr.*

[6] *tartar.*] A drop of the oyle of sulphur turns conserve of red roses into a scarlat.—*Wr.*

CHAPTER XIII.[7]

Of Gypsies.

GREAT wonder it is not, we are to seek, in the original of Ethiopians, and natural Negroes, being also at a loss concerning the original of Gypsies[8] and counterfeit Moors, observable in many parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

[7] Chap. xiii. & xiv. first appeared in 2nd edition.

[8] *concerning the original of Gypsies.*] This question, unlike the greater number of those which have occupied the attention of Sir Thomas, would seem less and less likely to be answered, as years roll on. While the progress of science and the discoveries which reward the patience and acuteness of modern investigation, are daily affording us satisfactory explanations of various phenomena in nature, the origin of Gypsies is a question which the lapse of time is daily removing further from our reach. Little has therefore been done towards its solution, but to collect and compare former opinions and speculations. The criterion, which seems the most to be relied upon, is that of language. Sir Thomas gives us no authority for his assertion that the dialect of the Gypsies is Sclavonian: an assertion which inclines him to the opinion that they came originally from the north of Europe. A very different theory was suggested by Büttner, and advocated after great labour and research with every appearance of probability, by Grellman. He has given a comparative vocabulary showing a striking affinity between the Gypsy and Hindoostanee languages. Captain Richardson, in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. vii. p. 451), has carried the point still further, and established an affinity between them and a tribe in India, called the Bazeegurs. Professor Pallas and other writers have remarked this similarity of language. Dr. Pritchard is decidedly of opinion that their origin was Indian. Mr. Hoyland, of Sheffield, with the benevolent object of bettering their condition, took great pains some years ago to investigate their history, and especially their present state; and published a volume on this subject, entitled, "*A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, and Present State of the Gypsies,*" 8vo. York, 1816.

Brand (in his *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii. 432) speaks of the Gypsies as of Hindoo origin, probably of the lowest caste, called Pariars, or Suders; and says, they probably emigrated about 1408, in consequence of the conquests of Timur Beg. Park mentions a wandering tribe named *Libey*, whom he had seen in his travels in Africa, very similar in their habits and customs to the Gypsies. A different solution has been proposed by an anonymous writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. lxxii. 291), who thinks it very probable that they are the fulfilment of the prophecy in Gen. xvi. respecting the descendants

Common opinion deriveth them from Egypt, and from thence they derive themselves, according to their own account hereof, as Munster discovered in the letters and pass which they obtained from Sigismund the emperor. That they first came out of lesser Egypt, that having defected from the Christian rule, and relapsed unto pagan rites, some of every family were enjoined this penance to wander about the world. Or, as Aventinus delivereth, they pretend for this vagabond course a judgment of God upon their forefathers, who refused to entertain the Virgin Mary and Jesus, when she fled into their country.

Which account notwithstanding is of little probability:

of Ishmael. He observes that they inhabited in the first place the wilderness of Paran; that they increased prodigiously, and, under the appellation of *Al Arab al mostá-reba*, or *institious Arabs*, hived off from Arabia Deserta and Petræa, then too narrow to contain them, into the neighbouring country of Egypt. So that both the African and Asiatic shores of the Red Sea became inhabited by these nomadic Arabs. He therefore rather inclines to suppose the Gypsies, who made their appearance in Europe in the early part of the 15th century, to have been a migration of these Arabs, whose country had been the theatre of the ferocious contests between Tamerlane and Bajazet—than to have been Suders driven from India by Timur Beg. In corroboration of his theory he remarks, the greater propinquity of Arabia and Egypt to Europe. He concludes by noticing a subsequent migration led from Egypt, a century later, by Zinganeus—when that country was invaded by Solyman the Great.

The appellations *Egyptians* and *Zinganees* are readily accounted for on the supposition of this writer. We are not, after all, perhaps, precluded from availing ourselves, to a certain extent, of both theories.

An amusing account is given, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for Dec. 1801, of a Gypsy supper in the New Forest. Dr. Knox relates, in his last *Winter Evening*, the following incident, in proof of the piety of the Gypsies: "A large party had requested leave to rest their weary limbs, during the night, in the shelter of a barn; and the owner took the opportunity of listening to their conversation. He found their last employment at night, and their first in the morning, was prayer. And though they could teach their children nothing else, they taught them to supplicate, in an uncouth but pious language, the assistance of a friend, in a world where the distinctions of rank are little regarded. I have been credibly informed, that these poor neglected brethren are very devout, and remarkably disposed to attribute all events to the interposition of a particular Providence."

It may be doubted, perhaps, with too much probability, whether his benevolent inference in their favour would be borne out by more intimate acquaintance with their general character.

for the general stream of writers, who enquire into their original, insist not upon this; and are so little satisfied in their descent from Egypt, that they deduce them from several other nations. Polydore Virgil accounting them originally Syrians; Philippus Bergomas fetcheth them from Chaldea; Æneas Sylvius from some part of Tartary; Bellonius no further than Wallachia and Bulgaria; nor Aventinus than the confines of Hungaria.*

That they are no Egyptians, Bellonius maketh evident:† who met great droves of Gypsies in Egypt, about Grand Cairo, Matærea, and the villages on the banks of Nilus, who notwithstanding were accounted strangers unto that nation, and wanderers from foreign parts, even as they are esteemed with us.

That they came not out of Egypt is also probable, because their first appearance was in Germany, since the year 1400; nor were they observed before in other parts of Europe, as is deducible from Munster, Genebrard, Crantsius, and Ortilius.

But that they first set out not far from Germany, is also probable from their language, which was the Sclavonian tongue; and when they wandered afterward into France, they were commonly called Bohemians, which name is still retained for Gypsies. And therefore when Crantsius delivereth, they first appeared about the Baltick Sea; when Bellonius deriveth them from Bulgaria and Wallachia, and others from about Hungaria, they speak not repugnantly hereto: for the language of those nations was Sclavonian, at least some dialect thereof.

But of what nation soever they were at first, they are now almost of all: associating unto them some of every country where they wander. When they will be lost, or whether at all again, is not without some doubt; for unsettled nations have out-lasted others of fixed habitations. And though Gypsies have been banished by most Christian princes, yet have they found some countenance from the great Turk, who suffereth them to live and maintain publick stews near the imperial city in Pera, of whom he often maketh a politick advantage, employing them as spies into other nations, under which title they were banished by Charles the Fifth.

* *Feynand. de Cordua didascal. multipl.* † *Observat.* l. 2.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of some others.

We commonly accuse the fancies of elder times in the improper figures of heaven assigned unto constellations, which do not seem to answer them, either in Greek or Barbarick spheres. Yet equal incongruities have been commonly committed by geographers and historians, in the figural resemblances of several regions on earth. While by Livy and Julius Rusticus the island of Britain is made to resemble a long dish or two-edged axe: Italy by Numatianus to be like an oak-leaf, and Spain an ox-hide; while the fancy of Strabo makes the habitated earth like a cloak: and Dionysius Afer will have it like a sling; with many others observable in good writers,* yet not made out from the letter or signification:—acquitting astronomy in the figures of the zodiack; wherein they are not justified unto strict resemblances, but rather made out from the effects of sun or moon in these several portions of heaven, or from peculiar influences of those constellations, which some way make good their names.

Which notwithstanding being now authentic by prescription, may be retained in their naked acceptions, and names translated from substances known on earth. And therefore the learned Hevelius, in his accurate *Selenography*, or description of the moon, hath well translated the known appellations of regions, seas, and mountains, unto the parts of that luminary; and rather than use invented names or human denominations, with witty congruity hath placed Mount Sinai, Taurus, Mæotis Palus, the Mediterranean Sea, Mauritania, Sicily, and Asia Minor in the moon.

More hardly can we find the Hebrew letters in the heavens made out of the greater and lesser stars, which put together do make up words, wherein cabalistical speculators conceive they read events of future things.† And how, from the stars in the head of Medusa, to make out the word Charab,

* *Tacit. de vita Jul. Agric. Junctin. in Sph. l. de Sacro bosco*, cap. 2.
† The cabala of the stars.

and thereby desolation presignified unto Greece or Javan numerally characterized in that word, requireth no rigid reader.*

It is not easy to reconcile the different accounts of longitude, while in modern tables the hundred and eightieth degree is more than thirty degrees beyond that part where Ptolemy placeth an 180. Nor will the wider and more western term of longitude, from whence the moderns begin their commensuration, sufficiently salve the difference.† The ancients began the measure of longitude from the Fortunate Islands or Canaries, the moderns from the Azores or islands of St. Michael; but since the Azores are but fifteen degrees more west, why the moderns should reckon 180, where Ptolemy accounteth above 220, or though they take in fifteen degrees at the west, why they should reckon thirty at the east, beyond the same measure, is yet to be determined, nor would it be much advantaged, if we should conceive that the compute of Ptolemy were not so agreeable unto the Canaries, as the Hesperides or islands of Capo Verde.‡

Whether the compute of months from the first appearance of the moon, which divers nations have followed, be not a more perturbed way than that which accounts from the conjunction may seem of reasonable doubt;§ not only from the uncertainty of its appearance in foul and cloudy weather, but unequal time in any, that is, sooner or later, according as the moon shall be in the signs of long descension, as Pisces, Aries, Taurus, in the perigeum or swiftest motion, and in the northern latitude; whereby sometimes it may be seen the very day of the change, as did observably happen, 1654, in the months of April and May. Or whether also the compute of the day be exactly made from the visible arising or setting of the sun, because the sun is sometimes naturally set, and under the horizon, when visibly it is above it; from the causes of refraction, and such as make us behold a piece of silver in a bason, when water is put upon it, which we could not discover before, as under the verge thereof.

* *Greffarel* out of *R. Chomer.*
† *Athan. Kircher. in proœmio.*
‡ *Robertus Hues de globis.*
§ *Hevel. Selenog.* cap. 9.

Whether the globe of the earth be but a point in respect of the stars and firmament, or how if the rays thereof do fall upon a point, they are received in such variety of angles, appearing greater or lesser from differences of refraction?

Whether if the motion of the heavens should cease awhile, all things would instantly perish; and whether this assertion doth not make the frame of sublunary things to hold too loose a dependency upon the first and conserving cause, at least impute too much unto the motion of the heavens, whose eminent activities are by heat, light, and influence, the motion itself being barren, or chiefly serving for the due application of celestial virtues unto sublunary bodies, as Cabeus hath learnedly observed.

Whether comets or blazing stars be generally of such terrible effects, as elder times have conceived them;[9] for since it is found that many, from whence these predictions are drawn, have been above the moon, why they may not be qualified from their positions, and aspects which they hold with stars of favourable natures, or why, since they may be conceived to arise from the effluviums of other stars, they may not retain the benignity of their originals; or since the natures of the fixed stars are astrologically differenced by the planets, and are esteemed martial or jovial, according to the colours whereby they answer these planets, why, although the red comets do carry the portentions of Mars, the brightly white should not be of the influence of Jupiter or Venus, answerably unto Cor Scorpii and Arcturus, is not absurd to doubt.

[9] *Whether comets, &c.*] Aristotle considered them to be accidental fires or meteors, kindled in the atmosphere. Kepler supposed them to be monsters, generated in celestial space!

Dr. Thomas Burnet says, that the comets seem to him to be nothing else but (as one may say) the dead bodies of the fixed stars unburied, and not as yet composed to rest; they, like shadows, wander up and down through the various regions of the heavens, till they have found out fit places for their residence, which having pitched upon, they stop their irregular course, and being turned into planets, move circularly about some star.—*Charles Blount's Miscellaneous Works*, p. 63.

Tycho Brahe first ascertained, by observations on the comet of 1577, that comets are permanent bodies, like the planets.

THE SEVENTH BOOK:

THE PARTICULAR PART CONCLUDED.

OF POPULAR AND RECEIVED TENETS, CHIEFLY HISTORICAL, AND SOME DEDUCED FROM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

CHAPTER I.

That the Forbidden Fruit was an Apple.

THAT the forbidden fruit of Paradise was an apple, is commonly believed, confirmed by tradition, perpetuated by writings, verses, pictures; and some have been so bad prosodians, as from thence to derive the Latin word *malum*, because that fruit was the first occasion of evil: wherein notwithstanding determinations are presumptuous, and many I perceive are of another belief. For some have conceived it a vine;[1] in the mystery of whose fruit lay the expiation of the transgression. Goropius Becanus, reviving the conceit of Barcephas, peremptorily concludeth it to be the Indian fig-tree, and by a witty allegory labours to confirm the same. Again, some fruits pass under the name of Adam's apples, which in common acception admit not that appellation: the one described by Matthiolus under the name of Pomum Adami, a very fair fruit, and not unlike a citron, but somewhat rougher, chopped and crannied, vulgarly conceived the marks of Adam's teeth: another, the fruit of that plant which Serapion termeth Musa, but the eastern Christians commonly the apples of Paradise; not resembling an apple in figure, and in taste a melon or cucumber.[2] Which fruits

[1] *a vine.*] By the fatal influence of whose fruit the nakedness both of Adam and of Noah were exposed. See the *Targum of Jonathan.* —*Jeff.*

[2] *again, &c.*] The fruit-shops of London exhibit a large kind of citron labelled, *Forbidden Fruit*, respecting which, and the *Pomum Adami* of Matthiolus, I have the following obliging and satisfactory

although they have received appellations suitable unto the tradition, yet we cannot from thence infer they were this fruit in question. No more than *Arbor vitæ*, so commonly called, to obtain its name from the tree of life in Paradise, or *Arbor Judæ*, to be the same which supplied the gibbet unto Judas.

Again, there is no determination in the text; wherein is only particularised, that it was the fruit of a tree good for food, and pleasant unto the eye, in which regards many excel the apple: and therefore learned men do wisely conceive it inexplicable; and Philo puts determination unto despair, when he affirmeth the same kind of fruit was never produced since. Surely were it not requisite to have been concealed, it had not passed unspecified; nor the tree revealed which concealed their nakedness, and that concealed which revealed it; for in the same chapter mention is made of fig-leaves. And the like particulars, although they seem uncircumstantial, are oft set down in Holy Scripture; so is it specified that Elias sat under a juniper-tree, Absalom hanged by an oak, and Zaccheus got up into a sycamore.

And although, to condemn such indeterminables, unto him that demanded on what hand Venus was wounded, the philosopher thought it a sufficient resolution, to re-inquire upon what leg King Philip halted; and the Jews not undoubtedly resolved of the *sciatica* side of Jacob, do cautiously in their diet abstain from the sinews of both;[3] yet are there many nice particulars which may be authentically determined. That Peter cut off the right ear of Malchus, is beyond all doubt. That our Saviour eat the Passover in an upper room, we may determine from the text. And some we may concede which the Scripture plainly defines not. That the dial of Ahaz[4] was placed upon the west side of the temple,

notice from my friend Professor Lindley:—"The forbidden fruit of the London markets is a variety of the *Citrus decumana*, and is in fact a small sort of shaddock. But as to the *Pomum Adami*, no one can make out exactly what it was. The common Italian *Pomo d'Adamo* is a variety of *Citrus limetta*: that of Paris is a thick-skinned orange; and at least three other things have been so called. I do not think it possible to ascertain what Matthiolus meant beyond the fact that it was a *Citrus* of some kind."

[3] *of both.*] And this superstition befooles them alike in both.—*Wr.*

[4] *dial of Ahaz.*] Suggestions have been made respecting this, as

we will not deny, or contradict the description of Adricomius; that Abraham's servant put his hand under his right thigh, we shall not question; and that the thief on the right hand was saved, and the other on the left reprobated, to make good the method of the last judicial dismission, we are ready to admit. But surely in vain we inquire of what wood was Moses' rod, or the tree that sweetened the waters. Or, though tradition or human history might afford some light, whether the crown of thorns was made of *paliurus;* whether the cross of Christ were made of those four woods in the distich of Durantes,* or only of oak, according unto Lipsius and Goropius, we labour not to determine. For though hereof prudent symbols and pious allegories be made by wiser conceivers; yet common heads will fly unto superstitious applications, and hardly avoid miraculous or magical expectations.

Now the ground or reason that occasioned this expression by an apple, might be the community of this fruit, and which is often taken for any other. So the goddess of gardens is termed Pomona; so the proverb expresseth it, to give apples unto Alcinous; so the fruit which Paris decided was called an apple; so in the garden of Hesperides (which many conceive a fiction drawn from Paradise) we read of golden apples guarded by the dragon. And to speak strictly in this appellation, they placed it more safely than any other; for, beside the great variety of apples, the word in Greek comprehendeth oranges,[5] lemons, citrons, quinces; and as Ruellius defineth,† such fruits as have no stone within, and a soft covering without; excepting the pomegranate; and

* *Pes Cedrus est, truncus Cupressus, Oliva supremum, Palmaque transversum Christi sunt in cruce lignum.*

† *Ruel. De Stirpium Natura.*

---

well as some other miracles, which seem to me to proceed too much on the principle of endeavouring to lessen them, so as to bring them within the compass of belief. Thus the *dial* only, not the sun, is supposed to have gone backwards; and that not *really,* but only *apparently,*—by a "miraculous refraction." Is it not better to take the *literal* meaning, content to believe that to omnipotence one miracle is no greater than another?

[5] *word in Greek.*] Not only in Greeke but in Latin also, all these are cald by the very name of apple trees, as *Malus aurantia, citria, cydonia, granata.*—*Wr.*

will extend much further in the acception of Spigelius,* who comprehendeth all round fruits under the name of apples, not excluding nuts and plums.[6]

It hath been promoted in some constructions from a passage in the Canticles, as it runs in the Vulgar translation, *Sub arbore malo suscitavi te, ibi corrupta est mater tua, ibi violata est genitrix tua.*† Which words, notwithstanding parabolically intended, admit no literal inference, and are of little force in our translation: "I raised thee under an apple-tree, there thy mother brought thee forth, there she brought thee forth that bare thee." So when, from a basket of summer fruits or apples, as the Vulgar rendereth them, God by Amos foretold the destruction of his people, we cannot say they had any reference unto the fruit of Paradise, which was the destruction of man; but thereby was declared the propinquity of their desolation, and that their tranquillity was of no longer duration than those horary ‡ or soon-decaying fruits of summer. Nor, when it is said in the same translation, *Poma desiderii animæ tuæ discesserunt à te,*—"the apples that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee," is there any allusion therein unto the fruit of Paradise; but thereby is threatened unto Babylon, that the pleasures and delights of their palate should forsake them. And we read in Pierius, that an apple was the hieroglyphick of love, and that the statue of Venus was made with one in her hand. So the little cupids in the figures of Philostratus § do play with apples in a garden; and there want not some who have symbolized the apple of Paradise unto such constructions.[7]

Since therefore after this fruit, curiosity fruitlessly inquireth, and confidence blindly determineth, we shall surcease our inquisition; rather troubled that it was tasted, than troubling ourselves in its decision; this only we observe, when things are left uncertain, men will assure them by determination. Which is not only verified concerning the fruit, but the serpent that persuaded; many defining the kind or species thereof. So Bonaventure and Comestor

* *Isagoge in rem Herbariam.*
‡ *Fructus boræi.*
† Cant. viii.
§ *Philostrat.* figure vi. *De amoribus.*

[6] *and will extend, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.
[7] *So the little cupids, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

affirm it was a dragon, Engubinus a basilisk, Delrio a viper, and others a common snake.[8] Wherein men still continue the delusion of the serpent, who having deceived Eve in the main, sets her posterity on work to mistake in the circumstance, and endeavours to propagate errors at any hand. And those he surely most desireth which concern either God or himself; for they dishonour God, who is absolute truth and goodness; but for himself, who is extremely evil, and the worst we can conceive, by aberration of conceit they may extenuate his depravity, and ascribe some goodness unto him.

CHAPTER II.

That a Man hath one Rib less than a Woman.

THAT a man hath one rib less than a woman, is a common conceit, derived from the history of Genesis, wherein it stands delivered, that Eve was framed out of a rib of Adam; whence it is concluded the sex of men still wants that rib our father lost in Eve. And this is not only passant with the many, but was urged against Columbus in an anatomy of his at Pisa, where having prepared the skeleton of a woman that chanced to have thirteen ribs on one side, there arose a party that cried him down, and even unto oaths affirmed, this was the rib wherein a woman exceeded. Were this true, it would ocularly silence that dispute out of which side Eve was framed; it would determine the opinion of Oleaster, that she was made out of the ribs of both sides, or such as from the expression of the text* maintain there was a plurality of ribs required; and might indeed decry the parabolical exposition of Origen, Cajetan, and such as fearing to concede a monstrosity, or mutilate the integrity of Adam, preventively conceive the creation of thirteen ribs.

But this will not consist with reason or inspection. For if we survey the skeleton of both sexes, and therein the compage of bones, we shall readily discover that men and women have

* *Os ex ossibus meis.*

[8] *snake.*] Itt seemes to bee none of these but rather that species which Scaliger, the great secretary of nature, with noe reference to this storye, wittily cals (Exercitat. 226, §) ἐγχελανθρώπους.—*Wr.*

four and twenty ribs; that is, twelve on each side, seven greater, annexed unto the *sternon*, and five lesser which come short thereof. Wherein if it sometimes happen that either sex exceed, the conformation is irregular, deflecting from the common rate or number, and no more inferrible upon mankind than the monstrosity of the son of Rapha, or the vitious excess in the number of fingers and toes. And although some difference there be in figure, and the female *os innominatum* be somewhat more protuberant, to make a fairer cavity for the infant; the *coccyx* sometime more reflected, to give the easier delivery; and the ribs themselves seem a little flatter; yet are they equal in number. And therefore, while Aristotle doubteth the relations made of nations, which had but seven ribs on a side, and yet delivereth, that men have generally no more than eight; as he rejecteth their history, so can we not accept of his anatomy.

Again, although we concede there wanted one rib in the skeleton of Adam, yet were it repugnant unto reason and common observation that his posterity should want the same. For we observe that mutilations are not transmitted from father unto son; the blind begetting such as can see, men with one eye children with two, and cripples mutilate in their own persons do come out perfect in their generations. For the seed conveyeth with it not only the extract and single idea of every part, whereby it transmits their perfections or infirmities; but double and over again; whereby sometimes it multipliciously delineates the same, as in twins, in mixed and numerous generations. Parts of the seed do seem to contain the idea and power of the whole; so parents deprived of hands beget manual issues, and the defect of those parts is supplied by the idea of others. So in one grain of corn appearing similarly and insufficient for a plural germination, there lieth dormant the virtuality of many other; and from thence sometimes proceed above an hundred ears. And thus may be made out the cause of multiparous productions; for though the seminal materials disperse and separate in the matrix, the formative operator will not delineate a part, but endeavour the formation of the whole; effecting the same as far as the matter will permit, and from dividing materials attempt entire formations. And therefore, though wondrous strange, it may not be impossible

what is confirmed at Lausdun concerning the countess of Holland; nor what Albertus reports of the birth of an hundred and fifty. And if we consider the magnalities of generation in some things,[9] we shall not controvert its possibilities in others: nor easily question that great work, whose wonders are only second unto those of the creation, and a close apprehension of the one, might perhaps afford a glimmering light, and crepusculous glance of the other.

CHAPTER III.

Of Methuselah.

WHAT hath been every where opinioned by all men, and in all times, is more than paradoxical to dispute; and so, that Methuselah was the longest liver of all the posterity of Adam, we quietly believe: but that he must needs be so, is perhaps below paralogy to deny.[1] For hereof there is no determination from the text; wherein it is only particularised he was the longest liver of all the patriarchs whose age is there expressed; but that he out-lived all others, we cannot well conclude.[2] For of those nine whose death is mentioned

[9] *And if we consider, &c.*] "Many things are useful and convenient, which are not necessary: and if God had seen man might not want it, how easy had it been for him which made the woman of that bone, to turn the flesh into another bone? But he saw man could not complain of the want of that bone, which he had so multiplied, so animated. O God, we can never be losers by thy changes, we have nothing but what is thine, take from us thine own when thou wilt; we are sure thou canst not but give us better!"—*Bp. Hall's Contemp.* book i. chap. 2.

[1] *is perhaps below paralogy to deny.*] "To deny it is not hastily to be condemned as *false reasoning.*"

[2] *we cannot, &c.*] If the learned author had looked into the text, Gen. v. hee woulde have dasht this unnecessary and frivolous discourse, for in that the Holy Ghost does particularly mention all the 9 patriarchs' ages, as of men to whom God gave such long life for the peopling of the world: and tooke away all the rest of the world, not only in Caine's race, but in all the other patriarchal familyes, men, women, and children, that they might not live to propagate that wickedness which had overspread the world by the marriage of Seth's posterityes with Caine's female issue. Itt is fit to beleeve that God would never grant to any of Caine's posterity longer live then to the longest liver among the patriarchs, when he intended to cutt off even that life of theirs which

before the flood, the text expresseth that Enoch was the shortest liver; who saw but three hundred sixty-five years. But to affirm from hence, none of the rest, whose age is not expressed, did die before that time, is surely an illation whereto we cannot assent.

Again many persons there were in those days of longevity, of whose age notwithstanding there is no account in Scripture; as of the race of Cain, the wives of the nine patriarchs, with all the sons and daughters that every one begat: whereof perhaps some persons might out-live Methuselah; the text intending only the masculine line of Seth, conducible unto the genealogy of our Saviour, and the antediluvian chronology. And therefore we must not contract the lives of those which are left in silence by Moses; for neither is the age of Abel expressed in the Scripture, yet is he conceived far elder than commonly opinioned; and if we allow the conclusion of his epitaph as made by Adam, and so set down by Salian, *Posuit mœrens pater, cui à filio justius positum foret, anno ab ortu rerum* 130; *ab Abele nato* 129, we shall not need to doubt. Which notwithstanding Cajetan and others confirm; nor is it improbable, if we conceive that Abel was born in the second year of Adam,[3] and Seth a year after the death of Abel; for so it being said, that Adam was an hundred and thirty years old when he begat Seth, Abel must perish the year before, which was one hundred and twenty-nine.

And if the account of Cain[4] extend unto the deluge, it may not be improbable that some thereof exceeded any of Seth. Nor is it unlikely in life, riches, power, and temporal blessings, they might surpass them in this world, whose

hee permitted them to prolong till their sinns were fulfild: and therefore tooke away Mathuselah also the yeare that hee sent the flood to take away all (universally) then living, save Noah and his immediate family.—*Wr.*

[3] *second year, &c.*] Abel's birth is not deducible necessarily from Scripture: his death is more probable.—*Wr.*

[4] *Cain.*] Betweene the creation and the flood were 1656 yeares, to which, though Cain's owne accompt did not reach, yet his posteritye did. For upon them was the flood sent, yet not on them onlye, for all the posterityes of the patriarchal familyes, which doubtless were innumerable, did all perish in the flood, excepting only eight persons. —*Wr.*

lives related unto the next. For so when the seed of Jacob was under affliction and captivity, that of Ishmael and Esau flourished and grew mighty, there proceeding from the one twelve princes, from the other no less than fourteen dukes and eight kings. And whereas the age of Cain and his posterity is not delivered in the text, some do salve it from the secret method of Scripture, which sometimes wholly omits, but seldom or never delivers the entire duration of wicked and faithless persons, as is observable in the history of Esau, and the kings of Israel and Judah. And therefore when mention is made that Ishmael lived 127 years, some conceive he adhered unto the faith of Abraham, for so did others who were not descended from Jacob, for Job is thought to be an Idumean, and of the seed of Esau.

Lastly, although we rely not thereon, we will not omit that conceit urged by learned men, that Adam was elder[5] than Methuselah; inasmuch as he was created in the perfect age of man, which was in those days 50 or 60 years, for about that time we read that they begat children; so that if unto 930 we add 60 years, he will exceed Methuselah; and therefore if not in length of days, at least in old age he surpassed others; he was older than all, who was never so young as any. For though he knew old age, he was never acquainted with puberty, youth, or infancy, and so in a strict account he begat children at one year old. And if the usual compute will hold, that men are of the same age which are born within compass of the same year, Eve was as old as her husband and parent Adam, and Cain, their son, coetaneous unto both.

Now that conception, that no man[6] did ever attain unto

[5] *Adam was elder.*] This phrase, as itt is commonly used, signifies elder in time, and then itt sayes nothing, for who denyes itt? But in lengthe of dayes from the birthe Adam was not soe old as Mathuselah by 20 yeares.—*Wr.*

[6] *that no man, &c.*] This is most true *de facto*, though the reason bee but symbolical, and concludes nothing necessarilye. For granting that Adam was created in the perfect age of man, as then itt was, which was rather 100 then 60, yet he lived noe more then 930 in all, viz. solar, sydereal, tropick years. To which if you add those hypothecall 60 yeares (for they are not reall but imaginary only), yet soe Adam would not reach to 1000 by 10 yeares, and therefore the saying is most true.—*Wr.*

a thousand years, because none should ever be one day old in the sight of the Lord, unto whom, according to that of David, "A thousand years are but one day," doth not advantage Methuselah. And being deduced from a popular expression, which will not stand a metaphysical and strict examination, is not of force to divert a serious inquirer. For unto God a thousand years are no more than one moment, and in his sight Methuselah lived no nearer one day than Abel, for all parts of time are alike unto him, unto whom none are referrible, and all things present unto whom nothing is past or to come; and therefore, although we be measured by the zone of time, and the flowing and continued instants thereof do weave at last a line and circle about the eldest, yet can we not thus commensurate the sphere of Trismegistus,[7] or sum up the unsuccessive and stable duration of God.

CHAPTER IV.

That there was no Rainbow before the Flood.

THAT there shall no rainbow appear forty years before the end of the world, and that the preceding drought unto that great shame shall exhaust the materials of this meteor, was an assertion grounded upon no solid reason; but that there was not any in sixteen hundred years, that is, before the flood, seems deducible from Holy Scripture, Gen. ix., "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth." From whence notwithstanding we cannot conclude the non-existence of the rainbow, nor is that chronology naturally established, which computeth the antiquity of effects arising from physical and settled causes, by additional impositions from voluntary determinators. Now by the decree of reason and philosophy, the rainbow hath its ground in nature, as caused by the rays of the sun, falling upon a rorid and opposite cloud, whereof some reflected, others refracted, beget that semicircular

[7] *sphere of Trismegistus.*] Trismegistus sayd God was a circle, whose center, that is, his presentiall and immutable essence, from whence all things have their beinge, is every where, but his circumference, that is, his incomprehensible infinity, is noe where.—*Wr.*

variety we generally call the rainbow, which must succeed upon concurrence of causes and subjects aptly predisposed. And therefore to conceive there was no rainbow before, because God chose this out as a token of the covenant, is to conclude the existence of things from their signalities, or of what is objected unto the sense, a coexistence with that which is internally presented unto the understanding. With equal reason we may infer there was no water before the institution of baptism, nor bread and wine before the Holy Eucharist.

Again, while men deny the antiquity of one rainbow, they anciently concede another. For beside the solary iris which God showed unto Noah, there is a lunary, whose efficient is the moon, visible only in the night, most commonly called at full moon, and some degrees above the horizon. Now the existence hereof men do not controvert, although effected by a different luminary in the same way with the other. And probably it appeared later, as being of rare appearance and rarer observation, and many there are which think there is no such thing in nature; and therefore by casual spectators they are looked upon like prodigies, and significations made, not signified by their natures.

Lastly, we shall not need to conceive God made the rainbow at this time, if we consider that in its created and predisposed nature, it was more proper for this signification, than any other meteor or celestial appearancy whatsoever. Thunder and lightning had too much terror to have been tokens of mercy. Comets or blazing stars appear too seldom to put us in mind of a covenant to be remembered often, and might rather signify the world should be once destroyed by fire, than never again by water. The *galaxia* or milky circle had been more probable; for beside that unto the latitude of thirty, it becomes their horizon twice in four and twenty hours, and unto such as live under the equator, in that space the whole circle appeareth, part thereof is visible unto any situation; but being only discoverable in the night, and when the air is clear, it becomes of unfrequent and comfortless signification. A fixed star had not been visible unto all the globe, and so of too narrow a signality in a covenant concerning all. But rainbows are seen unto all the world, and every position of sphere. Unto our own elevation they may

appear in the morning, while the sun hath attained about forty-five degrees above the horizon, which is conceived the largest semidiameter of any iris, and so in the afternoon when it hath declined unto that altitude again, which height the sun not attaining in winter, rainbows may happen with us at noon or any time. Unto a right position of sphere they may appear three hours after the rising of the sun, and three before its setting; for the sun ascending fifteen degrees an hour, in three attaineth forty-five of altitude. Even unto a parallel sphere, and such as live under the pole, for half a year some segments may appear at any time and under any quarter, the sun not setting but walking round about them.

But the propriety of its election most properly appeareth in the natural signification and prognostic of itself; as containing a mixed signality of rain and fair weather. For, being in a rorid cloud and ready to drop, it declareth a pluvious disposure in the air; but because, when it appears, the sun must also shine, there can be no universal showers, and consequently no deluge. Thus, when the windows of the great deep were open, in vain men looked for the rainbow; for at that time it could not be seen, which after appeared unto Noah. It might be therefore existent before the flood, and had in nature some ground of its addition. Unto that of nature God superadded an assurance of its promise, that is, never to hinder its appearance or so to replenish the heavens again, as that we should behold it no more. And thus, without disparaging the promise, it might rain at the same time when God showed it unto Noah; thus was there more therein than the heathens understood when they called it the *nuncia* of the gods, and the laugh of weeping heaven;* and thus may be elegantly said, I put my bow, not my arrow in the clouds, that is, in the menace of rain, the mercy of fair weather.

Cabalistical heads, who from that expression in Isaiah,† do make a book of heaven, and read therein the great concernments of earth, do literally play on this, and from its semicircular figure (resembling the Hebrew letter caph, whereby is signified the uncomfortable number of twenty, at which years Joseph was sold, which Jacob lived under Laban, and

* *Risus plorantis Olympi.* † Isa. xxxiv. 4.

at which men were to go to war), do note a propriety in its signification; as thereby declaring the dismal time of the deluge. And Christian conceits do seem to strain as high, while, from the irradiation of the sun upon a cloud, they apprehend the mystery of the sun of righteousness in the obscurity of flesh, by the colours green and red, the two destructions of the world by fire and water, or by the colours of blood and water, the mysteries of baptism, and the Holy Eucharist.[8]

Laudable therefore is the custom of the Jews, who upon the appearance of the rainbow, do magnify the fidelity of God in the memory of his covenant, according to that of Syracides, "Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it." And though some pious and Christian pens have only symbolized the same from the mystery of its colours, yet are there other affections which might admit of theological allusions. Nor would he find a more improper subject, that should consider that the colours are made by refraction of light, and the shadows that limit that light; that the centre of the sun, the rainbow, and the eye of the beholder must be in one right line, that the spectator must be between the sun and the rainbow, that sometime three appear, sometime one reversed. With many others, considerable in meteorological divinity, which would more sensibly make out the epithet of the heathens,* and the expression of the son of Syrach, "Very beautiful is the rainbow, it compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hands of the Most High have bended it."

CHAPTER V.

Of Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

CONCERNING the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, that the order of their nativity was according to that of enumeration,[9] and Japheth, the youngest son (as

* *Thaumancias.*

[8] *Cabalistical heads, &c.*] The present paragraph was first added in the 2nd edition, in which also the same subject was first noticed in the last chapter of book vi.

[9] *that the order of their nativity, &c.*] Mr. C. T. Beke, in the 5th chapter

most believe, as Austin and others account), the sons of Japheth, and Europeans need not grant, nor will it so well concord unto the letter of the text, and its readiest interpretations. For so is it said in our translation, Shem the father of all the sons of Heber, the brother of Japheth the elder, so by the Septuagint, and so by that of Tremellius. And therefore when the Vulgar reads it, *Fratre Japhet majore*, the mistake, as Junius observeth, might be committed by the neglect of the Hebrew accent, which occasioned Jerome so to render it, and many after to believe it. Nor is that argument contemptible which is deduced from their chronology, for probable it is that Noah had none of them before, and begat them from that year when it is said he was five hundred years old, and begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Again it is said he was six hundred years old at the flood, and that two years after Shem was but an hundred; therefore Shem must have been born when Noah was five hundred and two, and some other before in the year of five hundred and one.

of his *Origines Biblicæ*, takes some pains to prove not only that Shem and not Japheth was Noah's eldest son (a point admitting some controversy), but that "the order in which the names of these three great progenitors of the human species are invariably placed when mentioned together in the sacred volume, may therefore be regarded as the order of their birth." Whereas "it is plainly delivered," as Sir Thomas remarks, that Ham, whose name stands invariably second, was the youngest son—a fact which absolutely overthrows this argument in favour of Shem's primogeniture, leaving the way open to consideration on other grounds. Mr. Beke contends that its probability is "strengthened by the situation of the country, which, in his opinion, was occupied by Shem and his descendants, namely, that in which Noah himself resided, while the possessions of Ham and Japheth, Shem's younger brothers, were situated, as they would naturally be imagined to have been, on either side of the paternal seat." He further endeavours to invalidate the argument against Shem's seniority, drawn from the 10th Gen. ver. 21,—"unto Shem also the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder,"—by an examination of similar passages which would admit, if not favour the interpretation which Sir Thomas notices, as given to this passage by the Vulgate and others, viz., "the elder brother of Japheth." Neither does he admit the chronology to be conclusive against Shem, but concludes, after a lengthened consideration of the point, that "there could not have been a sufficient interval between the 500th year of Noah's life, and the birth of the father of Arphaxad (Shem), to allow of the intervention of an elder son."

Now whereas the Scripture affordeth the priority of order unto Shem, we cannot from thence infer his primogeniture. For in Shem the holy line was continued, and therefore, however born, his genealogy was most remarkable. So is it not unusual in Holy Scripture to nominate the younger before the elder. So it is said, that Terah begat Abraham,* Nachor, and Haram; whereas Haram was the eldest. So Rebecca† is termed the mother of Jacob and Esau. Nor is it strange the younger should be first in nomination, who have commonly had the priority in the blessings of God, and been first in his benediction. So Abel was accepted before Cain, Isaac the younger preferred before Ishmael the elder, Jacob before Esau, Joseph was the youngest of twelve, and David the eleventh son and minor cadet of Jesse.

Lastly, though Japheth were not elder than Shem, yet must we not affirm that he was younger than Cham; for it is plainly delivered, that, after Shem and Japheth had covered Noah, he awaked and knew what his youngest son had done unto him; υἱὸς ὁ νεώτερος is the expression of the Septuagint, *Filius minor* of Jerome, and *minimus* of Tremellius. And upon these grounds perhaps Josephus doth vary from the Scripture enumeration, and nameth them Shem, Japheth, and Cham: which is also observed by the Annian Berosus, Noah *cum tribus filiis, Semo, Jepeto, Chem.* And therefore, although in the priority of Shem and Japheth, there may be some difficulty, though Cyril, Epiphanius, and Austin have accounted Shem the elder, and Salian the annalist, and Petavius the chronologist, contend for the same; yet Cham is more plainly and confessedly named the youngest in the text.

And this is more conformable unto the Pagan history and Gentile account hereof, unto whom Noah was Satan, whose symbol was a ship, as related unto the ark, and who is said to have divided the world between his three sons. Ham is conceived to be Jupiter, who was the youngest son, worshipped by the name of Hamon, which was the Egyptian and African name for Jupiter, who is said to have cut off the genitals of his father, derived from the history of Ham,

* Gen. xi. † Gen. xxviii.

who beheld the nakedness of his, and by no hard mistake might be confirmed from the text,* as Bochartus† hath well observed.[9]

CHAPTER VI.

That the Tower of Babel was erected against a second Deluge.

An opinion there is of some generality, that our fathers after the flood attempted the tower of Babel, to secure themselves against a second deluge. Which, however affirmed by Josephus and others, hath seemed improbable unto many who have discoursed hereon. For (beside that they could not be ignorant of the promise of God never to drown the world again,[1] and had the rainbow before their eyes to put them in mind thereof), it is improbable from the nature of the deluge; which, being not possibly causable from natural showers above, or watery eruptions below, but requiring a supernatural hand,[2] and such as all

* Gen. ix. 22.

† Reading *Veiaggod, et abscidit,* for *Veiegged, et nunciavit.—Bochartus de Geographiâ sacrâ.*

[9] *And this is more conformable, &c.*] This paragraph added in 2nd edition.

[1] *the promise of God, &c.*] This was an argument of beleef in the family of Sem in the Old Testament, and to the familyes of Japhet now in the new, that could not break his promise. But to the familyes of Ham, whereof Nimrod was the cheefe, it was of noe force: with them itt was more easie to slight first and then to forget that promise: when as they had now forgot God himselfe, as appeares by this bold attempt, which therfore most deservedly ended in confusion.—*Wr.*

[2] *requiring a supernatural hand.*] A late writer, speaking of the Mosaic account of the deluge, says, "What a scene of terrific and awful desolation does this narrative convey! How puerile those comments which exhibit animals and men *escaping* to the highest grounds and hills as the flood advanced. The impossibility of such escape may be immediately seen. Neither man nor beast under such circumstances could either advance or flee to any distance. Any animal, found in the plain when the flood began, would thus be merged in water seven or eight feet deep in a quarter of an hour! And were he to attempt advancing up the rising ground, a cataract of sheet water several feet deep would be gushing all the way in his face, besdes impending water-spouts from the 'flood-gates' of heaven, momentarily bursting over him; he would instantly become a prey to those 'mighty waters.'"

acknowledge irresistible, must needs disparage their knowledge and judgment in so successless attempts.

Again, they must probably hear, and some might know, that the waters of the flood ascended fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Now, if (as some define) the perpendicular altitude of the highest mountains be four miles, or (as others) but fifteen furlongs, it is not easily conceived how such a structure could be effected, except we allowed the description of Herodotus concerning the tower of Belus; whose lowest story was in height and breadth one furlong, and seven more built upon it; abating that of the Annian Berosus, the traditional relation of Jerome, and fabulous account of the Jews. Probable it is, that what they attempted was feasible, otherwise they had been amply fooled in the fruitless success of their labours, nor needed God to have hindered them, saying, "Nothing will be restrained from them, which they begin to do."[3]

It was improbable from the place, that is, a plain in the land of Shinar. And if the situation of Babylon were such at first as it was in the days of Herodotus, it was rather a seat of amenity and pleasure, than conducing unto this intention: it being in a very great plain, and so improper a place to provide against a general deluge by towers and eminent structures, that they were fain to make provisions against particular and annual inundations by ditches and trenches, after the manner of Egypt. And therefore Sir Walter Raleigh* accordingly objecteth: if the nations which followed Nimrod still doubted the surprise of a second flood, according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrews, it soundeth ill to the ear of reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown valley of Mesopotamia. And therefore in this situation, they chose a place more likely to have secured them from the world's destruction by fire, than another deluge of water: and, as Pierius observeth, some have conceived that this was their intention.

Lastly, the reason is delivered in the text. "Let us

* *History of the World.*

[3] *whose lowest story, &c.*] This passage was altered and enlarged in the 2nd edition.

build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the whole earth;" as we have already begun to wander over a part. These were the open ends proposed unto the people; but the secret design of Nimrod, was to settle unto himself a place of dominion, and rule over his brethren, as it after succeeded, according to the delivery of the text, "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel."

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Mandrakes of Leah.

We shall not omit the mandrakes[4] of Leah, according to the history of Genesis. "And Reuben went out in the days of wheat-harvest, and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother Leah. Then Rachel said unto Leah, Give me, I pray thee, of thy son's mandrakes: and she saith unto her, Is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband, and wouldst thou take my son's mandrakes also? And Rachel said, Therefore he shall lie with thee this night for thy son's mandrakes." From whence hath arisen a common conceit, that Rachel requested these plants as a medicine of fecundation, or whereby she might become fruitful. Which notwithstanding is very questionable, and of incertain truth.

For, first, from the comparison of one text with another, whether the mandrakes here mentioned be the same plant which holds that name with us, there is some cause to doubt. The word is used in another place of Scripture,* when the church inviting her beloved into the fields, among the delightful fruits of grapes and pomegranates, it is said,

* Cant. vii.

[4] *mandrakes.*] For a brief description of a plant bearing this name, see vol. i.

Ross concludes a page of criticism on our author's reasons for rejecting the popular opinion of Rachel's motives for requesting the mandrakes—by the following pithy expostulation:—"To be brief, I would know, whether it be a greater error in me to affirm that which is denied by some, or in him to deny that which is affirmed by all?"

"The mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits." Now instead of a smell of delight, our mandrakes afford a papaverous and unpleasant odour, whether in the leaf or apple, as is discoverable in their simplicity or mixture. The same is also dubious from the different interpretations: for though the Septuagint and Josephus do render it the apples of mandrakes in this text, yet in the other of the Canticles, the Chaldee paraphrase termeth it balsam. R. Solomon, as Drusius observeth, conceives it to be that plant the Arabians named Jesemin. Oleaster, and Georgius Nenetus, the lily; and that the word *dudaim* may comprehend any plant that hath a good smell, resembleth a woman's breast, and flourisheth in wheat-harvest. Tremellius interprets the same for any amiable flowers of a pleasant and delightful odour. But the Geneva translators have been more wary than any; for although they retain the word mandrake in the text, they in effect retract it in the margin; wherein is set down the word in the original is *dudaim*, which is a kind of fruit or flower unknown.

Nor shall we wonder at the dissent of exposition, and difficulty of definition concerning this text, if we perpend how variously the vegetables of Scripture are expounded, and how hard it is in many places to make out the species determined. Thus are we at variance concerning the plant that covered Jonas: which though the Septuagint doth render *colocynthis*, the Spanish *calabaca*, and ours accordingly a gourd, yet the Vulgar translates it *hedera* or ivy; and as Grotius observeth, Jerome thus translated it, not as the same plant, but best apprehended thereby. The Italian of Diodati, and that of Tremellius have named it *ricinus*, and so hath ours in the margin; for *palma Christi* is the same with *ricinus*. The Geneva translators have herein been also circumspect, for they have retained the original word *kikaion*, and ours hath also affixed the same unto the margin.

Nor are they indeed always the same plants which are delivered under the same name, and appellations commonly received amongst us. So when it is said of Solomon, that he writ of plants, "from the cedar of Lebanus, unto the hyssop that groweth upon the wall," that is from the

greatest unto the smallest, it cannot be well conceived our common hyssop: for neither is that the least of vegetables, nor observed to grow upon walls; but rather as Lemnius well conceiveth, some kind of the capillaries, which are very small plants, and only grow upon walls and stony places. Nor are the four species in the holy ointment, cinnamon, myrrh, calamus, and cassia, nor the other in the holy perfume, frankincense, *stacte*, *onycha*, and *galbanum*, so agreeably expounded unto those in use with us, as not to leave considerable doubts behind them. Nor must that perhaps be taken for a simple unguent, which Matthew only termeth a precious ointment; but rather a composition, as Mark and John imply by *pistick* nard, that is faithfully dispensed, and may be that famous composition described by Dioscorides, made of oil of ben, *malabathrum*, *juncus odoratus*, *costus*, *amomum*, myrrh, balsam, and nard,* which Galen affirmeth to have been in use with the delicate dames of Rome, and that the best thereof was made at Laodicea, from whence by merchants it was conveyed unto other parts. But how to make out that translation concerning the tithe of mint, anise and cummin, we are still to seek; for we find not a word in the text that can properly be rendered anise, the Greek being ἀνηθὸν, which the Latins call *anethum*, and is properly Englished dill. Lastly, what meteor that was, that fed the Israelites so many years, they must rise again to inform us. Nor do they make it out,† who will have it the same with our manna; nor will any one kind thereof, or hardly all kinds we read of, be able to answer the qualities thereof, delivered in the Scripture; that is, to fall upon the ground, to breed worms, to melt with the sun, to taste like fresh oil, to be ground in mills, to be like coriander seed, and of the colour of bdellium.†[5]

Again, it is not deducible from the text or concurrent sentence of comments, that Rachel had any such intention, and most do rest in the determination of Austin, that she desired them for rarity, pulchritude, or suavity. Nor is it

* V. *Matthioli Epist.*
† V. *Doctissimum Chrysostom. Magnenum de Manna.*

[5] *Lastly, &c.*] This passage was added in the 2nd edition.

probable she would have resigned her bed unto Leah, when at the same time she had obtained a medicine to fructify herself. And therefore Dracius, who hath expressly and favourably treated hereof, is so far from conceding this intention, that he plainly concludeth, *Hoc que modo illis in mentem venerit, conjicere nequeo;*—"how this conceit fell into men's minds, it cannot fall into mine;" for the Scripture delivereth it not, nor can it be clearly deduced from the text.

Thirdly, if Rachel had any such intention, yet had they no such effect, for she conceived not many years after, of Joseph; whereas in the mean time Leah had three children, Issachar, Zebulon, and Dinah.

Lastly, although at that time they failed of this effect, yet is it mainly questionable whether they had any such virtue, either in the opinions of those times, or in their proper nature. That the opinion was popular in the land of Canaan, it is improbable; and had Leah understood thus much, she would not surely have parted with fruits of such a faculty; especially unto Rachel, who was no friend unto her. As for its proper nature, the ancients have generally esteemed it narcotick or stupefactive, and it is to be found in the list of poisons, set down by Dioscorides, Galen, Ætius, Ægineta, and several antidotes delivered by them against it. It was, I confess, from good antiquity, and in the days of Theophrastus, accounted a philter or plant that conciliates affection; and so delivered by Dioscorides. And this intent might seem most probable, had they not been the wives of holy Jacob; had Rachel presented them unto him, and not requested them for herself.

Now what Dioscorides affirmeth in favour of this effect, that the grains of the apples of mandrakes mundify the matrix, and applied with sulphur stop the fluxes of women, he overthrows again by qualities destructive unto conception; affirming also that the juice thereof purgeth upward like hellebore; and applied in pessaries[6] provokes the menstruous flows, and procures abortion. Petrus Hispanus, or Pope John the Twentieth, speaks more directly in his *Thesaurus Pauperum:* wherein among the receipts of fecundation, he experimentally commendeth the wine of

[6] *pessaries.*] Medicines made into an oblong shape.

mandrakes given with *triphera magna*. But the soul of the medicine may lie in *triphera magna*, an excellent composition, and for this effect commended by Nicolaus. And whereas Levinus Lemnius, that eminent physician, doth also concede this effect, it is from manifest causes and qualities elemental occasionally producing the same. For he imputeth the same unto the coldness of that simple, and is of opinion that in hot climates, and where the uterine parts exceed in heat, by the coldness hereof they may be reduced into a conceptive constitution, and crasis accommodable unto generation; whereby indeed we will not deny the due and frequent use may proceed unto some effect; from whence, notwithstanding, we cannot infer a fertilitating condition or property of fecundation. For in this way all vegetables do make fruitful according unto the complexion of the matrix; if that excel in heat, plants exceeding in cold do rectify it; if it be cold, simples that are hot reduce it; if dry, moist; if moist, dry correct it; in which division all plants are comprehended. But to distinguish thus much is a point of art, and beyond the method of Rachel's or feminine physic. Again, whereas it may be thought that mandrakes may fecundate, since poppy hath obtained the epithet of fruitful, and that fertility was hieroglyphically described by Venus with an head of poppy in her hand; the reason hereof was the multitude of seed within itself, and no such multiplying in human generation. And lastly, whereas they may seem to have this quality (since opium itself is conceived to extimulate unto venery, and for that intent is sometimes used by Turks, Persians, and most oriental nations), although Winclerus doth seem to favour the conceit, yet Amatus Lusitanus, and Rodericus à Castro, are against it; Garcias ab Horto refutes it from experiment; and they speak probably who affirm the intent and effect of eating opium is not so much to invigorate themselves in coition, as to prolong the act, and spin out the motions of carnality.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Three Kings of Collein.[7]

A COMMON conceit there is of the three kings of Collein, conceived to be the wise men that travelled unto our Saviour by the direction of the star. Wherein (omitting the large discourses of Baronius, Pineda, and Montacutius), that they might be kings, beside the ancient tradition and authority of many fathers, the Scripture implieth; "The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The kings of Tharsis and the Isles, the kings of Arabia and Saba shall offer gifts." Which places most Christians and many rabbins interpret of the Messiah. Not that they are to be conceived potent monarchs, or mighty kings, but toparchs, kings of cities or narrow territories; such as were the kings of Sodom and Gomorrha, the kings of Jericho and Ai, the one and thirty which Joshua subdued, and such as some conceive the friends of Job to have been.

But although we grant they were kings, yet can we not be assured they were three. For the Scripture maketh no mention of any number; and the number of their presents, gold, myrrh, and frankincense, concludeth not the number of their persons; for these were the commodities of their country, and such as probably the queen of Sheba in one person had brought before unto Solomon. So did not the sons of Jacob divide the present unto Joseph, but are conceived to carry one for them all, according to the expression of their father; "Take of the best fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present." And therefore their number being uncertain, what credit is to be given unto their names, Gasper, Melchior, Balthazar,[8] what to the

[7] *Three kings of Collein.*] Cologne on the Rhine.

[8] *Gasper, &c.*] According to the following distich in *Festa Anglo-Romana*, p. 7:

> Tres reges regi regum tria dona ferebant;
> Myrrham homini, uncto aurum, thura dedere Deo.

Selden says, that "our chusing kings and queens, on twelfth night, has reference to the three kings."—*Table Talk*, p. 20. See also *Universal Magazine*, 1774; *Sir H. Piers's Westmeath*, 1682, in *Vallancey's Col-*

charm thereof against the falling sickness, or what unto their habits, complexions, and corporal accidents, we must rely on their uncertain story, and received portraits of Collein.

Lastly, although we grant them kings, and three in number, yet could we not conceive that they were kings of Collein. For although Collein were the chief city of the Ubii, then called Ubiopolis, and afterwards Agrippina, yet will no history inform us there were three kings thereof. Beside, these being rulers in their countries, and returning home, would have probably converted their subjects; but according unto Munster, their conversion was not wrought until seventy years after, by Maternus, a disciple of Peter. And lastly, it is said that the wise men came from the east; but Collein is seated westward from Jerusalem; for Collein hath of longitude thirty-four degrees, but Jerusalem seventy-two.

The ground of all was this. These wise men or kings were probably of Arabia, and descended from Abraham by Keturah, who apprehending the mystery of this star, either by the Spirit of God, the prophecy of Balaam, the prophecy which Suetonius mentions, received and constantly believed through all the east, that out of Jewry one should come that should rule the whole world, or the divulged expectation of the Jews from the expiring prediction of Daniel, were by the same conducted unto Judea, returned into their country, and were after baptized by Thomas. From whence about three hundred years after, by Helena, the empress, their bodies were translated to Constantinople. From thence by Eustatius unto Milan, and at last by Renatus, the bishop, unto Collein, where they are believed at present to remain, their monuments shown unto strangers, and having lost their Arabian titles, are crowned kings of Collein.

lectan. i. No. 1. p. 124.—A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, however, vol. xxxiv. p. 599, refers the twelfth night cake to the Roman custom of casting dice to decide who should be *rex convivii*.

It appears from *Gentleman's Magazine*, that on twelfth day, 1736, the king and the prince, at the chapel-royal, St. James's, made their offerings of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. These continue to be annually made—*by proxy*.—*Hone's Every-day Book*, vol. i. p. 59.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the food of John Baptist, Locusts and Wild Honey.

CONCERNING the food of John Baptist in the wilderness, locusts and wild honey, less popular opiniatrity should arise, we will deliver the chief opinions. The first conceived the locusts here mentioned to be that fruit which the Greeks name κεράτιον, mentioned by Luke in the diet of the prodigal son, the Latins *siliqua*, and some *panis sancti Johannis*, included in a broad pod, and indeed a taste almost as pleasant as honey. But this opinion doth not so truly impugn that of the locusts, and might rather call unto controversy the meaning of wild honey.

The second affirmeth that they were the tops or tender crops of trees; for so *locusta* also signifieth. Which conceit is plausible in Latin, but will not hold in Greek, wherein the word is ἀκρίδι; except for ἀκρίδες, we read ἀκρόδρυα, or ἀκρέμονες, which signify the extremities of trees, of which belief have divers been; more confidently Isidore Pelusiota, who in his epistles plainly affirmeth they think unlearnedly who are of another belief. And this so wrought upon Baronius, that he concludeth in neutrality; *Hoc cum scribat Isidorus, definiendum nobis non est, et totum relinquimus lectoris arbitrio; nam constat Græcum dictionem* ἀκρίδες, *et locustam, insecti genus, et arborum summitates significare. Sed fallitur*, saith Montacutius, *nam constat contrarium,* ἀκρίδα *apud nullum authorem classicum* ἀκρόδρυα *significare.* But above all Paracelsus with most animosity promoteth this opinion, and in his book *De Melle* spareth not his friend Erasmus. *Hoc à nonnullis ita explicatur ut dicant locustas aut cicadas Johanni pro cibo fuisse; sed hi stultitiam dissimulare non possunt, veluti Jeronymus, Erasmus, et alii prophetæ neoterici in Latinitate immortui.*

A third affirmeth that they were properly locusts, that is, a sheath-winged and six-footed insect, such as is our grasshopper. And this opinion seems more probable than the other.[9] For beside the authority of Origen, Jerome, Chry-

[9] *and this opinion, &c.*] Ross contends against the Dr. for the greater probability that John's diet was vegetable—on the ground that, as he

sostom, Hilary, and Ambrose to confirm it, this is the proper signification of the word, thus used in Scripture by the Septuagint; Greek vocabularies thus expound it; Suidas on the word ἀκρὶς observes it to be that animal whereupon the Baptist fed in the desert: in this sense the word is used by Aristotle, Dioscorides, Galen, and several human authors. And lastly, there is no absurdity in this interpretation, nor any solid reason why we should decline it, it being a food permitted unto the Jews, whereof four kinds are reckoned up among clean meats. Besides, not only the Jews, but many other nations, long before and since, have made an usual food thereof. That the Ethiopians, Mauritanians, and Arabians did commonly eat them, is testified by Diodorus, Strabo, Solinus, Ælian, and Pliny; that they still feed on them is confirmed by Leo, Cadamustus, and others John therefore, as our Saviour saith, "came neither eating nor drinking," that is, far from the diet of Jerusalem and other riotous places, but fared coarsely and poorly, according unto the apparel he wore, that is, of camel's hair; the place of his abode—the wilderness; and the doctrine he preached—humiliation and repentance.

CHAPTER X.

That John the Evangelist should not die.

THE conceit of the long living, or rather not dying, of John the Evangelist, although it seem inconsiderable, and not much weightier than that of Joseph, the wandering Jew, yet being deduced from Scripture, and abetted by authors of all times, it shall not escape our enquiry. It is drawn from the speech of our Saviour unto Peter after the prediction of his martyrdom: "Peter saith unto Jesus, Lord, what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry

Ethiopians, who were accustomed to use *locusts* for food, almost all fell a prey to *phthiriasis*; it is scarcely to be believed that John would have adopted a diet likely to entail so loathsome a disease.—*Arcana*, p. 95.

There is one species of the acacia tribe called the *honey locust*, bearing a large and very sweet pod, which is very commonly boiled and eaten in America; and this is supposed to have been the food of the Baptist.

until I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that this disciple should not die."*

Now the belief hereof hath been received either grossly and in the general, that is, not distinguishing the manner or particular way of this continuation, in which sense probably the grosser and undiscerning party received it; or more distinctly, apprehending the manner of his immortality, that is, that John should never properly die, but be translated into Paradise, there to remain with Enoch and Elias until about the coming of Christ, and should be slain with them under Antichrist, according to that of the Apocalypse; "I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth; and when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and overcome them and kill them." Hereof, as Baronius observeth, within three hundred years after Christ, Hippolytus the martyr was the first assertor, but hath been maintained by Metaphrastes, by Freculphus, but especially by Georgius Trapezuntius, who hath expressly treated upon this text, and although he lived but in the last century, did still affirm that John was not yet dead.

The same is also hinted by the learned Italian poet Dante, who in his poetical survey of Paradise, meeting with the soul of St. John, and desiring to see his body, received answer from him, that his body was in earth, and there should remain with other bodies until the number of the blessed were accomplished.[1]

In terra è terra il mio corpo, et saragli
Tanto con gli altri, che l' numero nostro
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.

As for the gross opinion that he should not die, it is sufficiently refuted by that which first occasioned it, that is, the Scripture itself, and no further off than the very subsequent verse: "Yet Jesus said not unto him, he should not die, but

* John xxi.

[1] *The same is also hinted, &c.*] This paragraph, together with the Italian quotation which follows it, was first added in the 6th edition.

if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" And this was written by John himself, whom the opinion concerned, and (as is conceived) many years after, when Peter had suffered and fulfilled the prophecy of Christ.

For the particular conceit, the foundation is weak, nor can it be made out from the text alleged in the Apocalypse; for beside that therein two persons only are named, no mention is made of John, a third actor in this tragedy. The same is also overthrown by history, which recordeth not only the death of John, but assigneth the place of his burial, that is, Ephesus, a city in Asia Minor; whither, after he had been banished into Patmos by Domitian, he returned in the reign of Nerva, there deceased, and was buried in the days of Trajan. And this is testified by Jerome, by Tertullian, by Chrysostom, and Eusebius* (in whose days his sepulchre was to be seen), and by a more ancient testimony alleged also by him, that is, of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, not many successions after John; whose words are these, in an epistle unto Victor, bishop of Rome: *Johannes ille qui supra pectus Domini recumbebat, doctor optimus, apud Ephesum dormivit.* Many of the like nature are noted by Baronius, Jansenius, Estius, Lipellous, and others.

Now the main and primitive ground of this error was a gross mistake in the words of Christ, and a false apprehension of his meaning; understanding that positively which was but conditionally expressed, or receiving that affirmatively which was but concessively delivered. For the words of our Saviour run in a doubtful strain, rather reprehending than satisfying the curiosity of Peter: as though he should have said, "thou hast thy own doom, why enquirest thou after thy brother's?—what relief unto thy affliction will be the society of another's?—why pryest thou into the secrets of God's will?—if he stay until I come, what concerneth it thee, who shalt be sure to suffer before that time?" And such an answer probably he returned, because he foreknew John should not suffer a violent death, but go unto his grave in peace. Which had Peter assuredly known, it might have cast some water on his flames, and smothered those fires which kindled after unto the honour of his Master.

* *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. De anima.*

Now why among all the rest John only escaped the death of a martyr, the reason is given: because all others fled away or withdrew themselves at his death, and he alone of the twelve beheld his passion on the cross. Wherein notwithstanding, the affliction that he suffered could not amount unto less than martyrdom: for if the naked relation, at least the intentive consideration of that passion, be able still, and at this disadvantage of time, to rend the hearts of pious contemplators, surely the near and sensible vision thereof must needs occasion agonies beyond the comprehension of flesh; and the trajections of such an object more sharply pierce the martyred soul of John, than afterwards did the nails the crucified body of Peter.

Again, they were mistaken in the emphatical apprehension, placing the consideration upon the words, "If I will," whereas it properly lay in these, "until I come." Which had they apprehended, as some have since, that is, not for his ultimate and last return, but his coming in judgment and destruction upon the Jews; or such a coming, as it might be said, that generation should not pass before it was fulfilled; they needed not, much less need we, suppose such diuturnity. For after the death of Peter, John lived to behold the same fulfilled by Vespasian: nor had he then his *nunc dimittis*, or went out like unto Simeon; but old in accomplished obscurities, and having seen the expire of Daniel's prediction, as some conceive, he accomplished his revelation.

But besides this original and primary foundation, divers others have made impressions according unto different ages and persons by whom they were received. For some established the conceit in the disciples and brethren which were contemporary unto him, or lived about the same time with him. And this was, first, the extraordinary affection our Saviour bare unto this disciple, who hath the honour to be called the disciple whom Jesus loved: now from hence they might be apt to belive their Master would dispense with his death, or suffer him to live to see him return in glory, who was the only apostle that beheld him to die in dishonour. Another was the belief and opinion of those times, that Christ would suddenly come; for they held not generally the same opinion with their successors, or as descending

ages after so many centuries, but conceived his coming would not be long after his passion, according unto several expressions of our Saviour grossly understood, and as we find the same opinion not long after reprehended by St. Paul:* and thus, conceiving his coming would not be long, they might be induced to believe his favourite should live unto it. Lastly, the long life of John might much advantage this opinion; for he survived the other twelve—he was aged twenty-two years when he was called by Christ, and twenty-five (that is the age of priesthood) at his death, and lived ninety-three years, that is sixty-eight after his Saviour, and died not before the second year of Trajan: now, having outlived all his fellows, the world was confirmed he might still live, and even unto the coming of his Master.

The grounds which promoted it in succeeding ages, were especially two. The first his escape of martyrdom; for whereas all the rest suffered some kind of forcible death, we have no history that he suffered any; and men might think he was not capable thereof; for as history informeth, by the command of Domitian he was cast into a caldron of burning oil, and came out again unsinged. Now future ages apprehending he suffered no violent death, and finding also the means that tended thereto could take no place, they might be confirmed in their opinion, that death had no power over him; that he might live always, who could not be destroyed by fire, and was able to resist the fury of that element which nothing shall resist. The second was a corruption, crept into the Latin text, for *si* reading *sic eum manere volo;* whereby the answer of our Saviour becometh positive, or that he will have it so; which way of reading was much received in former ages, and is still retained in the Vulgar translation: but in the Greek and original the word is ἐὰν, signifying *si* or if, which is very different from οὕτω, and cannot be translated for it: and answerable hereunto is the translation of Junius, and that also annexed unto the Greek by the authority of Sixtus Quintus.

The third confirmed it in ages farther descending, and proved a powerful argument unto all others following—because in his tomb at Ephesus there was no corpse or relick

* 2 Thess. ii.

thereof to be found; whereupon arose divers doubts, and many suspicious conceptions; some believing he was not buried, some, that he was buried but risen again, others, that he descended alive into his tomb, and from thence departed after. But all these proceeded upon unveritable grounds, as Baronius hath observed; who allegeth a letter of Celestine, bishop of Rome, unto the council of Ephesus, wherein he declareth the relicks of John were highly honoured by that city; and a passage also of Chrysostom in the homilies of the apostles, "That John being dead, did cures in Ephesus, as though he were still alive." And so I observe that Estius discussing this point, concludeth hereupon, *quòd corpus ejus nunquam reperiatur, hoc non dicerent si veterum scripta diligenter perlustrassent.*

Now that the first ages after Christ, those succeeding, or any other, should proceed into opinions so far divided from reason, as to think of immortality after the fall of Adam, or conceit a man in these later times should outlive our fathers in the first,—although it seem very strange, yet is it not incredible. For the credulity of men hath been deluded into the like conceits; and, as Irenæus and Tertullian mention, one Menander, a Samaritan, obtained belief in this very point, whose doctrine it was, that death should have no power on his disciples, and such as received his baptism should receive immortality therewith. 'Twas surely an apprehension very strange; nor usually falling either from the absurdities of melancholy or vanities of ambition. Some indeed have been so affectedly vain as to counterfeit immortality, and have stolen their death, in a hope to be esteemed immortal; and others have conceived themselves dead: but surely few or none have fallen upon so bold an error, as not to think that they could die at all. The reason of those mighty ones, whose ambition could suffer them to be called gods, would never be flattered into immortality; but the proudest thereof have by the daily dictates of corruption convinced the impropriety of that appellation. And surely, although delusion may run high, and possible it is that for a while a man may forget his nature, yet cannot this be durable. For the inconcealable imperfections of ourselves, or their daily examples in others, will hourly prompt us our corruption, and loudly tell us we are the sons of earth.

CHAPTER XI.

Of some others more briefly.

MANY others there are which we resign unto divinity, and perhaps deserve not controversy. Whether David were punished only for pride of heart for numbering the people, as most do hold, or whether, as Josephus and many maintain, he suffered also for not performing the commandment of God concerning capitation, that when the people were numbered, for every head they should pay unto God a shekel,*—we shall not here contend. Surely if it were not the occasion of this plague, we must acknowledge the omission thereof was threatened with that punishment, according to the words of the law: "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, that there be no plague amongst them." † Now how deeply hereby God was defrauded in the time of David, and opulent state of Israel, will easily appear by the sums of former lustrations. For in the first, the silver of them that were numbered was an hundred talents, and a thousand seven hundred and threescore and fifteen shekels; a bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary; for every one from twenty years old and upwards, for six hundred thousand, and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. Answerable whereto we read in Josephus, Vespasian ordered that every man of the Jews should bring into the Capitol two drachms; which amounts unto fifteen pence, or a quarter of an ounce of silver with us; and is equivalent unto a bekah, or half a shekel of the sanctuary. For an Attick drachm is sevenpence halfpenny, or a quarter of a shekel, and a *didrachmum*, or double drachm, is the word used for tribute money, or half a shekel; and a *stater*, the money found in the fish's mouth, was two *didrachmums*, or a whole shekel, and tribute sufficient for our Saviour and for Peter.

We will not question the metamorphosis of Lot's wife, or whether she were transformed into a real statue of salt;

* Exod. xxx. † Exod. xxxviii.

though some conceive that expression metaphorical,[2] and no more thereby than a lasting and durable column, according to the nature of salt, which admitteth no corruption;[3] in which sense the covenant of God is termed a covenant of salt; and it is also said, God gave the kingdom unto David for ever, or by a covenant of salt.

That Absalom was hanged by the hair of the head, and not caught up by the neck, as Josephus conceiveth, and the common argument against long hair affirmeth, we are not ready to deny. Although I confess a great and learned party there are of another opinion; although if he had his morion or helmet on, I could not well conceive it; although the translation of Jerome or Tremellius do not prove it, and our own seems rather to overthrow it.

That Judas hanged himself—much more that he perished thereby—we shall not raise a doubt. Although Jansenius, discoursing the point, produceth the testimony of Theo-

[2] *We will not question, &c.*] Dr. Adam Clarke has given a long note on this question, to which the reader is referred. He enumerates in addition to Browne's two hypotheses, a third:—viz. that, by continuing in the plain, she might have been struck dead with lightning, and enveloped and invested in the bituminous and sulphurous matter which descended. But Dr. C. evidently inclines to accept the *metaphorical* interpretation. A number of absurd and contradictory stories (he remarks) have been told, of the discovery of Lot's wife still remaining unchanged—and indeed *unchangeable*,—her form having still resident in it a continual miraculous energy, reproductive of any part which is broken off: so that though multitudes of visitors have brought away each a morsel, yet does the next find the figure—complete! The author of the poem *De Sodoma*, at the end of Tertullian's works, and with him, Irenæus, asserts the figure to possess certain indications of a remaining portion of animal life, and the latter father in the height of his absurdity, makes her an emblem of the true church, which, though she suffers much, and often loses whole members, yet preserves *the pillar of salt*, that is, *the foundation of the true faith!!* Josephus asserts that he himself saw the pillar. S. Clement also says that Lot's wife was remaining, even at that time, as a pillar of salt. Recent and more respectable travellers however have sought for her in vain, and it is now very generally admitted, either that the statue does not exist—or that some of the blocks of rock salt met with in the vicinity of the Dead Sea—are the only remains of it.

[3] *which, &c.*] Itt admitteth noe corruption in other things, but itselfe suffers liquation, and corruption too, that is, looses its savour, as appears by that remarkable speech of our Saviour, Marc. ix. 50.—*Wr.*

phylact and Euthymius, that he died not by the gallows but under a cart-wheel; and Baronius also delivereth, this was the opinion of the Greeks, and derived as high as Papias, one of the disciples of John. Although, also, how hardly the expression of Matthew is reconcileable unto that of Peter—and that he plainly hanged himself, with that, that falling headlong he burst asunder in the midst—with many other the learned Grotius plainly doth acknowledge. And lastly, although, as he also urgeth, the word ἀπήγξατο in Matthew doth not only signify suspension or pendulous illaqueation, as the common picture describeth it, but also suffocation, strangulation or interception of breath, which may arise from grief, despair, and deep dejection of spirit, in which sense it is used in the history of Tobit concerning Sara, ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα ὥστε ἀπάγξασθαι,—*Ita tristata est ut strangulatione premeretur*, saith Junius; and so might it happen from the horror of mind unto Judas.* So do many of the Hebrews affirm, that Achitophel was also strangled, that is, not from the rope, but passion. For the Hebrew and Arabic word in the text not only signifies suspension, but indignation, as Grotius hath also observed.

Many more there are of indifferent truths, whose dubious expositions worthy divines and preachers do often draw into wholesome and sober uses, whereof we shall not speak. With industry we decline such paradoxes, and peaceably submit unto their received acceptions.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Cessation of Oracles.

THAT oracles ceased or grew mute at the coming of Christ,[5] is best understood in a qualified sense, and not without all latitude, as though precisely there were none after, nor any decay before. For (what we must confess

* *Strangulat inclusus dolor.*

[5] *That oracles ceased, &c.*] Browne betrays, throughout, his full belief in the supernatural and Satanic character of oracles.

unto relations of antiquity), some pre-decay is observable from that of Cicero, urged by Baronius; *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo ætate, sed jam diu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius.* That during his life they were not altogether dumb, is deducible from Suetonius in the life of Tiberius, who attempting to subvert the oracles adjoining unto Rome, was deterred by the lots or chances which were delivered at Præneste. After his death we meet with many; Suetonius reports, that the oracle of Antium forewarned Caligula to beware of Cassius, who was one that conspired his death. Plutarch enquiring why the oracles of Greece ceased, excepteth that of Lebadia; and in the same place Demetrius affirmeth the oracles of Mopsus and Amphilochus were much frequented in his days. In brief, histories are frequent in examples, and there want not some even to the reign of Julian.

What therefore may consist with history;—by cessation of oracles, with Montacutius, we may understand their intercision, not abscission or consummate desolation; their rare delivery, not total dereliction: and yet in regard of divers oracles, we may speak strictly, and say there was a proper cessation. Thus may we reconcile the accounts of times, and allow those few and broken divinations, whereof we read in story and undeniable authors. For that they received this blow from Christ, and no other causes alleged by the heathens, from oraculous confession they cannot deny; whereof upon record there are some very remarkable. The first that oracle of Delphos delivered unto Augustus.

> Me puer Hebræus Divos Deus ipse gubernans,
> Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub orcum;
> Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

> An Hebrew child, a God all gods excelling,
> To Hell again commands me from this dwelling;
> Our altars leave in silence, and no more
> A resolution e'er from hence implore.

A second recorded by Plutarch, of a voice that was heard to cry unto mariners at the sea, *Great Pan is dead;* which is a relation very remarkable, and may be read in his defect of oracles. A third reported by Eusebius in the life of his magnified Constantine, that about that time Apollo mourned,

declaring his oracles were false, and that the righteous upon earth did hinder him from speaking truth. And a fourth related by Theodoret, and delivered by Apollo Daphneus unto Julian, upon his Persian expedition, that he should remove the bodies about him before he could return an answer, and not long after his temple was burnt with lightning.

All which were evident and convincing acknowledgments of that power which shut his lips, and restrained that delusion which had reigned so many centuries. But as his malice is vigilant, and the sins of men do still continue a toleration of his mischiefs, he resteth not, nor will he ever cease to circumvent the sons of the first deceived. And therefore, expelled from oracles and solemn temples of delusion, he runs into corners, exercising minor trumperies, and acting his deceits in witches, magicians, diviners, and such inferior seducers. And yet (what is deplorable) while we apply ourselves thereto, and, affirming that God hath left off to speak by his prophets, expect in doubtful matters a resolution from such spirits; while we say the devil is mute, yet confess that these can speak; while we deny the substance, yet practise the effect, and in the denied solemnity maintain the equivalent efficacy;—in vain we cry that oracles are down; Apollo's altar still doth smoke; nor is the fire of Delphos out unto this day.

Impertinent it is unto our intention to speak in general of oracles, and many have well performed it. The plainest of others was that of Apollo Delphicus, recorded by Herodotus, and delivered unto Crœsus; who as a trial of their omniscience sent unto distant oracles: and so contrived with the messengers, that though in several places, yet at the same time they should demand what Crœsus was then a doing. Among all others the oracle of Delphos only hit it, returning answer, he was boiling a lamb with a tortoise, in a brazen vessel, with a cover of the same metal. The style is haughty in Greek, though somewhat lower in Latin.

Æquoris est spatium et numerus mihi notus arenæ,
Mutum percipio, fantis nihil audio vocem.
Venit ad hos sensus nidor testudinis acris,
Quæ semel agninâ coquitur cum carne lebete,
Aere infra strato, et stratum cui desuper æs est.

I know the space of sea, the number of the sand,
I hear the silent, mute I understand.
A tender lamb joined with tortoise flesh,
Thy master, king of Lydia, now doth dress.
The scent thereof doth in my nostrils hover,
From brasen pot closed with brasen cover.

Hereby indeed he acquired much wealth and more honour, and was reputed by Crœsus as a deity: and yet not long after, by a vulgar fallacy he deceived his favourite and greatest friend of oracles, into an irreparable overthrow by Cyrus. And surely the same success are likely all to have, that rely or depend upon him. 'Twas the first play he practised on mortality; and as time hath rendered him more perfect in the art, so hath the inveterateness of his malice more ready in the execution. 'Tis therefore the sovereign degree of folly, and a crime not only against God, but also our own reasons, to expect a favour from the devil, whose mercies are more cruel than those of Polyphemus; for he devours his favourites first, and the nearer a man approacheth, the sooner he is scorched by Moloch. In brief, his favours are deceitful and double-headed, he doth apparent good, for real and convincing evil after it; and exalteth us up to the top of the temple, but to tumble us down from it.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Death of Aristotle.

THAT Aristotle drowned himself in Euripus, as despairing to resolve the cause of its reciprocation, or ebb and flow seven times a day, with this determination, *Si quidem ego non capio te, tu capies me*, was the assertion of Procopius, Nazianzen, Justin Martyr, and is generally believed among us. Wherein because we perceive men have but an imperfect knowledge, some conceiving Euripus to be a river, others not knowing where or in what part to place it, we first advertise, it generally signifieth any strait, fret, or channel of the sea, running between two shores, as Julius Pollux hath defined it; as we read of Euripus Hellespontiacus, Pyrrhæus, and this whereof we treat, *Euripus Euboicus*, or *Chalcidicus*, that

is, a narrow passage of sea dividing Attica and the island of Eubœa, now called *Golfo di Negroponte*, from the name of the island and chief city thereof, famous in the wars of Antiochus, and taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great.

Now that in this Euripe or fret of Negroponte, and upon the occasion mentioned, Aristotle drowned himself, as many affirm, and almost all believe, we have some room to doubt. For without any mention of this, we find two ways delivered of his death by Diogenes Laertius, who expressly treateth thereof; the one from Eumolus and Phavorinus, that, being accused of impiety for composing an hymn unto Hermias (upon whose concubine he begat his son Nicomachus), he withdrew into Chalcis, where drinking poison he died; the hymn is extant in Laertius, and the fifteenth book of Athenæus. Another by Apollodorus,[6] that he died at Chalcis of a natural death and languishment of stomach, in his sixty-third, or great climacterical year; and answerable hereto is the account of Suidas and Censorinus. And if that were clearly made out, which Rabbi Ben Joseph affirmeth he found in an Egyptian book of Abraham Sapiens Perizol, that Aristotle acknowledged all that was written in the law of Moses, and became at last a proselyte, it would also make improbable this received way of his death.*[7]

Again, beside the negative of authority, it is also deniable by reason; nor will it be easy to obtrude such desperate attempts upon Aristotle, from unsatisfaction of reason, who so often acknowledged the imbecility thereof. Who in matters of difficulty, and such which were not without abstrusities, conceived it sufficient to deliver conjecturalities. And surely he that could sometimes sit down with high improbabilities, that could content himself, and think to satisfy others, that the variegation of birds was from their living in the sun, or erection made by delibration of the testicles; would not have been dejected unto death with this. He that was so well acquainted with ἢ ὅτι and πότερον, *utrum* and *an quia*, as we observe in the queries of his problems, with ἴσως and ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, *fortasse* and *plerumque*, as is

* *Licetus de Quæsitis. Epist.*

[6] *Another, &c.*] The most probable account.
[7] *And if that, &c.*] First added in the 2nd edition.

observable through all his works, had certainly rested with probabilities, and glancing conjectures in this. Nor would his resolutions have ever run into that mortal *antanaclasis*, and desperate piece of rhetorick, to be comprised in that he could not comprehend. Nor is it indeed to be made out, that he ever endeavoured the particular of Euripus, or so much as to resolve the ebb and flow of the sea. For, as Vicomercatus and others observe, he hath made no mention hereof in his works, although the occasion present itself in his *Meteors*, wherein he disputeth the affections of the sea; nor yet in his *Problems*, although in the twenty-third section there be no less than one and forty queries of the sea. Some mention there is indeed in a work of the propriety of elements, ascribed unto Aristotle:* which notwithstanding is not reputed genuine, and was perhaps the same whence this was urged by Plutarch.

Lastly, the thing itself whereon the opinion dependeth, that is, the variety of the flux and the reflux of Euripus, or whether the same do ebb and flow seven times a day, is not incontrovertible. For though Pomponius Mela, and after him Solinus and Pliny have affirmed it, yet I observe Thucydides, who speaketh often of Eubœa, hath omitted it. Pausanias, an ancient writer, who hath left an exact description of Greece, and in as particular a way as Leandro of Italy, or Camden of Great Britain, describing not only the country towns and rivers, but hills, springs, and houses, hath left no mention hereof. Æschines in Ctesiphon only alludeth unto it; and Strabo, that accurate geographer, speaks warily of it, that is, ὡς φασὶ, and as men commonly reported. And so doth also Maginus, *Velocis ac varii fluctûs est mare, ubi quater in die, aut septies, ut alii dicunt, reciprocantur æstus.* Botero more plainly, *Il mar cresce e cala con un impeto mirabile quatra volte il di, ben che communimente si dica sette volte, &c.*—"this sea with wondrous impetuosity ebbeth and floweth four times a day, although it be commonly said seven times; and generally opinioned, that Aristotle despairing of the reason, drowned himself therein." In which description by four times a day, it exceeds not in number the motion of other seas, taking the words properly, that is,

* *De placitis Philosophorum.*

twice ebbing and twice flowing in four and twenty hours. And is no more than what Thomaso Porrchachi affirmeth in his description of famous islands, that twice a day it hath such an impetuous flood, as is not without wonder. Livy speaks more particularly, *Haud facile infestior classi statio est et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die (sicut fama fert) temporibus certis reciprocat, sed temerè in modum venti, nunc hunc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur*:—"there is hardly a worse harbour, the fret or channel of Euripus not certainly ebbing or flowing seven times a day, according to common report: but being uncertainly, and in the manner of a wind, carried hither and thither, is whirled away as a torrent down a hill." But the experimental testimony of Gillius is most considerable of any; who having beheld the course thereof, and made enquiry of millers that dwelt upon its shore, received answer, that it ebbed and flowed four times a day, that is, every six hours, according to the law of the ocean; but that indeed sometimes it observed not that certain course. And this irregularity, though seldom happening, together with its unruly and tumultuous motion, might afford a beginning unto the common opinion. Thus may the expression in Ctesiphon be made out. And by this may Aristotle be interpreted, when in his *Problems* he seems to borrow a metaphor from Euripus; while in the five and twentieth section he enquireth, why in the upper parts of houses the air doth Euripize, that is, is whirled hither and thither.

A later and experimental testimony is to be found in the travels of Monsieur Duloir; who about twenty years ago, remained sometime at Negroponte, or old Chalcis, and also passed and repassed this Euripus; who thus expresseth himself: "I wonder much at the error concerning the flux and reflux of Euripus; and I assure you that opinion is false. I gave a boatman a crown, to set me in a convenient place, where for a whole day I might observe the same. It ebbeth and floweth by six hours, even as it doth at Venice, but the course thereof is vehement."[8]

Now that which gave life unto the assertion, might be his death at Chalcis, the chief city of Eubœa, and seated upon

[8] *A later and experimental, &c.*] First added in 6th edition.

Euripus, where 'tis confessed by all he ended his days. That he emaciated and pined away in the too anxious enquiry of its reciprocations, although not drowned therein, as Rhodiginus relateth some conceived, was a half confession thereof not justifiable from antiquity. Surely the philosophy of flux and reflux was very imperfect of old among the Greeks and Latins; nor could they hold a sufficient theory thereof, who only observed the Mediterranean, which in some places hath no ebb, and not much in any part. Nor can we affirm our knowledge is at the height, who have now the theory of the ocean and narrow seas beside. While we refer it unto the moon, we give some satisfaction for the ocean, but no general salve for creeks and seas which know no flood; nor resolve why it flows three or four feet at Venice in the bottom of the gulph, yet scarce at all at Ancona, Durazzo, or Corcyra, which lie but by the way. And therefore old abstrusities have caused new inventions; and some from the hypotheses of Copernicus, or the diurnal and annual motion of the earth, endeavour to salve the flows and motions of these seas, illustrating the same by water in a bowl, that rising or falling to either side, according to the motion of the vessel; the conceit is ingenious, salves some doubts, and is discovered at large by Galileo.*[9]

But whether the received principle and undeniable action of the moon may not be still retained, although in some difference of application, is yet to be perpended; that is not by a simple operation upon the surface or superior parts, but excitation of the nitro-sulphureous spirits, and parts disposed to intumescency at the bottom; not by attenuation of the upper part of the sea, (whereby ships would draw more water at the flow than at the ebb,) but intergescencies caused first at the bottom, and carrying the upper part before them; subsiding and falling again, according to the motion of the moon from the meridian, and languor of the exciting cause: and therefore rivers and lakes who want these fermenting parts at the bottom, are not excited unto æstuations; and therefore some seas flow higher than others,

* *Rog. Bac. Doct. Cabeus Met.* 2.

[9] *and is discovered at large by Galileo.*] And by the Lord Bacon rejected in his booke, *De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris.*—*Wr.*

according to the plenty of these spirits, in their submarine constitutions. And therefore also the periods of flux and reflux are various, nor their increase or decrease equal: according to the temper of the terreous parts at the bottom; which as they are more hardly or easily moved, do variously begin, continue, or end their intumescencies.

From the peculiar disposition of the earth at the bottom, wherein quick excitations are made, may arise those agars[9] and impetuous flows in some estuaries and rivers, as is observed about Trent and Humber in England; which may also have some effect in the boisterous tides of Euripus, not only from ebullitions at the bottom, but also from the sides and lateral parts, driving the streams from either side, which arise or fall according to the motion in those parts, and the intent or remiss operation of the first exciting causes, which maintain their activities above and below the horizon; even as they do in the bodies of plants and animals, and in the commotion of catarrhs.[1]

How therefore Aristotle died, what was his end, or upon what occasion, although it be not altogether assured, yet that his memory and worthy name shall live, no man will deny, nor grateful scholar doubt. And if according to the elogy of Solon, a man may be only said to be happy after he is dead, and ceaseth to be in the visible capacity of beatitude; or if according unto his own ethicks, sense is not essential unto felicity, but a man may be happy without the apprehension thereof; surely in that sense he is pyramidally happy; nor can he ever perish but in the Euripe of ignorance, nor till the torrent of barbarism overwhelmeth all.

A like conceit there passeth of Melisigenes, *alias* Homer, the father poet, that he pined away upon the riddle of the fishermen. But Herodotus, who wrote his life, hath cleared this point; delivering, that passing from Samos unto Athens, he went sick ashore upon the island Ios, where he died, and was solemnly interred upon the sea-side; and so decidingly concludeth, *Ex hac ægritudine extremum diem clausit Homerus in Io, non, ut arbitrantur aliqui, ænigmatis perplexitate enectus, sed morbo.*

[9] *agar.*] The tumultuous influx of the tide.

[1] *But whether the received principle, &c. From the peculiar, &c.*] These two paragraphs were first added in the 2nd edition.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Wish of Philoxenus to have the Neck of a Crane.

THAT relation of Aristotle, and conceit generally received, concerning Philoxenus, who wished the neck of a crane, that thereby he might take more pleasure in his meat, although it pass without exception, upon enquiry I find not only doubtful in the story, but absurd in the desire or reason alleged for it.[2] For though his wish were such as is delivered, yet had it not perhaps that end to delight his gust in eating, but rather to obtain advantage thereby in singing, as is declared by Mirandula. Aristotle, saith he, in his *Ethicks* and *Problems*, accuseth Philoxenus of sensuality, for the greater pleasure of gust desiring the neck of a crane, which desire of his (assenting unto Aristotle), I have formerly condemned. But since I perceive that Aristotle for his accusation hath been accused by divers writers;—for Philoxenus was an excellent musician, and desired the neck of a crane, not for any pleasure at meat, but fancying thereby an advantage in singing or warbling, and dividing the notes in music:—and many writers there are which mention a musician of that name; as Plutarch in his book against *Usury*, and Aristotle himself, in the eighth of his *Politicks*, speaks of one Philoxenus, a musician, that went off from the Dorick dithyrambics unto the Phrygian harmony.

Again, be the story true or false, rightly applied or not, the intention is not reasonable, and that perhaps neither one way nor the other. For if we rightly consider the organ of

[2] *That relation, &c.*] Our author's observations on this absurd story are quoted by Dr. John Bulwer, in his *Anthropometamorphosis*, &c. p. 276.

Ross goes into the history of Philoxenus at great length, and adheres, as usual, most tenaciously to the legend. He contends, and with some reason, that the *absurdity* of the wish, if granted, were no argument against its having been expressed, seeing that many have entertained wishes far more so. But he even asserts its reasonableness, "that there is much pleasure in deglutition of sweet meats and drinks, is plain by the practice of those who, to supply the want of long necks, used to suck their drink out of long small cranes, or quills, or glasses with long narrow snouts, &c. &c. ! !"

taste, we shall find the length of the neck to conduce but little unto it; for the tongue being the instrument of taste, and the tip thereof the most exact distinguisher, it will not advantage the gust to have the neck extended; wherein the gullet and conveying parts are only seated, which partake not of the nerves of gustation, or appertaining unto sapor, but receive them only from the sixth pair; whereas the nerves of taste descend from the third and fourth propagations, and so diffuse themselves into the tongue; and therefore cranes, herons, and swans, have no advantage in taste beyond hawks, kites, and others of shorter necks.

Nor, if we consider it, had nature respect unto the taste in the different contrivance of necks, but rather unto the parts contained, the composure of the rest of the body, and the manner whereby they feed. Thus animals of long legs have generally long necks, that is, for the conveniency of feeding, as having a necessity to apply their mouths unto the earth. So have horses, camels, dromedaries, long necks, and all tall animals, except the elephant, who in defect thereof is furnished with a trunk, without which he could not attain the ground. So have cranes, herons, storks, and shovelards long necks; and so even in man, whose figure is erect, the length of the neck followeth the proportion of other parts; and such as have round faces or broad chests and shoulders, have very seldom long necks. For the length of the face twice exceedeth that of the neck, and the space between the throat-pit and the navel, is equal unto the circumference thereof. Again, animals are framed with long necks, according unto the course of their life or feeding; so many with short legs have long necks, because they feed in the water, as swans, geese, pelicans, and other fin-footed animals.[3] But hawks and birds of prey have short necks and trussed legs; for that which is long is weak and flexible, and a shorter figure is best accommodated unto that intention. Lastly, the necks of animals do vary, according to the parts that are contained in them, which are the weazand and the gullet. Such as have no weazand and breathe not, have

[3] *fin-footed animals.*] Wee usually call them lether-footed,* but this terme suites with the use more significantlye.—*Wr.*

* Web-footed rather.

scarce any neck, as most sorts of fishes; and some none at all, as all sorts of pectinals, soles, thornback, flounders, and all crustaceous animals, as crevises,[4] crabs, and lobsters.

All which considered, the wish of Philoxenus will hardly consist with reason. More excusable had it been to have wished himself an ape,[5] which if common conceit speak true, is exacter in taste than any. Rather some kind of granivorous bird than a crane, for in this sense they are so exquisite, that upon the first peck of their bill, they can distinguish the qualities of hard bodies, which the sense of man discerns not without mastication. Rather some ruminating animal, that he might have eat his meat twice over; or rather, as Theophilus observed in Athenæus, his desire had been more reasonable, had he wished himself an elephant or a horse; for in these animals the appetite is more vehement, and they receive their viands in large and plenteous manner. And this indeed had been more suitable, if this were the same Philoxenus whereof Plutarch speaketh, who was so uncivilly greedy, that, to engross the mess,[6] he would preventively deliver his nostrils in the dish.[7]

[4] *crevises.*] Now called *cray-fish.*

[5] *an ape.*] I thinke an ape is more exacte in the smel then in the taste: for he never tastes that which hee first smels not too. And how pleasant soever any food seeme to us, yf itt displease his smel, he throws it away with a kind of indignation.—*Wr.*

[6] *to engross the mess.*] I was assured by a friend that the following somewhat similar exploit was performed in a commercial traveller's room at ——. A dish of green peas was served very early in the season. One of the party, who preferred high-seasoned peas to most other vegetables, and himself to everybody besides, took an early opportunity of offering his services to help the peas, but he began by peppering them so unmercifully, that it was not very probable they would suit any other palate than his own. His neighbour, perceiving his own chance thus demolished, expostulated; and was told in reply of the virtues of *pepper*, as the only thing to make green peas wholesome. He instantly drew forth his snuff-box, and dextrously scattered its contents over the dish, as the most summary means which occurred to him of defeating such palpable selfishness and gluttony, observing drily that he thought snuff an excellent addition to the pepper.

[7] *dish.*] There have been some whose slovenleyeness and greedines have sequaled his, by throwing a candles end into a messe of creame. But, more ingenious, frame a peece of apie like a candle, and therein stick a clove to deceave others of their deyntyes, in fine eating the counterfet candle.—*Wr.*

As for the musical advantage, although it seem more reasonable, yet do we not observe that cranes and birds of long necks have any musical, but harsh and clangous throats. But birds that are canorous, and whose notes we most commend, are of little throats and short necks, as nightingales, finches, linnets, Canary birds, and larks. And truly, although the weazand, throttle, and tongue be the instruments of voice, and by their agitations do chiefly concur unto these delightful modulations, yet cannot we distinctly and peculiarly assign the cause unto any particular formation: and I perceive the best thereof, the nightingale, hath some disadvantage in the tongue, which is not acuminate[8] and pointed as the rest, but seemeth as it were cut off, which perhaps might give the hint unto the fable of Philomela, and the cutting off her tongue by Tereus.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Lake Asphaltites.

CONCERNING the Lake Asphaltites, the Lake of Sodom, or the Dead Sea, that heavy bodies cast therein sink not, but by reason of a salt and bituminous thickness in the water float and swim above, narrations already made are of that variety, we can hardly from thence deduce a satisfactory determination, and that not only in the story itself, but in the cause alleged. As for the story, men deliver it variously.[9]

Counterfeit candles' ends are now made of peppermint, which are admirable imitations of the attractive originals, and would have perfectly supplied the occasion related by the Dean.

[8] *acuminate.*] Yf the acuminate did any thinge to the songe or speech of birds, how comes itt that the blunt toung in the parat and the gaye [jay ?] speake best, and in the bullfinch expresses the most excellent whistle.—*Wr.*

[9] *As for the story itself, &c.*] It is to be reckoned among the many strange and incredible stories, which both ancients and moderns have told respecting this lake. Dr. Pococke swam in it for nearly a quarter of an hour, and felt no inconvenience. He found the water very clear, and to contain no substances besides salt and alum. The fact is, that its waters are very salt, and therefore bodies float readily in it; and probably on that account few fish can live in it. Yet the monks of St. Saba assured Dr. Shaw that they had seen fish caught in the lake. —See *Dr. Adam Clarke's note in loc.*

Some I fear too largely, as Pliny, who affirmeth that bricks will swim therein. Mandevil goeth further, that iron swimmeth, and feathers sink. Munster in his *Cosmography* hath another relation, although perhaps derived from the poem of Tertullian, that a candle burning swimmeth, but if extinguished sinketh.[1] Some more moderately, as Josephus, and many others, affirming that only living bodies float, nor peremptorily averring they cannot sink, but that indeed they do not easily descend. Most traditionally, as Galen, Pliny, Solinus, and Strabo, who seems to mistake the Lake Serbonis for it. Few experimentally, most contenting themselves in the experiment of Vespasian, by whose command some captives bound were cast therein, and found to float as though they could have swimmed. Divers contradictorily, or contrarily, quite overthrowing the point.[2] Aristotle, in the second of his *Meteors*, speaks lightly thereof, ὥσπερ μυθολογοῦσι, which word is variously rendered, by some as a fabulous account, by some as a common talk. Biddulphus* divideth the common accounts of Judea into three parts; the one, saith he, are apparent truths, the second apparent falsehoods, the third are dubious or between both, in which form he ranketh the relation of this lake. But Andrew Thevet, in his *Cosmography*, doth ocularly overthrow it, for he affirmeth he saw an ass with his saddle cast therein and drowned. Now of these relations so different or contrary unto each other, the second is most moderate and safest to be embraced, which saith that living bodies swim therein, that is, they do not easily sink, and this, until exact experiment further determine, may be allowed as best consistent with this quality, and the reasons alleged for it.

As for the cause of this effect, common opinion conceives it to be the salt and bituminous thickness of the water. This indeed is probable, and may be admitted as far as the second opinion concedeth. For certain it is that salt water

* *Biddulphi Itinerarium, Anglicè.*

[1] *sinketh.*] Soe it will doe in anye water, if kept upright.—*Wr.*

[2] *divers contradictorily.*] This diversity may proceed from the diverse experiments that have been made on severall sides of the lake, which have not all the like effecte: in some partes it beares that which in another part will sinke, as hath been experimented by some late travelers.—*Wr.*

will support a greater burden than fresh; and we see an egg will descend in fresh water, which will swim in brine. But that iron should float therein, from this cause, is hardly granted; for heavy bodies will only swim in that liquor, wherein the weight of their bulk exceedeth not the weight of so much water as it occupieth or taketh up. But surely no water is heavy enough to answer the ponderosity of iron, and therefore that metal will sink in any kind thereof, and it was a perfect miracle which was wrought this way by Elisha. Thus we perceive that bodies do swim or sink in different liquors, according unto the tenuity or gravity of those liquors which are to support them. So salt water beareth that weight which will sink in vinegar; vinegar that which will fall in fresh water; fresh water that which will sink in spirits of wine; and that will swim in spirits of wine which will sink in clear oil; as we made experiment in globes of wax pierced with light sticks to support them. So that although it be conceived a hard matter to sink in oil, I believe a man should find it very difficult, and next to flying to swim therein. And thus will gold sink in quicksilver, wherein iron and other metals swim; for the bulk of gold is only heavier than that space of quicksilver which it containeth; and thus also in a solution of one ounce of quicksilver in two of *aqua fortis*, the liquor will bear amber, horn, and the softer kinds of stones, as we have made trial in each.

But a private opinion there is which crosseth the common conceit, maintained by some of late, and alleged of old by Strabo, that the floating of bodies in this lake proceeds not from the thickness of water, but a bituminous ebullition from the bottom, whereby it wafts up bodies injected, and suffereth them not easily to sink. The verity thereof would be enquired by ocular exploration, for this way is also probable. So we observe, it is hard to wade deep in baths where springs arise; and thus sometime are balls made to play upon a spouting stream.[3]

And therefore, until judicious and ocular experiment confirm or distinguish the assertion, that bodies do not sink

[3] *spouting stream.*] This confirmeth what I noted before, for, as in the hot bathe, so here, the bituminous ebullition is but in some places stronge, and in some places of the lake not at all.—*Wr.*

herein at all, we do not yet believe; that they do, not easily, or with more difficulty, descend in this than other water, we shall readily assent.[4] But to conclude an impossibility from a difficulty, or affirm whereas things not easily sink, they do not drown at all; beside the fallacy, is a frequent addition in human expression, and an amplification not unusual as well in opinions as relations; which oftentimes give indistinct accounts of proximities, and without restraint transcend from one another. Thus, forasmuch as the torrid zone was conceived exceeding hot, and of difficult habitation, the opinions of men so advanced its constitution, as to conceive the same unhabitable, and beyond possibility for man to live therein. Thus, because there are no wolves in England, nor have been observed for divers generations, common people have proceeded into opinions, and some wise men into affirmations, they will not live therein, although brought from other countries. Thus most men affirm, and few here will believe the contrary, that there be no spiders in Ireland; but we have beheld some in that country; and though but few, some cobwebs we behold in Irish wood in England. Thus the crocodile from an egg growing up to an exceeding magnitude, common conceit, and divers writers deliver, it hath no period of increase, but groweth as long as it liveth.[5] And thus in brief, in most apprehensions the conceits of men extend the

[4] *readily assent.*] And hee should adde, in some places itt beares, in others not.—*Wr.*

[5] *groweth, &c.*] This may bee true inoughe in regard of the vast bignes which is reported of some of them; and what should hinder? For in men and creatures also kept for food, their bulke growes still greater, though not their stature.—*Wr.*

It is probably true, of the whole order to which the crocodile belongs (*the saurians*), that they have "no period of increase" — they have no *metamorphosis*, like many other animals (and some in the same class), to place a limit, by its completion, to the further growth of the individual. Nor do they, like the vertebrate animals, arrive early at a maximum of growth, which is not afterwards increased, except in corpulency. Congeniality of climate makes a striking difference in magnitude, at the same age, between saurians of different countries (for example, the crocodile of the Nile is larger than any other of its species), but in all, growth, though *very* slow, is probably continued through life; unless, indeed, extreme old age may begin the end, by ending the vital power of growth, which seems probable, but would not impugn our author's position.

considerations of things, and dilate their notions beyond the propriety of their natures.

In the maps of the Dead Sea or Lake of Sodom, we meet with the destroyed cities, and in divers the city of Sodom placed about the middle, or far from the shore of it; but that it could not be far from Segor, which was seated under the mountains, near the side of the lake, seems inferrible from the sudden arrival of Lot, who coming from Sodom at day-break, attained Segor at sun-rising; and therefore Sodom ought to be placed not many miles from it, and not in the middle of the lake, which is accounted about eighteen miles over; and so will leave about nine miles to be passed in too small a space of time.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Divers other Relations, viz.:—Of the Woman that Conceived in a Bath;—Of Crassus that never Laughed but once;—That our Saviour never Laughed;—Of Sergius the Second, or Bocca di Porco;—That Tamerlane was a Scythian Shepherd.

THE relation of Averroes, and now common in every mouth, of the woman that conceived in a bath, by attracting the sperm or seminal effluxion of a man admitted to bathe in some vicinity unto her,[6] I have scarce faith to believe; and had I been of the jury, should have hardly thought I had found the father in the person that stood by her. 'Tis a new and unseconded way in history to fornicate at a distance, and much offendeth the rules of physick, which say, there is no generation without a joint emission, nor only a virtual, but corporal and carnal contaction. And although Aristotle and his adherents do cut off the one, who conceive no effectual ejaculation in women; yet in defence of the other they cannot be introduced. For if, as he believeth, the inordinate longitude of the organ, though in its proper recipient, may

[6] *by attracting, &c.*] No absurdity, which Browne undertakes to refute—though so gross as not to merit notice, appears too monstrous to find acceptance with Ross. He finds it "quite possible, even as the stomach attracteth meat and drink, though in some distance from it." The conceit respecting Lot is not suggested by the scriptural account, which only asserts that he did not recognise his daughters.

be a mean to inprolificate the seed; surely the distance of place, with the commixture of an aqueous body must prove an effectual impediment, and utterly prevent the success of a conception. And therefore that conceit concerning the daughters of Lot, that they were impregnated by their sleeping father, or conceived by seminal pollution received at distance from him, will hardly be admitted. And therefore what is related of devils, and the contrived delusions of spirits, that they steal the seminal emissions of men, and transmit them into their votaries in coition, is much to be suspected; and altogether to be denied, that there ensue conceptions thereupon; however husbanded by art, and the wisest menagery of that most subtile impostor. And therefore also that our magnified Merlin was thus begotten by the devil, is a groundless conception; and as vain to think from thence to give the reason of his prophetical spirit. For if a generation could succeed, yet should not the issue inherit the faculties of the devil, who is but an auxiliary, and no univocal actor; nor will his nature substantially concur to such productions.

And although it seems not impossible, that impregnation may succeed from seminal spirits, and vaporous irradiations, containing the active principle, without material and gross immissions; as it happeneth sometimes in imperforated persons, and rare conceptions of some much under puberty or fourteen. As may be also conjectured in the coition of some insects, wherein the female makes intrusion into the male; and from the continued ovation in hens, from one single tread of a cock, and little stock laid up near the vent, sufficient for durable prolification. And although also in human generation the gross and corpulent seminal body may return again, and the great business be acted by what it carrieth with it; yet will not the same suffice to support the story in question, wherein no corpulent immission is acknowledged; answerable unto the fable of Talmudists, in the story of Benzira, begotten in the same manner on the daughter of the prophet Jeremiah.[7]

2. The relation of Lucillius, and now become common concerning Crassus, the grandfather of Marcus the wealthy

[7] *And although, &c.*] This paragraph first added in 3rd edition.

Roman; that he never laughed but once in all his life, and that was at an ass eating thistles, is something strange. For, if an indifferent and unridiculous object could draw his habitual austereness unto a smile, it will be hard to believe he could with perpetuity resist the proper motives thereof. For the act of laughter, which is evidenced by a sweet contraction of the muscles of the face, and a pleasant agitation of the vocal organs, is not merely voluntary, or totally within the jurisdiction of ourselves, but, as it may be constrained by corporal contaction in any, and hath been enforced in some even in their death, so the new, unusual, or unexpected, jucundities which present themselves to any man in his life, at some time or other, will have activity enough to excitate the earthiest soul, and raise a smile from most composed tempers. Certainly the times were dull when these things happened, and the wits of those ages short of these of ours; when men could maintain such immutable faces, as to remain like statues under the flatteries of wit, and persist unalterable at all efforts of jocularity. The spirits in hell, and Pluto himself, whom Lucian makes to laugh at passages upon earth, will plainly condemn these Saturnines, and make ridiculous the magnified Heraclitus, who wept preposterously, and made a hell on earth; for rejecting the consolations of life, he passed his days in tears, and the uncomfortable attendments of hell.[8]

3. The same conceit[9] there passeth concerning our blessed Saviour, and is sometime urged as a high example of gravity. And this is opinioned, because in Holy Scripture it is recorded he sometimes wept, but never that he laughed. Which, howsoever granted, it will be hard to conceive how he passed his younger years and childhood without a smile, if as divinity affirmeth, for the assurance of his humanity

[8] *the uncomfortable, &c.*] Ross remarks with much reason on this observation, that "oftentimes there is hell in laughing, and a heaven in weeping:" and that "good men find not the uncomfortable attendments of hell in weeping, but rather the comfortable enjoyments of heaven."—*Arcana*, p. 176.

[9] *The same conceit, &c.*] Tis noe argument to say tis never read in Scripture that Christ laughed, therefore he did never laughe, but on the other side to affirme, that hee did laughe is therefore dangerous bycause unwarrantable and groundles.—*Wr.*

unto men, and the concealment of his divinity from the devil, he passed this age like other children, and so proceeded until he evidenced the same. And surely herein no danger there is to affirm the act or performance of that, whereof we acknowledge the power and essential property; and whereby indeed he most nearly convinced the doubt of his humanity.[1] Nor need we be afraid to ascribe that unto the incarnate Son, which sometimes is attributed unto the uncarnate Father; of whom it is said, "He that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh the wicked to scorn." For a laugh there is of contempt or indignation, as well as of mirth and jocosity: and that our Saviour was not exempted from the ground hereof, that is, the passion of anger, regulated and rightly ordered by reason, the schools do not deny; and, besides the experience of the money-changers and dove-sellers in the temple, is testified by St. John, when he saith the speech of David was fulfilled in our Saviour.*

Now the alogy of this opinion consisteth in the illation; it being not reasonable to conclude from Scripture negatively in points which are not matters of faith, and pertaining unto salvation. And therefore, although in the description of the

* *Zelus domûs tuæ comedit me.*

[1] *humanity.*] The doubt of his humanity was convinced soe many other wayes (before his passion) as by his birth, his circumcision, his hunger at the fig-tree, his compassion and teares over his friend Lazarus, and those other instances here alleaged, that the propertye of risibilitye (which is indeed the usuall instance of the schooles) though it bee inseparable from the nature of man, and incommunicable to any other nature, yet itt does not infer the necessitye of the acte in every individuall subject or person of man; noe more then the power and propertye of numeration (whereof no other creature in the world is capable) can make every man an arithmetician. Itt is likewise recorded of Julius Saturninus, sonne to Philippus (Arabs) the emperor, that from his birth *nullo prorsus cujusquam commento ad ridendum moveri potuerit.—Wr.*

It is the characteristic description of our Redeemer that "he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." Will it not be felt by every Christian, that *laughter* is utterly out of keeping with the dignity, the character, and office of him, who himself took our infirmities, and bare our sins: who spent a life in the endurance of the contradiction of sinners against himself,—and in the full and constant contemplation of that awful moment when he was to lay down that life for their sakes? The difficulty would have been to credit the contrary tradition, had it existed.

creation there be no mention of fire,[2] Christian philosophy did not think it reasonable presently to annihilate that element, or positively to decree there was no such thing at all.[3] Thus, whereas in the brief narration of Moses there is no record of wine before the flood, we cannot satisfactorily conclude that Noah[4] was the first that ever tasted thereof.* And thus, because the word brain is scarce mentioned once, but heart above a hundred times in Holy Scripture, physicians that dispute the principality of parts are not from hence induced to bereave the animal organ of its priority. Wherefore the Scriptures being serious, and commonly omitting such parergies, it will be unreasonable from hence to condemn all laughter, and from considerations inconsiderable to discipline a man out of his nature. For this is by rustical severity to banish all urbanity: whose harmless and confined condition, as it stands commended by morality, so is it consistent with religion, and doth not offend divinity.

4. The custom it is of Popes to change their name at their creation; and the author thereof is commonly said to be *Bocca di Porco*, or Swines-face; who therefore assumed the style of Sergius the 2nd, as being ashamed so foul a name should dishonour the chair of Peter; wherein notwithstanding, from Montacutius and others, I find there may be

* Only in the vulgar Latin, Judg. ix. 53.

[2] *fire.*] There is no mention of metals or fossiles; and yet wee know they were created then, or else they could not now bee.—*Wr.*

[3] *at all.*] Many things may perchance be past over in silence in Holy Scripture, which notwithstandinge are knowne to bee partes of the creation, and many things spoken to the vulgar capacity, which must be understood in a modified sense. But never any thinge soe spoken as might be convinced of falshood; soe that either God or Copernicus, speaking contradictions, cannot both speak truthe. And therefore, *sit Deus verus et omnis homo mendax,* that speakes contradictions to him.—*Wr.*

[4] *Noah.*] Noah was not the first that tasted of the grape: but itt is expresly sayd, Genes. ix. 21, that Noah was the first husbandman that planted a vineyard, and that first made wine, and therfore was the first that dranke of the wine; which does not only satisfactorily but necessarily oblige us to a beleefe that wine made by expression into a species of drinke was not knowne, and therfore not used in that new (dryed) world till Noah invented itt. Itt was then, as itt is now in the new westerne plantations, where they have the vine, and eate the grapes but do not drinke wine, bycause they never began to plant vineyarde till now of late.—*Wr.*

some mistake. For Massonius, who writ the lives of Popes, acknowledgeth he was not the first that changed his name in that see; nor as Platina affirmeth, have all his successors precisely continued that custom; for Adrian the sixth, and Marcellus the second, did still retain their baptismal denomination. Nor is it proved, or probable, that Sergius changed the name of Bocca di Porco, for this was his surname,[5] or gentilitious appellation; nor was it the custom to alter that with the other: but he commuted his Christian name Peter for Sergius, because he would seem to decline the name of Peter the second. A scruple I confess not thought considerable in other sees, whose originals and first patriarchs have been less disputed; nor yet perhaps of that reality as to prevail in points of the same nature. For the names of the apostles, patriarchs, and prophets have been assumed even to affectation. The name of Jesus[6] hath not been appropriated; but some in precedent ages have borne that name, and many since have not refused the Christian name of Emmanuel. Thus are there few names more frequent than Moses and Abraham among the Jews. The Turks without scruple affect the name of Mahomet, and with gladness receive so honourable cognomination.

And truly in human occurrences there ever have been many well directed intentions, whose rationalities will never bear a rigid examination, and though in some way they do commend their authors, and such as first began them, yet have they proved insufficient to perpetuate imitation in such as have succeeded them. Thus was it a worthy resolution of Godfrey, and most Christians have applauded it, that he refused to wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn one of thorns. Yet did not his successors durably inherit

[5] *surname.*] Itt might bee his sirename: but doubtles it was first a nicname fastened on some of his progenitors.—*Wr.*

[6] *The name, &c.*] The name of Jesus was not the same, *per omnia*, in Joshua; and Jesu was never given to any before the angel brought itt from heaven. The names of patriarches and prophets have been imposed (not assumed) as memorials (to children) of imitation; and that of Emmanuel in a qualified sense onlye. But that never any Pope would bee stiled Peter the second, proceeds from a mysterye of policye; that they may rather seeme successors to his power, then to his name, which they therefore decline of purpose; that Christ's vicariate authoritye may seeme to descend not from personal succession, but immediately from [him] who first derived it on Peter.—*Wr.*

that scruple, but some were anointed, and solemnly accepted the diadem of regality. Thus Julius, Augustus, and Tiberius with great humility or popularity refused the name of Imperator, but their successors have challenged that title, and retained the same even in its titularity. And thus, to come nearer our subject, the humility of Gregory the Great would by no means admit the stile of universal bishop; but the ambition of Boniface made no scruple thereof, nor of more queasy resolutions have been their successors ever since.

5. That Tamerlane[7] was a Scythian shepherd, from Mr. Knollis and others, from Alhazen a learned Arabian who wrote his life, and was spectator of many of his exploits, we have reasons to deny. Not only from his birth,—for he was of the blood of the Tartarian emperors, whose father Og had for his possession the country of Sagathy, which was no slender territory, but comprehended all that tract wherein were contained Bactriana, Sogdiana, Margiana, and the nation of the Massagetes, whose capital city was Samarcand, a place, though now decayed, of great esteem and trade in former ages)—but from his regal inauguration, for it is said, that being about the age of fifteen, his old father resigned the kingdom and men of war unto him. And also from his education, for as the story speaks it, he was instructed in the Arabian learning, and afterwards exercised himself therein. Now Arabian learning was in a manner all the liberal sciences, especially the mathematicks, and natural philosophy; wherein, not many ages before him there flourished Avicenna, Averroes, Avenzoar, Geber, Almanzor, and Alhazen, cognominal unto him that wrote his history, whose chronology indeed, although it be obscure, yet in the opinion of his commentator, he was contemporary unto Avicenna, and hath left sixteen books of opticks, of great esteem with ages past, and textuary unto our days.

[7] *Tamerlane.*] His true Scythian name was Temur-Can, which all storyes corruptly and absurdlye call Tamberlane.—*Wr.*

From the best authorities it appears that the parentage here assigned to Timur Beg (Tamerlane) is erroneous. His father was Targuï, a chief of the tribe of Berlas, tributary to Jagatai, one of the sons of Jenghis- (or Chingis-) Khan. He was born at Sebz, a suburb of the city of Kesch. See *Biographie Universelle; Universal History; Lardner's Outlines of History.*

Now the ground of this mistake was surely that which the Turkish historian declareth. Some, saith he, of our historians will needs have Tamerlane to be the son of a shepherd. But this they have said, not knowing at all the custom of their country; wherein the principal revenues of the king and nobles consisteth in cattle: who, despising gold and silver, abound in all sorts thereof. And this was the occasion that some men call them shepherds, and also affirm this prince descended from them. Now, if it be reasonable, that great men whose possessions are chiefly in cattle should bear the name of shepherds, and fall upon so low denominations, then may we say that Abraham was a shepherd, although too powerful for four kings; that Job was of that condition, who beside camels and oxen had seven thousand sheep,[8] and yet is said to be the greatest man in the east. Thus was Mesha, king of Moab, a shepherd, who annually paid unto the crown of Israel, an hundred thousand lambs, and as many rams. Surely it is no dishonourable course of life which Moses and Jacob have made exemplary: 'tis a profession supported upon the natural way of acquisition, and though contemned by the Egyptians, much countenanced by the Hebrews, whose sacrifices required plenty of sheep and lambs. And certainly they were very numerous; for, at the consecration of the temple, beside two-and-twenty thousand oxen, king Solomon sacrificed an hundred and twenty thousand sheep: and the same is observable from the daily provision of his house; which was ten fat oxen,[9] twenty oxen out of the pastures, and a hundred sheep, beside roebuck, fallow deer, and fatted fowls. Wherein notwithstanding (if a punctual relation thereof do rightly inform us), the Grand Seignior doth exceed; the daily provision of whose seraglio in the reign of Achmet, beside beeves, consumed[1] two hundred sheep, lambs and kids when they were in season

[8] *sheep.*] Sir Wm. Jorden, of Wiltes, in the plaines, aspired to come to the number of 20,000: but with all his endeavour could never bring them beyond 18,000. He lived since 1630.—*Wr.*

[9] *oxen, &c.*] That is, in the yeare, of beeves, 10,950, of sheep, 36,500. —*Wr.*

[1] *consumed, &c.*] Of sheep, lambs, kids, 109,500. And yet this cann raise noe greate wonder considering how manye mouthes were dayly fed at Solomon's tables, his concubines, his officers, his guards, and all sorts of inferior attendants on him and them: of which kindes

one hundred, calves ten, geese fifty, hens two hundred, chickens one hundred, pigeons a hundred pair.

And therefore this mistake, concerning the noble Tamerlane, was like that concerning Demosthenes, who is said to be the son of a blacksmith, according to common conceit, and that handsome expression of Juvenal;

> Quem pater ardentis massa fuligine lippus,
> A carbone et forcipibus, gladiosque parente
> Incude, et luteo Vulcano, et Rhetora misit.

Thus Englished by Sir Robert Stapleton:

> Whom's Father with the smoky forge half blind,
> From blows on sooty Vulcan's anvil spent
> In ham'ring swords, to study Rhet'rick sent.

But Plutarch, who writ his life, hath cleared this conceit, plainly affirming he was most nobly descended, and that this report was raised, because his father had many slaves that wrought smith's work, and brought the profit unto him.[2]

CHAPTER XVII.

Of some others, viz.,—of the poverty of Belisarius; of Fluctus Decumanus, or the tenth wave; of Parisatis that poisoned Statira by one side of a knife; of the Woman fed with poison that should have poisoned Alexander; of the Wandering Jew; of Pope Joan; of Friar Bacon's brazen head that spoke; of Epicurus.

We are sad when we read the story of Belisarius, that worthy chieftain of Justinian; who, after his victories over Vandals, Goths, Persians, and his trophies in three parts of the world, had at last his eyes put out by the emperor, and was reduced to that distress, that he begged relief on the highway, in that uncomfortable petition, *date obolum Belisario*.[3] And this we do not only hear in discourses, orations,

the Grand Signeur mainteyns greater multitudes daylye in the Seraglio.—*Wr.*

[2] *And this mistake, &c.*] This paragraph was first added in the 2nd edition, except the translation, which was added in the 6th edition.

[3] *We are sad, &c.*] Lord Mahon, in his life of Belisarius, adopts this traditional account of him, as the most likely to be true; and gives at the close of the work his reasons at large.

and themes, but find it also in the leaves of Petrus Crinitus, Volaterranus, and other worthy writers.

But, what may somewhat consolate all men that honour virtue, we do not discover the latter scene of his misery in authors of antiquity, or such as have expressly delivered the stories of those times. For, Suidas is silent herein, Cedrenus and Zonaras, two grave and punctual authors, delivering only the confiscation of his goods, omit the history of his mendication. Paulus Diaconus goeth farther, not only passing over this act, but affirming his goods and dignities were restored. Agathius, who lived at the same time, declared he suffered much from the envy of the court; but that he descended thus deep into affliction, is not to be gathered from his pen. The same is also omitted by Procopius,* a contemporary and professed enemy unto Justinian and Belisarius, who hath left an opprobrious book against them both.

And in this opinion and hopes we are not single, but Andreas Aniatus the civilian in his *Parerga*, and Franciscus de Corduba in his *Didascalia*, have both declaratorily confirmed the same, which is also agreeable unto the judgment of Nicolaus Alemannus, in his notes upon that bitter history of Procopius. Certainly sad tragical stories are seldom drawn within the circle of their verities; but as their relators do either intend the hatred or pity of the persons, so are they set forth with additional amplifications. Thus have some suspected it hath happened unto the story of Œdipus: and thus do we conceive it hath fared with that of Judas, who, having sinned above aggravation, and committed one villany which cannot be exasperated by all other, is also charged with the murder of his reputed brother, parricide of his father, and incest with his own mother,[4] as

* Ἀνέκδοτα, or *Arcana Historia.*

[4] *is also charged, &c.*] Surely yf these had been true, St. John, who cals him a theefe in plaine termes, would never have concealed such unparalleled villanyes. They could not bee don after his treason, the halter followed that soe closelye; and had they been don before, neither could he have escaped the laws of Judæa, most severe against such hideous crimes; nor would the Sonne of God have endured the scandal of such a knowne miscreant, much lesse have chosen him among the twelve apostles. Judas deserved as much detestation as his unparaleld

Florilegus or Matthew of Westminster hath at large related. And thus hath it perhaps befallen the noble Belisarius; who, upon instigation of the Empress, having contrived the exile, and very hardly treated Pope Serverius, Latin pens, as a judgment of God upon this fact, have set forth his future sufferings; and, omitting nothing of amplification, they have also delivered this; which, notwithstanding Johannes the Greek makes doubtful, as may appear from his *Iambicks* in Baronius, and might be a mistake or misapplication, translating the affliction of one man upon another, for the same befell unto Johannes Cappadox,* contemporary unto Belisarius, and in great favour with Justinian; who being afterwards banished into Egypt, was fain to beg relief on the highway.[5]

2. That *fluctus decumanus*,[6] or the tenth wave is greater and more dangerous than any other, some no doubt will be

* *Procop. Bell, Persic*, 1. Ἄρτον ἢ ὀβολὸν αἰτεῖσθαι.

and matchless crimes could any way deserve. But noe cause of such detestation could be soe just, as to produce such prodigious fictions in the writings of Christians: whome the recorded example of the Archangel Michael hath taught, not to rayle against, much less to belye the Divel himselfe.—*Wr.*

[5] *and might be a mistake, &c.*] First added in 2nd edition.

[6] *Fluctus decumanus, &c.*] Ross says that our author "troubles himself to no purpose in refuting the greatness of the tenth wave and tenth egg: for the tenth of anything was not counted the greatest, but the greatest of anything was called the tenth, because that is the first perfect number; therefore anything that was greater than another was called *decumanus*. So *porta decumana, limes decumanus, decumana pyra*, and *pomum decumanum* as well as *ovum decumanum*."—*Arc.* p. 178.

Mr. Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, describing the effect of the monsoon upon the ocean, says, "every *ninth* wave is observed to be more tremendous than the rest, and threatens to overwhelm the settlement of Anjengo."

The following passage occurs in *Dr. Henderson's Iceland*, vol. ii. p. 109: "Owing to a heavy swell from the ocean, we found great difficulty in landing, and were obliged to await the alternation of the waves in the following order:—first, three heavy surges broke with a tremendous dash upon the rocks; these were followed by six smaller ones, which just afforded us time to land; after which the three large ones broke again, and so on in regular succession."

"The typhon is a strong swift wind, that blows from all points, and is frequent in the Indian seas; raising them, with its strong whirling about, to a great height, every *tenth* wave rising above the rest."—*Loss of the ship Fanny.*

offended if we deny; and hereby we shall seem to contradict antiquity; for, answerable unto the literal and common acception, the same is averred by many writers, and plainly described by Ovid.

> Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes,
> Posterior nono est, undecimoque prior.

Which notwithstanding is evidently false; nor can it be made out by observation either upon the shore or the ocean, as we have with diligence explored both. And surely in vain we expect a regularity in the waves of the sea, or in the particular motions thereof, as we may in its general reciprocations, whose causes are constant, and effects therefore correspondent. Whereas its fluctuations are but motions subservient; which winds, storms, shores, shelves, and every interjacency irregulates. With semblable reason we might expect a regularity in the winds; whereof though some be statary, some anniversary, and the rest do tend to determine points of heaven, yet do the blasts and undulary breaths thereof maintain no certainty in their course, nor are they numerally feared by navigators.

Of affinity hereto is that conceit of *ovum decumanum;* so called, because the tenth egg is bigger than any other, according unto the reason alleged by Festus, *decumana ova dicuntur, quia ovum decimum majus nascitur.* For the honour we bear unto the clergy, we cannot but wish this true: but herein will be found no more of verity than in the other; and surely few will assent hereto without an implicit credulity, or Pythagorical submission unto every conception of number.

For surely the conceit is numeral, and, though in the sense apprehended, relateth unto the number of ten, as Franciscus Sylvius hath most probably declared. For, whereas amongst simple numbers or digits, the number of ten is the greatest: therefore whatsoever was the greatest in every kind, might in some sense be named from this number. Now, because also that which was the greatest, was metaphorically by some at first called *decumanus*, therefore whatsoever passed under this name, was literally conceived by others to respect and make good this number.

The conceit is also Latin; for the Greeks, to express the

greatest wave, do use the number of three, that is, the word τρικυμία, which is a concurrence of three waves in one, whence arose the proverb, τρικυμία κακῶν, or a trifluctuation of evils, which Erasmus doth render, *malorum fluctus decumanus*. And thus although the terms be very different, yet are they made to signify the self-same thing: the number of ten to explain the number of three, and the single number of one wave the collective concurrence of more.

3. The poison of Parysatis,[7] reported from Ctesias by Plutarch in the life of Artaxerxes (whereby, anointing a knife on the one side, and therewith dividing a bird, with the one half she poisoned Statira, and safely fed herself on the other), was certainly a very subtle one, and such as our ignorance is well content it knows not. But surely we had discovered a poison that would not endure Pandora's box, could we be satisfied in that which for its coldness nothing could contain but an ass's hoof, and wherewith some report that Alexander the Great was poisoned. Had men derived so strange an effect from some occult or hidden qualities, they might have silenced contradiction; but ascribing it unto the manifest and open qualities of cold, they must pardon our belief; who perceive the coldest and most Stygian waters may be included in glasses; and by Aristotle, who saith that glass is the perfectest work of art, we understand they were not then to be invented.

And though it be said that poison will break a Venice glass,[8] yet have we not met with any of that nature. Were there a truth herein, it were the best preservative for princes and persons exalted unto such fears; and surely far better than divers now in use. And though the best of China dishes, and such as the emperor doth use, be thought by some of infallible virtue unto this effect, yet will they not, I fear, be able to elude the mischief of such intentions. And though also it be true, that God made all things double, and that if we look upon the works of the Most

[7] *The poison of Parysatis.*] This is treated as fabulous by Paris and Fonblanque, in the 20th vol. of whose *Medical Jurisprudence*, p. 131, &c. will be found a long article on poisons.

[8] *poison will break a Venice glass.*] Such is the venom of some spiders that they will crack a Venice glass, *as I have seen;* and Scaliger doth witness the same—however the doctor denies it.—*Ross, Arc.* 146.

High, there are two and two, one against another; that one contrary hath another, and poison is not without a poison unto itself; yet hath the curse so far prevailed, or else our industry defected, that poisons are better known than their antidotes, and some thereof do scarce admit of any. And lastly, although unto every poison men have delivered many antidotes, and in every one is promised an equality unto its adversary, yet do we often find they fail in their effects: *moly* will not resist a weaker cup than that of Circe; a man may be poisoned in a Lemnian dish; without the miracle of John, there is no confidence in the earth of Paul;* and if it be meant that no poison could work upon him, we doubt the story, and expect no such success from the diet of Mithridates.

A story there passeth of an Indian king, that sent unto Alexander a fair woman, fed with aconites and other poisons, with this intent, either by converse or copulation complexionally to destroy him. For my part, although the design were true, I should have doubted the success.[9] For, though it be possible that poisons may meet with tempers whereto they may become aliments, and we observe from fowls that feed on fishes, and others fed with garlick and onions, that simple aliments are not always concocted beyond their vegetable qualities; and therefore that even after carnal conversion, poisons may yet retain some portion of their natures; yet are they so refracted, cicurated,[1] and subdued, as not to make good their first and destructive malignities. And therefore [to] the stork that eateth snakes, and the stare that feedeth upon hemlock, [these] though no commendable aliments, are not destructive

* *Terra Melitea.*

[9] *success.*] Hee that remembers how the Portuguez mixing with the women in the eastern islands founde such a hot overmatching complexion in them, that as the son puts out a candle, soe itt quentcht their hot luste with the cold gripes of deathe; may easilye conceive, without an instance, what a quick effect such venemous spirits make by a contagious transfusion. Nor is there the same danger in eatinge of a duck that feeds on a toade, as in the loathsome copulation with those bodyes, whose touch is formidable as the fome of a mad dog, the touch whereof has been found as deadly to some, as the wound of his teeth to others.—*Wr.*

[1] *cicurated.*] Tamed:—a *Brownism.*

poisons.* For, animals that can innoxiously digest these poisons, become antidotal unto the poison digested. And therefore, whether their breath be attracted, or their flesh ingested, the poisonous relicks go still along with their antidote; whose society will not permit their malice to be destructive. And therefore also, animals that are not mischieved by poisons which destroy us, may be drawn into antidote against them; the blood or flesh of storks against the venom of serpents, the quail against hellebore, and the diet of starlings against the draught of Socrates.[2] Upon like grounds are some parts of animals alexipharmical unto others; and some veins of the earth, and also whole regions,[3] not only destroy the life of venomous creatures, but also prevent their productions. For though perhaps they contain the seminals of spiders and scorpions, and such as in other earths by suscitation[4] of the sun may arise unto animation; yet lying under command of their antidote, without hope of emergency they are poisoned in their matrix by powers easily hindering the advance of their originals, whose confirmed forms they are able to destroy.

5. The story of the wandering Jew is very strange, and will hardly obtain belief; yet is there a formal account thereof set down by Matthew Paris, from the report of an Armenian bishop,[5] who came into this kingdom about four

* [*to*] [*these*] these words seem indispensable to complete the sense evidently intended.

[2] *Socrates.*] That is, henbane.—*Wr.*

[3] *whole regions.*] As Ireland and Crete neither breede nor brooke any venemous creature, which was a providence of God, considering that noe creature can be worse than the natives themselves.—*Wr.*

Is this remark perfectly in keeping with the character of a Christian minister?

[4] *suscitation.*] Excitement.

[5] *Armenian bishop.*] And that reporte of a wandering bishop is the ground of this absurd figment: for what's become of him ever since that time? But 'tis noe wonder to finde a wandring Jew in all partes of the world; for what are all the nation but wanderers? Inmates to the world, and strangers noe where soe much as in their owne countrye.—*Wr.*

"This fable of the wandering Jew, once almost generally believed, probably suggested the fabrication of the tale of the wandering Gentile in later times: they are both included in a work, entitled *News from*

hundred years ago, and had often entertained this wanderer at his table. That he was then alive, was first called Cartaphilus, was keeper of the judgment hall, whence thrusting out our Saviour with expostulation for his stay, was condemned to stay until his return;* was after baptized by Ananias, and by the name of Joseph; was thirty years old in the days of our Saviour, remembered the saints that arose with him, the making of the apostles' creed, and their several peregrinations. Surely were this true, he might be an happy arbitrator in many Christian controversies; but must unpardonably condemn the obstinacy of the Jews, who can contemn the rhetorick of such miracles, and blindly behold so living and lasting conversions.

6.[6] Clearer confirmations must be drawn for the history of Pope Joan, who succeeded Leo the Fourth, and preceded Benedict the Third, than many we yet discover. And since it is delivered with *aiunt* and *ferunt* by many; since the learned Leo Allatius hath discovered† that ancient copies of Martinus Polonus, who is chiefly urged for it, had not this story in it; since not only the stream of Latin historians have omitted it, but Photius the Patriarch, Metrophanes Smyrnæus, and the exasperated Greeks have made no mention of it, but conceded Benedict the Third to be successor unto Leo the Fourth; he wants not grounds that doubts it.[7]

* *Vade, quid moraris? ego vado, tu autem morare donec venio.*

† *Confutatio fabulæ de Joanna Papissa cum Nibusio.*

Holland; or a short relation of two witnesses, now living, of the suffering and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ: the one being a Gentile, the other a Jew," &c. in High Dutch. Amsterdam, 1647, London, 1648, 4to. See *Huttman's Life of Christ*, p. 67. The *Spaniard*, who wrote one of the most amusing of critiques on *John Bull*, under the title of *Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella's Letters from England*, has enlivened his narrative of the wandering Jew with the following incident: "The Jew had awarded his preference to Spain above all the countries he had seen; as perhaps"—ingeniously remarks the soi-disant *Spanish* narrator—"a man would who had really seen all the world." But on being reminded that it was rather extraordinary that a Jew should prefer the country of the Inquisition, the ready rogue answered, with a smile and a shake of the head, "that it was long before Christianity when he last visited Spain, and that he should not return till long after it was all over."

[6].] The remainder of the chapter was first added in 2nd edition.

[7] *the history of Pope Joan.*] Not only the final catastrophe of this lady's career, as recorded in the well-known Latin line, "*Papa, pater*

Many things historical, which seem of clear concession, want not affirmations and negations, according to divided pens: as is notoriously observable in the story of Hildebrand or Gregory the Seventh, repugnantly delivered by the imperial and papal party. In such divided records, partiality hath much depraved history, wherein if the equity of the reader do not correct the iniquity of the writer, he will be much confounded with repugnancies, and often find, in the same person, Numa and Nero. In things of this nature moderation must intercede; and so charity may hope that Roman readers will construe many passages in Bolsec, Fayus, Schlusselberg, and Cochlæus.

7. Every ear is filled with the story of Friar Bacon, that made a brazen head to speak these words, *time is*.[8] Which though there want not the like relations, is surely too literally received, and was but a mystical fable concerning the philosopher's great work, wherein he eminently laboured: implying no more by the copper head, than the vessel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it spake, than the opportunity to be watched, about the *tempus ortus*, or birth of the mystical child, or philosophical king of Lallius; the rising of the *terra foliata* of *Arnoldus*, when the earth, sufficiently impregnated with the water, ascendeth white and splendent. Which not observed, the work is irrecoverably lost, according to that of Petrus Bonus: *Ibi est operis perfectio aut annihilatio; quoniam ipsâ die, immo horâ, oriuntur elementa simplicia depurata, quæ egent statim compositione, antequam volent ab igne.**

Now letting slip this critical opportunity, he missed the intended treasure, which had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about England: that is, the most powerful defence, and strongest fortification which gold could have effected.

8. Who can but pity the virtuous Epicurus, who is commonly conceived to have placed his chief felicity in pleasure

* *Margarita pretiosa.*

patrum, peperit Papissa papillum,"—but even her very existence itself seems now to be universally rejected by the best authorities, Protestant as well as Catholic, as a fabrication from beginning to end.

[8] *a brazen head.*] This ridiculous story was originally imputed, not to Roger Bacon, but to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln.

and sensual delights, and hath therefore left an infamous name behind him? How true, let them determine who read that he lived seventy years, and wrote more books than any philosopher but Chrysippus, and no less than three hundred, without borrowing from any author: that he was contented with bread and water; and when he would dine with Jove, and pretend unto epulation, he desired no other addition than a piece of Cytheridian cheese: that shall consider the words of Seneca,[9] *Non dico, quod plerique nostrorum, sectam Epicuri flagitiorum magistrum esse: sed illud dico, male audit, infamis est, et immerito:* or shall read his life, his epistles, his testament in *Laërtius*, who plainly names them calumnies, which are commonly said against them.

The ground hereof seems a misapprehension of his opinion, who placed his felicity not in the pleasures of the body, but the mind, and tranquillity thereof, obtained by wisdom and virtue, as is clearly determined in his epistle unto Menæceus. Now how this opinion was first traduced by the Stoicks, how it afterwards became a common belief, and so taken up by authors of all ages, by Cicero, Plutarch, Clemens, Ambrose, and others, the learned pen of Gassendus hath discovered.*[1]

CHAPTER XVIII.

More briefly of some others, viz.: that the Army of Xerxes drank whole Rivers dry; that Hannibal eat through the Alps with Vinegar; of Archimedes, his burning the Ships of Marcellus; of the Fabii that were all slain; of the Death of Æschylus; of the Cities of Tarsus and Anchiale built in one day; of the great Ship Syracusia or Alexandria; of the Spartan Boys.

1. Other relations there are, and those in very good authors, which though we do not positively deny, yet have

* *De vita et moribus Epicuri.*

[9] *That shall consider the words of Seneca.*] That is, "let them determine the words of Seneca," &c.

[1] *Who can but pity, &c.*] Ross is unmerciful in his reprobation of our author's defence of Epicurus. Yet some of those who were among the opponents of that philosopher's doctrines,—for example, Cicero, Plutarch, and Seneca, have awarded him, in reference to the particular charges here spoken of, the same acquittal which Browne has pronounced.

they not been unquestioned by some, and at least as improbable truths have been received by others. Unto some it hath seemed incredible what Herodotus reporteth of the great army of Xerxes, that drank whole rivers dry. And unto the author himself it appeared wondrous strange, that they exhausted not the provision of the country, rather than the waters thereof. For as he maketh the account, and Buddeus *de Asse* correcting their miscompute of Valla delivereth it, if every man of the army had had a *chenix* of corn a day, that is, a sextary and a half, or about two pints and a quarter, the army had daily expended ten hundred thousand and forty medimnas, or measures containing six bushels.[2] Which rightly considered, the Abderites had reason to bless the heavens, that Xerxes eat but one meal a day, and Pythius, his noble host, might with less charge and possible provision entertain both him and his army; and yet may all be salved, if we take it hyperbolically, as wise men receive that expression in Job, concerning behemoth or the elephant, "Behold, he drinketh up a river and hasteth not; he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth."

2. That Hannibal ate or brake through the Alps with vinegar may be too grossly taken, and the author of his life annexed unto Plutarch, affirmeth only he used this artifice upon the tops of some of the highest mountains. For as it is vulgarly understood, that he cut a passage for his army through those mighty mountains, it may seem incredible, not only in the greatness of the effect, but the quantity of the efficient, and such as behold them may think an ocean of vinegar too little for that effect.[3] 'Twas a work indeed

[2] *bushels.*] But the wonder is not soe much how they could consume soe much corne, as where they could have it soe sodenly. But it seemes the learned author heere mistooke his accompte. For 1,000,000 quarts (allowing for every one in his army a quarte, and 16 quartes to a bushell), amount to noe more then 62,499 bushels, or 10,416 medimnas, which would not loade 1000 wagons, a small baggage for so great an army not to be wondered at.—*Wr.*

[3] *an ocean, &c.*] There needed not more than some few hogsheads of vinegar, for having hewed downe the woods of firr growing there, and with the huge piles thereof calcined the tops of some cliffes which stood in his waye; a small quantity of vinegar poured on the fired glowing rocks would make them cleave in sunder, as is manifest in calcined flints, which being often burned, and as often quentcht in

rather to be expected from earthquakes and inundations, than any corrosive waters, and much condemneth the judgment of Xerxes, that wrought through Mount Athos with mattocks.

3. That Archimedes burnt the ships of Marcellus, with speculums of parabolical figures, at three furlongs, or as some will have it, at the distance of three miles, sounds hard unto reason and artificial experience, and therefore justly questioned by Kircherus, who after long enquiry could find but one made by Manfredus Septalius* that fired at fifteen paces. And therefore more probable it is that that the ships were nearer the shore or about some thirty paces, at which distance notwithstanding the effect was very great. But whereas men conceive the ships were more easily set on flame by reason of the pitch about them, it seemeth no advantage; since burning glasses will melt pitch or make it boil, not easily set it on fire.

4. The story of the Fabii, whereof three hundred and six marching against the Veientes were all slain, and one child alone to support the family remained, is surely not to be

* *De luce et umbra.*

vinegar, will in fine turne into an impalpable powder, as is truly experimented, and is dayly manifest in the lime kilnes.—*Wr.*

Dr. Mc Keever, in a paper in the 5th vol. of the *Annals of Philosophy, N. S.* discusses this question, and arrives at the conclusion that, in all probability, the expansive operation of the fire on the water which had been percolating through the pores and fissures of the rocks, occasioned the detachment of large portions of it by explosion, just as masses of rock are frequently detached from cliffs, and precipitated into adjoining valleys, by a similar physical cause. Dr. M. notices the annual disruption of icebergs in the Polar seas, on the return of summer, as a phenomenon bearing considerable analogy to the preceding. Mr. Brayley supposes that Hannibal might have used vinegar to dissolve partially a particular mass of limestone, which might impede his passage through some narrow pass. Dr. M. suggests that he might attribute to the vinegar and fire what the latter actually effected by its action on the water, and would have effected just as well without the vinegar. But perhaps after all the only vinegar employed might be pyroligneous acid, produced from the wood by its combination, without any intention on the part of Hannibal, though its presence would very naturally have been attributed to design by the ignorant spectators of his operations, which, on this theory, may be supposed to have been conducted on a full knowledge of the effects they would produce, in the explosive removal of the obstacles which obstructed his advance.

paralleled, nor easy to be conceived, except we can imagine that of three hundred and six, but one had children below the service of war, that the rest were all unmarried, or the wife but of one impregnated.[4]

5. The received story of Milo, who by daily lifting a calf, attained an ability to carry it being a bull, is a witty conceit, and handsomely sets forth the efficacy of assuefaction. But surely the account had been more reasonably placed upon some person not much exceeding in strength, and such a one as without the assistance of custom could never have performed that act, which some may presume that Milo, without precedent, artifice, or any other preparative, had strength enough to perform. For as relations declare, he was the most pancratical man of Greece, and as Galen reporteth, and Mercurialis in his *Gymnastics* representeth, he was able to persist erect upon an oiled plank, and not to be removed by the force or protrusion of three men. And if that be true which Athenæus reporteth, he was little beholding to custom for his ability; for in the Olympic games, for the space of a furlong, he carried an ox of four years[5] upon his shoulders, and the same day he carried it in his belly; for as it is there delivered, he eat it up himself. Surely he had been a proper guest at Grandgousier's feast, and might have matched his throat that eat six pilgrims for a salad.*

6. It much disadvantageth the panegyrick of Synesius,† and is no small disparagement unto baldness, if it be true what is related by Ælian concerning Æschylus, whose bald pate was mistaken for a rock, and so was brained by a tortoise

* *In Rabelais.*

† Who writ in the praise of baldness. An argument or instance against the motion of the earth.

[4] 3.] This and the following paragraph, as well as § 12, were first added in 2nd edition.

[5] *an ox, &c.*] An ox of 4 years in Greece did not equal one with us of 2; whereof having taken out the bowels and the heade and the hide, and the feete and all that which they call the offall, we may well thinke the four quarters, especially yf the greate bones were all taken out, could not weigh much above a 100lb. weight. Now the greater wonder is how he could eate soe much, then to carry itt. Itt is noe newes for men in our dayes to carry above 400 weight; but few men can eate 100 weight, excepting they had such a gyant-like bulke as hee had.—*Wr.*

which an eagle let fall upon it. Certainly it was a very great mistake in the perspicacy of that animal. Some men critically disposed, would from hence confute the opinion of Copernicus, never conceiving how the motion of the earth below, should not wave him from a knock perpendicularly directed from a body in the air above.

7. It crosseth the proverb, and Rome might well be built in a day, if that were true which is traditionally related by Strabo; that the great cities, Anchiale and Tarsus,[6] were built by Sardanapalus, both in one day, according to the inscription of his monument, *Sardanapalus Anacyndaraxis filius, Anchialem et Tarsum unâ die ædificavi, tu autem hospes, ede, lude, bibe, &c.* Which if strictly taken, that is, for the finishing thereof, and not only for the beginning; for an artificial or natural day, and not one of Daniel's weeks, that is, seven whole years; surely their hands were very heavy that wasted thirteen years in the private house of Solomon. It may be wondered how forty years were spent in the erection of the temple of Jerusalem, and no less than an hundred in that famous one of Ephesus. Certainly it was the greatest architecture of one day, since that great one of six; an art quite lost with our mechanics, a work not to be made out, but like the walls of Thebes, and such an artificer as Amphion.

8. It had been a sight only second unto the ark to have beheld the great Syracusia, or mighty ship of Hiero, described in Athenæus; and some have thought it a very large one, wherein were to be found ten stables for horses, eight towers, besides fish-ponds, gardens, tricliniums, and many fair rooms paved with agath and precious stones. But nothing was

[6] *Anchiale and Tarsus.*] A single fortress, as that of Babell, is called a city. Genes. xi. 4. In imitation whereof, built by Nimrod, the first Assyrian Monarch, itt is possible that Sardanapalus, the last Monarch, but withall the greatest in power, and purse, and people, might easily raise such a fortresse in a daye, having first brought all the materials in place, and if one, he might as well have built ten in several places. Now these cityes were about 4 hundred miles distant, Tarsus on the banke of Sinus, Issicus in Cilicia, and Anchiala on the banke of the Euxine Sea in Pontus, both border townes, dividing Natolia on the lesser Asia from the greater Asia, and were the 2 frontire townes of the Assyrian Monarchie, and were built for the ostentation of his vast spreading dominions, and both in a day raised, for ostentation of his power.—*Wr.*

impossible unto Archimedes, the learned contriver thereof; nor shall we question his removing the earth, when he finds an immoveable base to place his engine unto it.

9.[7] That the Pamphilian sea gave way unto Alexander, in his intended march toward Persia, many have been apt to credit, and Josephus is willing to believe, to countenance the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. But Strabo, who writ before him, delivereth another account; that the mountain climax, adjoining to the Pamphilian sea, leaves a narrow passage between the sea and it; which passage at an ebb and quiet sea all men take; but Alexander coming in the winter, and eagerly pursuing his affairs, would not wait for the reflux or return of the sea; and so was fain to pass with his army in the water, and march up to the navel in it.

10. The relation of Plutarch, of a youth of Sparta that suffered a fox, concealed under his robe, to tear out his bowels before he would, either by voice or countenance, betray his theft; and the other, of the Spartan lad, that with the same resolution suffered a coal from the altar to burn his arm; although defended by the author that writes his life, is I perceive mistrusted by men of judgment, and the author, with an *aiunt*, is made to salve himself. Assuredly it was a noble nation that could afford an hint to such inventions of patience, and upon whom, if not such verities, at least such verisimilities of fortitude were placed. Were the story true, they would have made the only disciples for Zeno and the Stoicks, and might perhaps have been persuaded to laugh in Phalaris his bull.

11. If any man shall content his belief with the speech of Balaam's ass, without a belief of that of Mahomet's camel, or Livy's ox; if any man makes a doubt of Giges' ring in Justinus, or conceives he must be a Jew that believes the sabbatical river[8] in Josephus; if any man will say he doth

[7] 9.] First added in the 6th edition.

[8] *the sabbatical river.*] A singular discrepancy exists on this point between the statement of Josephus and that of Pliny. The former (*De Bell. Jud.* lib. vii. c. 24) saying that the river flows on sabbath, but rests on every other day:—while Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxi. § 13) relates that it flows most impetuously all the week, but is dry on the sabbath. All the Jewish rabbinical authorities adopt the latter as the fact, in opposition to Josephus, whose account is so singular, that several of his commentators have not hesitated to suppose a transposition to have

not apprehend how the tail of an African wether out-weigheth the body of a good calf, that is, an hundred pounds, according unto Leo Africanus,[9] or desires, before belief, to behold such a creature as is the ruck[1] in Paulus Venetus,—for my part I shall not be angry with his incredulity.

12. If any one shall receive, as stretched or fabulous accounts, what is delivered of Cocles, Scævola, and Curtius, the sphere of Archimedes, the story of the Amazons, the taking of the city of Babylon, not known to some therein in three days after, that the nation was deaf which dwelt at the fall of Nilus, the laughing and weeping humour of Heraclitus and Democritus, with many more, he shall not want some reason and the authority of Lancelotti.*

13. If any man doubt of the strange antiquities delivered by historians, as of the wonderful corpse of Antæus untombed

* *Farfalloni Historici.*

occurred in his text, producing the error in question. Our poetical Walton alludes to this marvellous river, but he has adopted the proposed correction, citing Josephus as his authority, but giving the Plinian version of the story, doubtless thinking it most fit that the river should allow the angler to repose on Sunday, and afford him, during the six other days, "choice recreation." The classical authorities declare that the river has long since vanished. But recently, a learned Jew, Rabbi Edrehi, has announced a work, asserting the discovery of the lost river, but affirming it to be a *river of sand!* This is apt to recal to mind an old proverb about "twisting a *rope* of sand!"

As for the "marvellous" of the story, it strikes me, that—only grant the existence of *water-corn-mills* in the time of the Emperor Titus (which it is not for me to deny),—and the whole is perfectly intelligible. The mills had been at work during the week, keeping up a head of water which had rushed along with a velocity (as Josephus describes it) sufficient to carry with it stones and fragments of rocks. On sabbath-day the miller "shut down," and let all the water run through, by which means the river was laid almost dry. What should hinder, in these days of hypothesis, our adopting so ready and *satisfactory* a solution?

[9] *Leo Africanus.*] What weights Leo Africanus meanes is doubtfull. Some have been brought hither, that being fatted, coulde scarcely carye their tayles: though I know not, why nature, that hung such a weight behinde, shoulde not enable the creature to drag itt after him by the strength of his backe, as the stag to carye as great weight on his heade only.—*Wr.*

[1] *ruck.*] Surely the ruc was but one, like the phœnix, but revives not like the phœnix.—*Wr.*

The roc of the Arabian Nights, conjectured to have originated in the American condor.

a thousand years after his death by Sertorius; whether there were no deceit in those fragments of the ark, so common to be seen in the days of Berosus; whether the pillar which Josephus beheld long ago, Tertullian long after, and Bartholomeus de Saligniaco and Bochardus long since, be the same with that of Lot's wife; whether this were the hand of Paul, or that which is commonly shown the head of Peter; if any doubt, I shall not much dispute with their suspicions. If any man shall not believe the turpentine-tree betwixt Jerusalem and Bethlehem, under which the Virgin suckled our Saviour as she passed between those cities; or the fig-tree of Bethany, showed to this day, whereon Zaccheus ascended to behold our Saviour; I cannot tell how to enforce his belief, nor do I think it requisite to attempt it. For, as it is no reasonable proceeding to compel a religion, or think to enforce our own belief upon another, who cannot without the concurrence of God's Spirit have any undubitable evidence of things that are obtruded, so is it also in matters of common belief; whereunto neither can we indubitably assent, without the co-operation of our sense or reason, wherein consist the principles of persuasion. For, as the habit of faith in divinity is an argument of things unseen, and a stable assent unto things inevident, upon authority of the Divine Revealer, — so the belief of man, which depends upon human testimony, is but a staggering assent unto the affirmative, not without some fear of the negative. And as there is required the Word of God, or infused inclination unto the one, so must the actual sensation of our senses,[2] at least the non-opposition of our reasons, procure our assent and acquiescence in the other. So when Eusebius, an holy writer, affirmeth, there grew a strange and unknown plant near the statue of Christ, erected by his hæmorrhoidal patient in the gospel, which attaining unto the hem of his vesture, acquired a sudden faculty to cure all diseases; although,[3] he saith, he saw the statue in his days,

[2] *senses.*] And that this was not wanting to make good the storye in parte, is evident in the very next section.—*Wr.*

[3] *although, &c.*] Why may wee not beleave that there was such a plant at the foote of that statue upon the report of the ecclesiastick story, publisht in the third ecumenical council at Ephesus, as wel as the statue itselfe upon the report of Eusebius at the first ecumenical coun-

yet hath it not found in many men so much as human belief. Some believing, others opinioning, a third suspecting it might be otherwise. For indeed, in matters of belief, the understanding assenting unto the relation, either for the authority of the person, or the probability of the object, although there may be a confidence of the one, yet if there be not a satisfaction in the other, there will arise suspensions; nor can we properly believe until some argument of reason, or of our proper sense, convince or determine our dubitations.

And thus it is also in matters of certain and experimented truth. For if unto one that never heard thereof, a man should undertake to persuade the affections of the loadstone, or that jet and amber attract straws and light bodies, there would be little rhetorick in the authority of Aristotle, Pliny, or any other. Thus although it be true that the string of a lute or viol will stir upon the stroke of an unison or diapason in another of the same kind; that alcanna being green, will suddenly infect the nails and other parts with a durable red; that a candle out of a musket will pierce through an inch board, or an urinal force a nail through a plank; yet can few or none believe thus much without a visible experiment. Which notwithstanding falls out more happily for knowledge; for these relations leaving unsatisfaction in the hearers, do stir up ingenuous dubiosities unto experiment, and by an exploration of all, prevent delusion in any.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of some Relations whose truth we fear.

LASTLY, as there are many relations whereto we cannot assent, and make some doubt thereof, so there are divers

cil at Nice; who sayes he saw the statue, but repeates the storye of the plant out of Africanus, who lived within the 200th yeare of Christ: and out of Tertullian, who lived within 120 yeares after this miracle was wrought upon the hæmorroidall that erected the statue. For though the plant lived not till his time, yet itt was as fresh in memorye in the church as when it first grewe.—*Wr.*

others whose verities we fear, and heartily wish there were no truth therein.

1. It is an insufferable affront unto filial piety, and a deep discouragement unto the expectation of all aged parents, who shall but read the story of that barbarous queen, who, after she had beheld her royal parent's ruin, lay yet in the arms of his assassin, and caroused with him in the skull of her father. For my part, I should have doubted the operation of antimony, where such a potion would not work; 'twas an act, methinks, beyond anthropophagy, and a cup fit to be served up only at the table of Atreus.[4]

[4] *barbarous queen, &c.*] If this relates to the story of Alboin, it is not correctly noticed. I give it from *Lardner's Cyclopædia.—Europe during the Middle Ages.*

"Few dynasties have been so unfortunate as that of the Lombards. Alboin, its founder, had not wielded the sceptre four years, when he became the victim of domestic treason: the manner is worth relating, as characteristic of the people. During his residence in Pannonia, this valiant chief had overcome and slain Cunimond, king of the Gepidæ, whose skull, in conformity with a barbarous custom of his nation, he had fashioned into a drinking cup. Though he had married Rosamond, daughter of Cunimond, in his festive entertainments he was by no means disposed to forego the triumph of displaying the trophy. In one held at Verona, he had the inhumanity to invite his consort to drink to her father, while he displayed the cup, and, for the first time, revealed its history in her presence. His vanity cost him dear: if she concealed her abhorrence, it settled into a deadly feeling. By the counsel of Helmich, a confidential officer of the court, she opened her heart to Peredeo, one of the bravest captains of the Lombards; and when she could not persuade him to assassinate his prince, she had recourse to an expedient, which proves, that in hatred as in love, woman knows no measure. Personating a mistress of Peredeo, she silently and in darkness stole to his bed; and when her purpose was gained, she threatened him with the vengeance of an injured husband, unless he consented to become a regicide. The option was soon made: accompanied by Helmich, Peredeo was led to the couch of the sleeping king, whose arms had been previously removed; and, after a short struggle, the deed of blood was consummated. The justice of heaven never slumbers: if Alboin was thus severely punished for his inhumanity, fate avenged him of his murderers. To escape the suspicious enmity of the Lombards, the queen and Helmich fled to Ravenna, which at this period depended on the Greek empire. There the exarch, coveting the treasures which she had brought from Verona, offered her his hand, on condition she removed her companion. Such a woman was not likely to hesitate. To gratify one passion she had planned a deed of blood—to gratify another, her ambition, she presented a poisoned cup to her lover,

2. While we laugh at the story of Pygmalion, and receive as a fable that he fell in love with a statue; we cannot but fear it may be true, what is delivered by Herodotus concerning the Egyptian pollinctors, or such as anointed the dead; that some thereof were found in the act of carnality with them. From wits that say 'tis more than incontinency for Hylas to sport with Hecuba, and youth to flame in the frozen embraces of age, we require a name for this: wherein Petronius or Martial cannot relieve us. The tyranny of Mezentius* did never equal the vitiosity of this incubus, that could embrace corruption, and make a mistress of the grave; that could not resist the dead provocations of beauty,[5] whose quick invitements scarce excuse submission. Surely, if such depravities there be yet alive, deformity need not despair; nor will the eldest hopes be ever superannuated, since death hath spurs, and carcasses have been courted.

3. I am heartily sorry, and wish it were not true, what to the dishonour of Christianity is affirmed of the Italian; who after he had inveigled his enemy to disclaim his faith for the redemption of his life, did presently poiniard him, to prevent repentance, and assure his eternal death. The villany of this Christian exceeded the persecution of heathens, whose malice was never so longimanous† as to reach the soul of their enemies, or to extend unto an exile of their elysiums. And though the blindness of some ferities have savaged on the bodies of the dead, and been so injurious unto worms, as to disinter the bodies of the deceased, yet had they therein no design upon the soul; and have been so far from the destruction of that, or desires of a perpetual death, that for the satisfaction of their revenge they wish them many souls, and were it in their power would have reduced them unto life again. It is a great depravity in our natures, and surely an affection that somewhat savoureth of hell, to desire the society, or comfort

* Who tied dead and living bodies together. † Long-handed.

in the bath. After drinking a portion, his suspicions were kindled, and he forced her, under the raised sword, to drink the rest. The same hour ended their guilt and lives. Peredeo, the third culprit, fled to Constantinople, where a fate no less tragical awaited him."

[5] *dead provocations of beauty.*] Provocations of dead beauty.—*Wr.*

ourselves in the fellowship of others that suffer with us; but to procure the miseries of others in those extremities, wherein we hold an hope to have no society ourselves, is methinks a strain above Lucifer, and a project beyond the primary seduction of hell.

4. I hope it is not true, and some indeed have probably denied, what is recorded of the monk that poisoned Henry the emperor, in a draught of the holy Eucharist. 'Twas a scandalous wound unto the Christian religion, and I hope all Pagans will forgive it, when they shall read that a Christian was poisoned in a cup of Christ, and received his bane in a draught of his salvation.[6] Had he believed transubstantiation, he would have doubted the effect; and surely the sin itself received an aggravation in that opinion. It much commendeth the innocency of our forefathers, and the simplicity of those times, whose laws could never dream so high a crime as parricide: whereas this at the least may seem to out-reach that fact, and to exceed the regular distinctions of murder. I will not say what sin it was to act it; yet may it seem a kind of martyrdom to suffer by it. For, although unknowingly, he died for Christ his sake, and lost his life in the ordained testimony of his death. Certainly had they known it, some noble zeals would scarcely have refused it; rather adventuring their own death, than refusing the memorial of his.[7]

Many other accounts like these we meet sometimes in history, scandalous unto Christianity, and even unto humanity; whose verities not only, but whose relations, honest minds do deprecate. For of sins heteroclital, and such as want either name or precedent, there is oft-times a sin even in their histories. We desire no records of such enor-

[6] *'Twas a scandalous wound, &c.*] It is said that Ganganelli, Pope Clement XIV. was thus despatched by the Jesuits. In the *Universal Magazine* for 1776, vol. v. p. 215, occurs an account of that poisoning of the sacramental wine at Zurich, by a grave-digger, by which a number of communicants lost their lives.

[7] *Than refusing, &c.*] Itt had been a very foolishe zeale, and little less than selfe murder to have taken that sacramentall, wherin they had knowne poyson to have been put. The rejection of that particular cup had not been any refusal of remembring his death. This therefore needs an index expurgatorius, and a deleatur, and soe wee have according canceld itt.—*Wr.*

mities; sins should be accounted new, that so they may be esteemed monstrous. They amit of monstrosity as they fall from their rarity; for men count it venial to err with their forefathers, and foolishly conceive they divide a sin in its society. The pens of men may sufficiently expatiate without these singularities of villany; for, as they increase the hatred of vice in some, so do they enlarge the theory of wickedness in all. And this is one thing that may make latter ages worse than were the former; for, the vicious examples of ages past poison the curiosity of these present, affording a hint[8] of sin unto seducible spirits, and soliciting those unto the imitation of them, whose heads were never so perversely principled as to invent them. In this kind we commend the wisdom and goodness of Galen, who would not leave unto the world too subtle a theory of poisons; unarming thereby the malice of venomous spirits, whose ignorance must be contented with sublimate and arsenic. For, surely there are subtler venerations, such as will invisibly destroy, and like the basilisks of heaven. In things of this nature silence commendeth history: 'tis the veniable part of things lost; wherein there must never rise a Pancirollus,* nor remain any register, but that of hell.

And yet, if, as some Stoicks opinion, and Seneca himself disputeth, these unruly affections that make us sin such prodigies, and even sins themselves be animals, there is a history of Africa and story of snakes in these. And if the transanimation of Pythagoras, or method thereof were true, that the souls of men transmigrated into species answering their former natures; some men must surely live over many serpents, and cannot escape that very brood, whose sire Satan entered. And though the objection of Plato should take place, that bodies subjected unto corruption must fail at last before the period of all things, and growing fewer in number must leave some souls apart unto

* Who writ *De antiquis deperditis*, or of inventions lost.

[8] *Affording, &c.*] Itt is noe doubte but that some casuists have much to answere for that sinn of curiosity, who by proposing some quæstions to the confitents teach them to knowe some sinns wherof they would never have thought.—*Wr.*

themselves, the spirits of many long before that time will find but naked habitations; and, meeting no assimilables wherein to re-act their natures, must certainly anticipate such natural desolations.

Primus sapientiæ gradus est, falsa intelligere.—LACTANT.

END OF PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA.

RELIGIO MEDICI.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

TO RELIGIO MEDICI.

When and where RELIGIO MEDICI was written—Surreptitiously printed in 1642—Two impressions of that edition in the same year—Authorized edition of 1643—*Observations by Sir K. Digby—Ross's Medicus Medicatus—Annotations on the obscure Passages*—Supposed author of the *Annotations*—Subsequent Editions of Religio Medici—Translations into Latin, Dutch, French, German, &c.—Present edition—Imitations and Works with a similar title.

So few particulars have been transmitted to us of the earlier years of Sir Thomas Browne's life, that it is not easy to determine precisely at what period he composed his Religio Medici, or where he resided at the time. Dr. Johnson seems to have supposed that it was written in London;—but internal evidence exists to disprove this. Dr. Watson, in his History of Halifax, mentions that "he was said to have fixed himself, as a physician, in his juvenile years, in the parish of Halifax, and to have written his Religio Medici, in 1630, at Shipden-Hall, near Halifax." This date, however, must be incorrect:—he did not receive his diploma till 1633, and can scarcely be said to have fixed himself in any place as a physician, three years before that event. Besides, the period named is otherwise disposed of in the accounts we have of his life;—for some time after he took his degree of master of arts (June, 1629), he is said to have resided in Oxfordshire, and thence to have proceeded on his travels, first in Ireland, with his father-in-law Sir Thomas Dutton, and afterwards on the continent, till 1633, when he received his degree of Doctor of physick at Leyden, just before his return. His residence near Halifax, then, must be supposed subsequent to his return; and, as it is clear from several passages in Religio Medici that it was written, also, after his travels, we may perhaps safely venture to assign the same period to both;—and conclude that he composed this celebrated treatise, in the seclusion of Shipden-Hall, as a relaxation in the intervals of his professional occupation in that neigh-

bourhood, between the years 1633 and 1635;—after his wanderings had terminated, and some time before his residence at Norwich commenced.

There seems no sufficient reason to question the sincerity of Browne's declaration, that this piece was composed for his private exercise and satisfaction, and not intended for publication. Some years had elapsed since its completion—and his attention very probably was already occupied in collecting materials for a larger undertaking—when the appearance, in 1642, of an anonymous and surreptitious edition of his first work, together with the notice it attracted from the Earl of Dorset and Sir Kenelm Digby, determined him to acknowledge and revise it for the press. Johnson, in his notice of this circumstance, seems to suspect the author (though he professes to acquit him) of having contrived the anonymous publication of the work, in order to try its success with the publick; observing (in allusion to the author's complaint that the "broken and imperfect copy" he had lent had suffered "by frequent transcription,") that "a long treatise, however, elegant, is not often copied by mere zeal or curiosity." No one, however, acquainted with Browne's character would hesitate to repel this insinuation:—it cannot for a moment be admitted that he was capable of using such means to obtain literary fame;—and certainly, if he had, he would not have risked his character on an edition so incorrect as to deserve immediate suppression. In reply to the alleged improbability of transcription, may be pleaded the fact, that there is ample proof of the work having been *repeatedly* transcribed *while in manuscript*:—two complete copies are in my own possession;—a third exists in the Bodleian, and part of a fourth in the British Museum:—*none of them transcripts of an existing edition.* One of these (*MS. W.*), though so nearly approaching the edition of 1642, as to lead to the belief that they had a common origin, is clearly not a copy from it: *MSS. W.* 2 and *R.* differ from it still more widely, but resemble each other sufficiently to be considered as the descendants of a second original manuscript: the other (*MS. L.*) is a fragment, but it is interesting, both as possessing a date three years earlier than the spurious edition (1639), and as containing some curious variations from every other manuscript and edition. I am, therefore, perfectly satisfied that Sir Thomas Browne had several originals written by his own hand, differing from each other. This opinion is confirmed,—by the information of those who knew him, "that it was his constant practice to make repeated copies of his compositions,"—as well as by an examination of his remaining manuscripts. There are, in his common-place books, many pages occupied by passages, which, with slight variations, occur in his printed works—espe-

cially in Hydriotaphia, Quincunx, and Christian Morals,—besides several of the Tracts entire, and of the Brampton Urns two copies, both differing from the printed copy. There is sufficient evidence too, that he was very willing to lend out his works, in manuscript; and some of his lesser pieces were even composed at the request of his friends and for their use. It is therefore easily to be supposed that one of those copies of Religio Medici, which he had lent, found its way "without his assent or privacy," to the press.

When the work had thus unexpectedly made its appearance, it must have struck the author that his name would in all probability be speedily connected with it:—at the same time, its reception (though under the disadvantage of gross inaccuracy) was so flattering, that he probably felt little hesitation in determining to anticipate discovery by avowal, and thus secure to himself the credit and advantage of the work, together with the power of giving it such revision as he wished. In doing this, it was undoubtedly his object, not only to correct the clerical and typographical errors with which the spurious edition abounded, but to modify or expunge certain passages not suited to the temper of the times, or which his more cautious feelings, or altered opinions, made him wish to suppress: he was desirous, also, of making such additions as might justify his having called the former copy "broken and imperfect." In short, he wished to supersede, and altogether to disown, that edition, and in all probability took care to remove every trace of its original;—for scarcely a fragment of the work remains amongst the Manuscripts he has left. But while the edition of 1643 is to be regarded as that which he intended for the public eye—I am persuaded, from comparing the alterations, additions, and omissions it exhibits, with the Manuscripts and surreptitious editions, that these not only have an *equal* claim to rank as his composition, but that they *alone* must be considered to exhibit the work *as originally composed* "for his own private exercise and satisfaction." In all the manuscript copies are to be found, without exception, those passages of the surreptitious edition which have been omitted in that of 1643, but not one of the numerous additions nor of the most important alterations it contains.—Now, as it has been shown that those manuscript copies most probably represent three distinct originals, their remarkable agreement with the surreptitious edition, where it differs from the genuine, strongly favours the opinion that the latter was not printed from an existing and more perfect manuscript, but from a copy then first prepared, for the express purpose of publication.—The former, in short, contains his private soliloquies, the latter his published opinions.

In the mean time, the surreptitious edition appears to have been rapidly sold, and a second impression of it was printed. Neither of these has a printed title-page, but both have an engraved frontispiece, by Marshall, representing a figure, which a hand from the clouds has caught by the arm, in the act of falling from a rock into the sea; the motto *à coelo salus* is engraved by the side of the figure, and *Religio Medici* below it; at the foot of the plate, *Printed for Andrew Crooke*, 1642. *Will. Marshall scu.* Both impressions are in very small octavo; the one has 190 pp., the other 159 pp.;—the latter has a larger page of type, but is much more accurately and better printed, and probably is the later of the two. These impressions are extremely rare, especially the former, of which my copy is the only one I have seen. In some of the following notes, it is mentioned as *Ed.* 1642, *W.*—the other, as *Ed.* 1642, *C.*

Whether the engraved frontispiece had any other origin than the fancy of Marshall the engraver, it is difficult to say, but it seems to have pleased Browne; for it appears at the head of his first, and has accompanied every subsequent, edition. The author's frontispiece however differs from the former, in not having *Religio Medici* in the middle of the design, nor the engraver's name; it has at foot the following words:—*A true and full copy of that which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously printed before under the name of Religio Medici. Printed for Andrew Crooke*, 1643.

In the same year appeared, *Observations upon Religio Medici, occasionally written by Sir Kenelome Digby, Knight;* printed in the same size, and containing 124 pages. A second edition came out in 1644; the third was published, in 1659, with the fifth edition of Religio Medici, to which work it has ever since been appended, though written with reference to the surreptitious edition.

In 1645, that remarkable personage, Alexander Ross, made an attack on both parties, in his *Medicus Medicatus: or the Physician's Religion cured, by a lenitive or gentle Potion: with some animadversions upon Sir Kenelme Digby's Observations on Religio Medici*, pp. 112, very small 8vo. Browne's too great lenity towards Papists, his too free use of "rhetorical phrase" in religious subjects, his apparent leaning to judicial astrology and other *heresies*, and the far too measured terms in which he questioned certain opinions which Ross roundly condemns,—form the general subject of his remarks; which, though often absurd, and sometimes ludicrous, are by no means devoid either of spirit or shrewdness,—though not remarkable, it must be confessed, for candour. In his animadversions on Sir Kenelm, which constitute a third of his book, he chiefly attacks the

metaphysicks of the knight and his Catholicism. Some curious proofs of Ross's belief in certain of the vulgar superstitions of his day will be found in the notes, at pp. 132 and 133. The work, however, was not called into a second edition; nor did it provoke any other reply from Dr. Browne, than a fresh edition of his Religio Medici, in that year, 1645; which differs from the first only in having the last figure of the date altered in the plate, and the correspondence with Digby placed before instead of after the work:—it has 188 pages. It is the second authorized edition, but should rather be considered the Fourth edition.

Among the editions of Religio Medici enumerated by Dr. Watt, in his invaluable work, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, is one dated 1648; but I have never been able to meet with it, and am inclined to believe that the work was not reprinted till 1656, when the "fourth" edition came out. This is the first with a printed title-page in addition to the frontispiece, which is retouched, and has the words "*Fourth Edition*" added. But it was only the *Third* of the authorized editions, unless there was one between 1645 and 1656; if there was not, the surreptitious editions must have been included, but reckoned as one. In the present enumeration it is called

The Fifth Edition; is in very small 8vo., and the title-page as follows:—*Religio Medici. The Fourth Edition, corrected and amended, with Annotations, never before published, upon all the obscure passages therein. London,* 1656: after 16 pp. of Prefaces, &c., and 174 pp. of the work, follows another title-page:—*Annotations upon Religio Medici, &c.* then, 175—184, *The Annotator to the Reader:* and the *Annotations,* pp. 185—208.

There seems good reason to suppose that the *Annotations* were written by a Mr. Thomas Keck of the Temple. In the Bodleian there is a copy of the Edition of 1643, which has his name on the cover, together with this memorandum, "*MS. Notes by Mr. Keck of the Temple.*" Brief marginal remarks are scattered through the volume, at many of those passages on which there are "Annotations," and the same authorities are referred to. There is also in this volume a very neat manuscript title, thus:—*Religio Medici. The Second Edition, corrected and amended, with Annotations never before published upon all the obscure passages therein, by T. K. London: Printed for A. Crooke,* 1654: this agrees exactly, except the initials, with the title actually printed. He probably wrote his *Annotations* in the year 1644, using this very copy; for he says in the preface (which bears the same date as the manuscript title), "that these notes were collected ten years ago." There is also still further coincidence: Mr. Keck was a lawyer; and the

annotator, speaking of his profession, says, "I declare myself that I am *causarum actor mediocris*." So that, on the whole, there seems sufficient evidence to leave little reason for hesitation in announcing him as the author of the *Annotations*.

The Sixth Edition is the first that was published in conjunction with the other works. It accompanied the Third Edition of Pseudodoxia Epidemica, fol. 1659, and is printed in double columns. It contains neither the Annotations, nor Digby's Observations, nor the correspondence respecting them. It is called in the title-page, *The Last Edition, corrected and enlarged by the Author: Printed for the good of the Commonwealth:* and contains 34 pp. with title and preface.

The Seventh Edition. *Religio Medici. The Fifth Edition, corrected and amended. With Annotations, &c. Also Observations by Sir Kenelm Digby, now newly added. London, Printed by Thomas Milbourn for Andrew Crook, at the Green Dragon in Pauls Church-yard,* 1659;—small 8vo. This edition has a newly engraved frontispiece, date 1660.

The Eighth Edition is dated 1669, and is called the *Sixth*. But I have never been fortunate enough to obtain a copy, nor any other description of it than the following brief note in the handwriting of its proprietor, since dead:—*Religio Medici—6th Edit.* 1669. It is in small 8vo.

The Ninth Edition is with *Pseudodoxia Epidemica, &c. the Sixth and last Edition,* 4to. 1672; and is called *The Seventh Edition.*

The Tenth Edition. *Religio Medici. The Seventh Edition, corrected and amended. With Annotations, &c. Also Observations, &c. London,* 1678, small 8vo.

The Eleventh Edition is precisely a reprint of the Tenth—except that it is called *The Eighth Edition,* and dated 1682. My copy wants the frontispiece. This was probably the last edition published during the author's life. He died towards the close of the same year.

The Twelfth Edition forms part of the collective edition of the Works, edited by Archbishop Tenison, fol. 1686. It is singular that he should have taken so little pains to ascertain how many editions had actually appeared, as to allow this to be called *The Eighth Edition.* It is dated 1685.

The Thirteenth Edition is called *A New Edition, corrected and amended, with Notes and Annotations, never before published, upon all the obscure passages therein. To which is added, The Life of the Author. Also Sir Kenelm Digby's Observations, London,* 1736. 12mo. It has a newly engraved and much larger frontispiece. This is the first edition with a *Table of Contents.* A new title-page was in 1738 attached to the unsold copies of

this edition, in which it is called the *Eleventh Edition.* This title-page has a table of contents in double column.

The Fourteenth Edition was published in the same year as the preceding, 1736, in 8vo., but without notes. I have never seen it.

The foreign editions may next be mentioned.—The edition of 1643 was translated into Latin by John Merryweather, and printed at Leyden, in 1644, by Hackius, who published a second edition of it in 1650:—the former I have never seen; the latter is a very neatly printed volume, in very small 12mo. 240 pp. with engraved title only, representing the same figure as the English editions, and at foot, *Lugd. Batavorum, apud Fran. Hackium. Ao.* 1650:—the last two figures altered. The translator visited Norwich for the purpose of seeing the author, and presenting him a copy of this second edition,—as will be seen by a reference to his life.

This translation was reprinted, at Paris, with only the usual frontispiece-title, *Religio Medici. Juxta Exempl. Lug. Batavorum,* 1644:—same size,—178 pp.—In this reprint, the author's and translator's prefaces are omitted, and one substituted, in which great anxiety is shown, not only to vindicate the author from the charges of impiety, scepticism, and even atheism, with which he had been assailed, but to prove, from several passages of his work, that he did not even deserve the character of a *heretic:*—that he was a member of the Church of England from dire necessity alone, but in heart a *Roman Catholic:*—"*ad sectam Anglicanam per vim malignam nativitatis aut fortunæ præter voluntatem advectum.*" It is remarkable that the French verses, in § IV. Part 2, are omitted, and a blank is left in the middle of the page.—Our copy of this rare little volume has been "*Ex libris Monast. Juliani Turonens.*" But, notwithstanding the arguments of the preface, we find the fatal epithet "*hæreticus,*" written at the foot of the engraved title.

In 1652 appeared, at Strasburg, an edition of Merryweather's translation, in small 8vo., 494 pp., in which the text is absolutely buried beneath a mass of Latin notes, by a German named Levinus Nicolas Moltkenius (Levin Nicol von Moltke). In this edition the Parisian preface is inserted, in order to show that, even by Roman Catholics, the author was acquitted of those gross errors of opinion with which some had charged him. The author rejoices that he was not "*Puritanismo addictus, aut turpitudine independentium errorum fœdatus:*" and excuses his various speculations, on account of the modesty with which he advances them. The edition was reprinted in 1665 and 1677.

In 1665 a Dutch translation was printed at Leyden, in very

small 12mo., containing 365 pages, and 14 of title, preface, &c. It has a spirited copy of the usual cut. This translation, together with its notes, was translated into French, and published in 1668, in same size, without name of place. M. du Petit Thouars, in the Biographie Universelle, attributes the French version to Nicholas Lefebvre, and says it was printed at La Haye. Who was the Dutch translator may be questioned. Several continental bibliographers call him Johan Gründahl; but there occurs a note, evidently by the translator, signed J. R. In his preface he mentions having met Sir Thomas Browne at Vorburg, at the house of a friend, and having then been recommended by the author to read his work. Of this visit to the continent, which must have taken place during his residence at Norwich, we have no other intimation than is conveyed in this slight notice. The preface also promises a second and enlarged edition comprising Digby's Observations, which accordingly made its appearance at Leyden in 1683, with additional notes, and in the same size, but containing above 500 pages.

In 1746 a German translation of the Religio Medici, with a Life of the Author, was printed at Prenzlau. This may probably be that attributed, by Jöcher, to George Veuztky.

An Italian translation is said to exist, but I have not been able to ascertain the fact.

Besides these separate translations of Religio Medici, it must be supposed to have been included in a Dutch edition of his Works, translated by John Grundal (Gründahl), at Amsterdam, 1668—and in a German edition of them, by Christian Knorr, Baron of Rosenroth (calling himself Christian Peganius), in 4*to*. Leips. 1680, which are announced by some bibliographers, but neither of which I have succeeded in obtaining.

It now only remains to sketch the plan on which the present has been edited. The text is that of 1643, compared, and in some instances corrected, by others, especially Abp. Tenison's: occasionally a reading has been adopted from one of the MSS., but always inclosed in brackets and explained in a note. The few side-notes which occur in the original, are placed at the foot of the page, in long lines: together with here and there one from the margin of the manuscripts. The variations between the manuscripts and the editions of 1642 and 1643 are given. The notes consist of a selection from those of former editors, some of my own, and a few supplied by the kindness of friends: to each is added an indication of its proper author.

As the Observations by Sir Kenelm Digby have accompanied all the former editions of the work, since 1659, they are added, with the correspondence respecting them. The reply of the author to Dr. Browne has been collated with an original in the

Bodleian, and some variations noticed. A valuable correspondent, James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester, has pointed out to me that Morhof translated Digby's Observations into Latin, and illustrated them with notes: but never published them.

The continental celebrity of this work was greatly promoted by Merryweather's Latin translation of it. The foreign literati almost immediately began their remarks upon it. Guy Patin is one of the earliest: in a letter dated Paris, April 7th, 1645, he thus gives his opinion of it:—"Parlons d'autre chose. On fait icy grand état du livre intitulé *Religio Medici*. Cet Auteur a de l'esprit. Il y a de gentilles choses dans ce livre. C'est un mélancolique agréable en ses pensées; mais qui à mon jugement cherche maître en fait de religion, comme beaucoup d'autres, et peut-être qu'enfin il n'en trouvera aucun. Il faut dire de luy ce que Philippe de Comines a dit du fondateur des Minimes, l'Hermite de Calabre, François de Paule, *Il est encore en vie, il peut aussi bien empirer qu'amander*. La plûpart des livres que vous m'indiqués de la foire de Francfort ne sont pas nouveaux. J'en ay plusieurs chez moi."[1]

Several of the German critics most unceremoniously (and with about as much sagacity as candour) pronounced the author an athe ist. Yet are there not wanting German authorities of an opposite opinion: "Herman Conringius was wont to say, that he always read *Religio Medici* with fresh delight; and in respect to that imputation of atheism, or indifferency in religion, which had been circulated with such industry by certain supercilious critics, he exclaims: 'Utinam nemo Medicorum, imo Theologorum, illo homine sit minus religiosus!' "—*Conringiana*, p. 10. Frederick Heister, son of the celebrated Laurentius Heister, thought himself obliged, on Buddeus's publishing his Theses, to vindicate the physicians in general, and our author in particular, from the injurious aspersions cast upon them in that work.[3]

It is not wonderful to find, that at Rome *Religio Medici* was placed in the *Index Expurgatorius*, as a prohibited book;—for certainly it is the work of a protestant, though of one remarkable for his charity towards others, whether papist or puritan:—

[1] *Lettres de Guy Patin*, 12mo. Frankf. 1683, p. 12. See also Bayle, *Œuvres Diverses*, 3 vols. fol., vol. i. p. 25:—Father Nicéron, *Memoires, &c.*, tom. xxxiii. p. 353:—*Acta Eruditorum, Sup.* vol. i. *Leips.* 1692.

[2] See, for example, Reimmanni *Hist. Atheismi*, p. 446, 448.—Tobias Wagner, *Exam. Elenchtic. Atheismi Speculativi*, c. v. p. 11.—Muller, *Examen Atheismi*, c. vi. § 34. Reiser, in *Dissertatione de Atheismo*, p. 35. Johan. Franc. Buddeus, *Theses de Atheismo et Superstitione*, p. 136, or, *Traité de l'Athéisme*, &c. 8vo. *Amst.* 1740, p. 88.

[3] See his *Apologia pro Medicis*: § 19. *Amstel.* 1736, 8vo.

but it does indeed excite contempt as well as indignation, to know that a work whose "every page displays the fervour of his piety, and the docility of his belief," should have induced any man to rank its author among infidels and atheists. Let it pass however; the present object is to edit the work, not to offer either eulogy or criticism; those, who do not perceive that it contains its own vindication, are referred to the eloquent and conclusive observations of his great admirer and biographer, Dr. Johnson.

To some readers it may not be unacceptable to notice such works, as have appeared similar in title to *Religio Medici*, and in some instances avowedly imitations of it. This preface shall therefore conclude with the following list of them.

The first to be noticed is Lord Herbert's treatise,

De Religione Laici, first published in 1645, at London, with the third edition of his *De Veritate*.—It was intended to show, that the people can never attain to any satisfaction, as to the truth and certainty of any particular religion, and had better therefore be content with that which his lordship had marked out for them, in his last-mentioned work. His

De Religione Gentilium was published after his death, in 1663, 4to. It was written to prove that his five leading principles of Natural Religion were inscribed by the Almighty, as common notices on the minds of all men, and had been acknowledged universally in all nations, ages, and religions. It was reprinted several times, and published in English, in 1705.

Religio Jurisconsulti: London, 1649. — This curious little book is No. 453 of the 12mo. Tracts, in the Royal Collection of Pamphlets in the Museum, in volume 252. The day of its publication is marked as usual by the collector's hand, "Nou.° 9" on the title-page. A 2 contains his address "To the Readers." A 3 a curious dedication, and summary of subjects, together with some Latin mottoes. The work then follows in 69 pages, with "Sic cogitavit *J. Botrie*" subscribed, and half a page of "Errata." *W. H. B.*

Medici Catholicon, London, 1657, 12mo.—A curious little Book, written evidently in imitation of Browne. *J. C.*

Religio Philosophi Peripatetici discutienda, authore P. F. Francisco Davenporto, vulgo, a Sancta Clara. Duaci, Anno 1662, 8vo. 162 pp. beside Indexes.—This tract was written on occasion of a miracle performed by the Virgin Mary in the year 1640. A man's leg had been amputated, and his friends, as well as himself, were one morning exceedingly surprised to find it had

been restored to him, and that he had two legs instead of one. The book is written to show, that this could not have happened by natural means, and that neither astrology, nor chemistry, nor melancholy, nor witchcraft, nor imagination, nor the Devil himself, could do such a thing as this:—*ergo, concluditur esse miraculum.* It is a curious book, full of digressions, and odd stories. *J. C.*—The author, Christopher Davenport, *alias* Francis a S. Clara, *alias* Francis Hunt, *alias* Francis of Coventry (for by all these names he was known), was descended from an ancient Cheshire family, and born at Coventry, at the close of the 16th century. After spending some time at Merton College, Oxford, he passed into the communion of the Church of Rome, and entered the order of the Franciscans at Ypres. Afterwards he returned to England, as a Missionary, and was made one of the Chaplains of Henrietta the Queen of Charles the First. During the protectorate, M. de S. Clara absconded; but returned after the restoration, and became theologist to Catherina of Portugal, consort of Charles the Second. The greater part of his works were printed at his own expense, in 2 vols. fol. at Doway, an. 1665.

The Religion of a Physician: or, Divine Meditations on the Grand and Lesser Festivals, by Edmund Gayton, or De Speciosa Villa. Lond. 1663. 4to. *Watt.*

Religio Stoici, with a friendly addresse to the Phanaticks of all Sects and Sorts. Edenburgh, 1665, very small 8vo. pp. 144, and 24 of prefaces, &c.—This quaint, but spirited little work, was written by Sir George Mackenzie. It was afterwards reprinted amongst his Essays on several Moral Subjects. Its object may best be described in the author's own words. See p. 141. "My design, all alongst this Discourse, butts at this one principle, *that Speculations in Religion are not so necessary, and are more dangerous than sincere practice.* It is in Religion as in Heraldry, the simpler the bearing be, it is so much the purer and the ancienter." It was also published in London under the following title:

"*The Religious Stoic*; or, a Short Discourse on Atheism, Superstition, the World's Creation, Eternity, Providence, &c.&c. by Sir G. M. Lond. 1685."

Religio Clerici, 1681, 12mo. pp. 231, with a frontispiece, by Van Hove, of Christ saving Peter from drowning.—The intent of this work, which is written by a Clergyman, is to defend the established religion against the Romanists and Schismatics—to show "that we never shall have peaceable days, as long as bulkers and coblers are preachers, and couranters." *J. M.*

Religio Laici; or, A Layman's Faith. An Epistle, by John Dryden, 8vo. Lond. 1682.—A second edition was published, in 1683, which is very rare. In the same year appeared

Religio Laici, by Charles Blount, Esq., son of Sir Henry Blount of Staffordshire.—He has inscribed it to his "much-honoured friend, John Dryden, Esquire," to whom he says, in the Epistle-dedicatory, "I have endeavoured that my discourse should be only a continuance of yours; and that, as you taught men how to believe, so I might instruct them how to live." Leland, however, says that this work is "little more than a translation of Lord Herbert's treatise of the same name. The additions and improvements he has made are so few, and of such small moment, as not to deserve a distinct consideration." Dryden's change of faith, after his publication of *Religio Laici*, called forth an attack in the following pamphlet, in which his title is turned against him.

Religio Laici, or a Layman's Faith touching the supreme and infallible guide of the church, by J. R., a convert of Mr. Bayes. In two letters to a friend in the country. Licensed June 1, 1688.—It is said to be replete with the grossest insolence, brutality, and ignorance.

Religio Jurisprudentis: Or the Lawyer's Advice to his Son. In Counsels, Essays, and other Miscellanies. Calculated chiefly to prevent the miscarriages of youth, and for the orthodox establishment of their morals in years of maturity. Per Philanthropum. Lond. 1685. *W. H. B.*—This is an anonymous treatise, but has a portrait of the author, with his coat of arms, which are those of the Hildesley family. The author was, as I have been told, Mark Hildesley, mentioned in an epitaph which is to be found in Butler's Life of Bishop Hildesley. *T. R.*

Religio Militis: or The Moral Duty of a Soldier, showing how he ought to behave himself towards God, his King, and country. London, 1690. *W. H. B.*—This seems to have been republished in 1695, 4to., and is said by my friend Mr. Crossley to have been written by Morgan.

The Layman's Religion: humbly offered as a Help to a Modest Enquiry for every Man into his own Heart; both as being the only means to judge and save himself, and the best way to unite us all against our Common Enemies. The Second Edition, London, 1690.—38 pp. in small 4to. *W. H. B.*

The Second Part of the Layman's Religion: as an Appendix to the First. The Second Edition, London, 1690.—"To the Reader," 2 pp. and 15 pp. besides, small 4to. *W. H. B.*

Religio Bibliopolæ, by Benjamin Bridgewater, Gent., 1694, 12mo.—Of Mr. Benjamin Bridgewater, who was one of Dunton's hacks, Dunton thus speaketh in that strange rhapsody, his *Life and Errors*, p. 177. "He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, and M.A. His genius was very rich, and ran much upon poetry,

in which he excelled. He was in part author of Religio Bibliopolæ. But alas! wine and love were the ruin of this ingenious gentleman." Dunton, in 1704, enlarged and published the work under the following title:

Religio Bibliopolæ: The New Practice of Piety, writ in imitation of Dr. Browne's Religio Medici; or the Christian Virtuoso, discovering the right way to Heaven between all Extreams. To which is added, a Satyr on the House of Lords, for their throwing out the Bill against occasional Conformity, 1704, 12mo. 70 pp., besides Dedication and Preface.—There are several additions;—a long rambling Dedication, and a preface and introduction and conclusion, all evidently by Dunton, and which are none of them in the former, nor in the reprints of it, in 1728 and 1750, 8vo. The Dedication is to Mr. Locke, author of the Essay upon Human Understanding. The oddest part of the story, about this book, is, that it is nothing else but an entire piece of patchwork from the beginning to the end. In a copy of mine, I once took the pains of restoring by references one half of the book to its proper owners. Whether it was the ingenious Mr. Benjamin Bridgewater, or the ingenious Mr. John Dunton, who was guilty of these literary larcenies, I know not, but certainly a more extraordinary and flagrant case I never in the course of my reading met with. Glanville is the plaintiff in several instances, so is Howell, and Norris, and Boyle. *J. C.*—Another edition appeared in 1705, 12mo. with a portrait of Dunton prefixed. And in 1728, a reprint in 8vo. of the former work, first published in 1694, 12mo.—its title runs thus:—"*Religio Bibliopolæ:* or the Religion of a Bookseller: which is likewise not improper to be perused by those of any other calling or profession. Lond. 1728," 8vo. 111 pp. besides 8 pp. of title, preface, &c. This was again reprinted in 1750.

Evangelium Medici, a Bernardo Conner, Lond. 1697, 8vo.—A work of very curious speculation; though not properly an imitation of Religio Medici. The most extraordinary part is that in which he considers the resurrection, and how it is to be accomplished; he goes through the different parts of the body, and decides which will and which will not find a place in our bodies when glorified. He has gone more minutely into this than Henry More, or Burnet of the Charter-House. *J. C.*

The Religion of a Prince; showing that the precepts of the Holy Scriptures are the best Maxims of Government, by William Nichols, D.D. *London*, 1704, 8vo.—Against Machiavel, Hobbes, &c. *Watt.*

A Gentleman's Religion: in Three Parts.—The first contains the Principles of Natural Religion. The second and third the Doctrines of Christianity, both as to Faith and Practice.

With an Appendix, wherein it is proved, that nothing contrary to our reason can possibly be the object of our belief: but that it is no just exception against some of the doctrines of Christianity, that they are above our reason. The Fourth Edition. London, 1710, pp. 301.—Communicated by an ingenious and reverend friend, who adds, "This is a volume of small pieces, constituting the 5th volume of Archbishop Synge's Works, small 8vo." *W. H. B.*—The first edition was published, anonymously, at London, 1698, and the last edition at the Clarendon press, Oxford, in 1800, with the name of the author, "The most reverend Edward Synge, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam."

Religio Libertini, 8vo. 1715.—By Berridge. *J. C.*

The Religion of the Wits at Button's refuted, &c. In a dialogue between a Politician and a Divine. Lond. 1716, small 8vo. 72 pp. An attack on some of the infidel Wits of the day.

Lady's Religion: in two parts, London, 1748, 8vo. *Watt.*—The same, in 12mo. without date. *T. R.*

Religio Philosophi: or, the Principles of Morality and Christianity illustrated from a View of the Universe, and of Man's Situation in it. By William Hay, Esq. The Fourth Edition, London: 1771.—232 pp. besides the first half sheet. Of this excellent work, the author says, in a short preface, that "his great end is, by rectifying men's ideas, and by removing vulgar prejudices, to fix religion on a firm basis." In the elegant edition of his Works (2 vol. 4to. 1794), this Essay occupies pp. 171—300 of the 1st vol. I find that the first edition was in 1753; the second in 1754; and the third may have been that mentioned by Watt, in 1760. I know not whether the reprint in his Works was the last or not. *W. H. B.*

Religio Laici: Second Edition, Lond. 1768, 8vo. 98 pp.—No author's name, but written by Stephen Tempest, Esq., of Bracewell in Craven, Yorkshire. The very sensible tract of a very sensible country gentleman. Vid. Whittaker's History of Craven, p. 88, who praises it, but not more than it deserves. *J. C.*—It obtained a new title-page in 1772, calling it, "Third edition."

Fragmentum Isaaci Hawkins Browne, Arm. Sive anti-Bolingbrokius; Liber primus, translated for a *Second Religio Medici*, by Sir Wm. Browne, late President, now father of the College of Physicians, and F. R. S., 1768, 4to. Fragmentum Isaaci Browne completum, 1769, 4to.—*Hutchinson's Biographia Medica*, 1799, vol. i. p. 163. *E. H. B.*

The Religion of a Lawyer, a Crazy Tale (in Four Cantos); analytical of the Kentish Story of Brookland Steeple. London, 1786, 8vo. 30 pp.—This poem is indeed—"a crazy tale."

Religio Clerici, a Churchman's Epistle.—The Second Edition,

corrected. London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1818.—On the title-page of the Museum copy is written with pencil, "by the Revd. E. Smedley." The work is a poem in reply to the question, "Why are you a Church of England Christian?" 35 pp.

A Churchman's Second Epistle. By the Author of Religio Clerici. With Notes and Illustrations. London, 1819, 85 pp.—A curious work, in which there seems to be some good strokes of satire amongst the bigotry. *W. H. B.*—"In the latter part," the author says, "he has thought it his duty to express firmly though he hopes not uncharitably, his opinion of the perils to which the Established Church is exposed by the rapid progress of modern Puritanism." A characteristick specimen of this gentleman's *religion*, as well as of his *charity*, is afforded by the concluding lines of his poem, where he desires to have it recorded in his epitaph, that

> "He loved established modes of serving God,
> Preached from a pulpit rather than a tub,
> And gave no guinea to a Bible Club!"

Religio Christiani; a Churchman's Answer to Religio Clerici, 1818, 8vo.

Religio Militis; or Christianity for the Camp.—Lond. 1827, 18mo. pp. 151.

The Religion of a Church of England-Man, 12mo. *T. R.*—This brief notice was furnished, I believe from memory, by Mr. Rodd, of Newport-Street, and was without date.

S. W.

Norwich, Oct. 30, 1829.

THE ANNOTATOR[1] TO THE READER.

A. Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* l. xx. cap. ult.) notes some books that had strange titles; Pliny (*Præfat. Nat. Hist.*) speaking of some such, could not pass them over without a jeer; so strange (saith he) are the titles of some books, *Ut multos ad vadimonium deferendum compellant.* And Seneca saith, some such there are, *Qui patri obstetricem parturienti filiæ accersenti moram injicere possint.* Of the same fate this present tract Religio Medici hath partaken: exception by some hath been taken to it in respect of its inscription, which, say they, seems to imply, that physicians have a religion by themselves, which is more than theology doth warrant: but it is their inference, and not the title that is to blame; for no more is meant by that, or endeavoured to be proved in the book, than that (contrary to the opinion of the unlearned) physicians have religion as well as other men.

For the work itself, the present age hath produced none that hath had better reception amongst the learned; it hath been received and fostered by almost all, there having been but one that I know of (to verify that books have their fate from the capacity of the reader) that hath had the face to appear against it; that is Mr. Alexander Rosse;[2] but he is dead, and it is uncomely to skirmish with his shadow. It shall be sufficient to remember to the reader, that the noble and most learned knight, Sir Kenelm Digby, has delivered his opinion of it in another sort, who though in some things he differ from the author's sense, yet hath he most candidly and ingenuously allowed it to be a "very learned and

[1] Though a selection only of Mr. Keck's notes has been given in the present edition, yet it has been thought right to preserve his preface, which has been referred to in the course of the foregoing introductory observations.—*Ed.*

[2] In his *Medicus Medicatus.*

excellent piece;" and I think no scholar will say there can be an approbation more authentick. Since the time he published his observations upon it, one Mr. Jo. Merryweather, a Master of Arts of the University of Cambridge, hath deemed it worthy to be put into the universal language, which about the year 1644 he performed; and that hath carried the author's name not only into the Low Countries and France (in both which places the book in Latin hath since been printed), but into Italy and Germany, and in Germany it hath since fallen into the hands of a gentleman of that nation[3] (of his name he hath given us no more than L. N. M. E. N.) who hath written learned Annotations upon it in Latin, which were printed together with the book, at Strasbourg, 1652. And, for the general good opinion the world had entertained both of the work and author, this stranger tells you:[4] "Inter alios auctores incidi in librum cui titulus Religio Medici, jam ante mihi innotuerat lectionem istius libri multos præclaros viros delectasse, imo occupasse. Non ignorabam librum in Anglia, Gallia, Italia, Belgio, Germania, cupidissime legi; constabat mihi eum non solum in Anglia, Batavia, sed et Parisiis cum præfatione, in qua auctor magnis laudibus fertur, esse typis mandatum. Compertum mihi erat multos magnos atque eruditos viros censere auctorem (quantum ex hoc scripto perspici potest) sanctitate vitæ ac pietate elucere, &c." But for the worth of the book it is so well known to every Englishman that is fit to read it, that this attestation of a foreigner may seem superfluous.

The German, to do him right, hath in his annotations given a fair specimen of his learning, showing his skill in the languages, as well ancient as modern; as also his acquaintance with all manner of authors, both sacred and profane, out of which he hath amassed a world of quotations: but yet, not to mention that he hath not observed some errors of the press, and one or two main ones of the Latin translation, whereby the author is much injured; it cannot be denied but he hath passed over many hard places untouched, that might deserve a note; that he hath made annotations on

[3] That he was a German appears by his notes, page 35, where he useth these words, *Dulcissima nostra Germania, &c.*

[4] In *Præfat. Annotat.*

some, where no need was; in the explication of others hath gone besides the true sense.

And were he free from all these, yet one great fault there is he may be justly charged with, that is, that he cannot *manum de tabula* even in matters the most obvious: which is an affectation ill-becoming a scholar; witness the most learned annotator, "Claud. Minos. Divion. in præfat. commentar. Alciat. Emblemat. præfix. præstat (saith he) brevius omnia persequi, et leviter attingere quæ nemini esse ignota suspicari possint, quam quasi ῥαψῳδεῖν, perque locos communes identidem expatiari."

I go not about, by finding fault with his, obliquely to commend my own; I am as far from that, as 'tis possible others will be: all I seek by this preface, next to acquainting the reader with the various entertainment of the book, is, that he would be advertised, that these notes were collected ten years since,[5] long before the German's were written; so that I am no plagiary (as who peruseth his notes and mine will easily perceive), and in the second place, that I made this recueil merely for mine own entertainment, and not with any intention to evulge it; truth is my witness, the publication proceeds merely from the importunity of the bookseller (my special friend), who, being acquainted with what I had done, and about to set out another edition of the book, would not be denied these notes to attex to it; 'tis he (not I) that divulgeth it, and whatever the success be, he alone is concerned in it: I only say for myself what my annotations bear in the frontispiece.

Nec satis est vulgasse fidem——

that is, that it was not enough to all persons (though pretenders to learning) that our physician had published his creed, because he wanted an exposition. I say further, that the German's is not full; and that (——*quicquid sum ego quamvis infra Lucilli censum ingeniumq;*——) my explications do in many things illustrate the text of my author.

24 *Martii*, 1654.

---

[5] Excepting two or three particulars, in which reference is made to some books that came over since that time.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN DR. BROWNE AND SIR KENELM DIGBY.

A Letter sent upon the information of animadversions to come forth, upon the imperfect and surreptitious copy of Religio Medici, whilst this true one was going to press.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Give your servant, who hath ever honoured you, leave to take notice of a book at present in the press, intituled (as I am informed) Animadversions upon a Treatise lately printed under the name of "Religio Medici;" hereof, I am advertised, you have descended to be the author. Worthy Sir, permit your servant to affirm there is contained therein nothing that can deserve the reason of your contradictions, much less the candour of your animadversions; and to certify the truth thereof, that book (whereof I do acknowledge myself the author) was penned many years past, and (what cannot escape your apprehension) with no intention for the press, or the least desire to oblige the faith of any man to its assertions. But what hath more especially emboldened my pen unto you at present is, that the same piece, contrived in my private study, and as an exercise unto myself, rather than exercitation for any other, having past from my hand under a broken and imperfect copy, by frequent transcription it still run forward into corruption, and after the addition of some things, omission of others, and transposition of many, without my assent or privacy the liberty of these times committed it unto the press; whence it issued so disguised, the author without distinction could

not acknowledge it. Having thus miscarried, within a few weeks I shall, God willing, deliver unto the press the true and intended original (whereof in the mean time your worthy self may command a view), otherwise whenever that copy shall be extant, it will most clearly appear how far the text hath been mistaken, and all observations, glosses, or exercitations thereon, will in a great part impugn the printer or transcriber, rather than the author. If, after that, you shall esteem it worth your vacant hours to discourse thereon, you shall but take that liberty which I assume myself, that is, freely to abound in your sense, as I have done in my own. However ye shall determine, you shall sufficiently honour me in the vouchsafe of your refute, and I oblige the whole world in the occasion of your pen.

Your Servant,

Norwich, March 3, 1642. T. B.

Worthy Sir,—Speedily upon the receipt of your letter of the third current, I sent to find out the printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing something under my name, concerning your treatise of Religio Medici, and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my servant could not meet with him; whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a note to that purpose, entreating him to deliver it to the printer. I verily believe there is some mistake in the information given you, and that what is printing must be from some other pen than mine; for such reflexions as I made upon your learned and ingenious discourse, are so far from meriting the press, as they can tempt no body to a serious reading of them; they were notes hastily set down, as I suddenly ran over your excellent piece, which is of so weighty subjects, and so strongly penned, as requireth much time, and sharp attention, but to comprehend it; whereas what I writ was the employment but of one sitting; and there was not twenty-four hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorset's letter that occasioned what I said, and the finishing my answer to him; and yet part of that time was taken up in procuring your book, which he desired me to read, and give him an account

of; for till then I was so unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy discourse. If that letter ever come to your view, you will see the high value I set upon your great parts: and if it should be thought I have been something too bold in differing from your sense, I hope I shall easily obtain pardon, when it shall be considered, that his lordship assigned it me as an exercitation to oppose in it, for entertainment, such passages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took is to be attributed to the security of a private letter, and to my not knowing (nor my lord's) the person whom it concerned.

But, sir, now that I am so happy as to have that knowledge, I dare assure you, that nothing shall ever issue from me, but savouring of all honour, esteem, and reverence, both to yourself, and that worthy production of yours. If I had the vanity to give myself reputation by entering the lists, in publick, with so eminent and learned a man as you are, yet I know right well I am no ways able to do it; it would be a very unequal congress: I pretend not to learning: those slender notions I have are but disjointed pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there: to encounter such a sinewy opposite, or make animadversions upon so smart a piece as yours is, requireth a solid stock and exercise in school learning. My superficial besprinkling will serve only for a private letter, or a familiar discourse with lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true copy of that book, whose false and stolen one hath already given me so much delight. And so, assuring you I shall deem it a great good fortune to deserve your favour and friendship, I kiss your hand, and rest,

Your most humble Servant,

KENELM DIGBY.

Winchester-House,
March 20, 1642.

"*Religio Medici* was more accurately published, with an admonition prefixed '*to those who have or shall peruse the observations upon a former corrupt copy;*' in which there is a severe censure, not upon DIGBY, who was to be used with ceremony, but upon the Observator who had usurped his name; nor was this invective written by DR. BROWNE, who was supposed to be satisfied with his opponent's apology; but by some officious friend zealous for his honour, without his consent."—*Dr. Johnson's Life of Sir T. Browne.*

To such as have, or shall peruse the Observations upon a former corrupt copy of this book.

THERE are some men that Politian speaks of, *Cui quam recta manus, tam fuit et facilis:* and it seems the author to the Observations upon this book would arrogate as much to himself, for they were, by his own confession, but the conceptions of one night; a hasty birth; and so it proves: for what is really controllable he generally omitteth, and what is false upon the errour of the copy, he doth not always take notice of; and wherein he would contradict, he mistaketh, or traduceth the intention, and (besides a parenthesis sometimes upon the author) only meddleth with those points from whence he takes an hint to deliver his prepared conceptions. But the gross of his book is made out by discourses collateral, and digressions of his own, not at all emergent from this discourse; which is easily perceptible unto the intelligent reader. Thus much I thought good to let thee understand without the author's knowledge, who, slighting the refute, hath inforcedly published (as a sufficient confutation) his own book; and in this I shall not make so bold with him, at the observator hath done with that noble knight, whose name he hath wrongfully prefixed, as I am informed, to slight animadversions: but I leave him to repentance, and thee to thy satisfaction. Farewell.

Yours, A. B.

TO THE READER.

Certainly that man were greedy of life, who should desire to live when all the world were at an end; and he must needs be very impatient, who would repine at death in the society of all things that suffer under it. Had not almost every man suffered by the press, or were not the tyranny thereof become universal, I had not wanted reason for complaint: but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majesty defamed, the honour of Parliament depraved, the writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly, imprinted: complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts, as hopeless of their reparations. And truly had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends, and the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth, prevailed with me; the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continual, and time, that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But, because things evidently false are not only printed, but many things of truth most falsely set forth; in this latter I could not but think myself engaged: for, though we have no power to redress the former, yet in the other the reparation being within ourselves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended copy of that piece, which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

This I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by

transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the press. He that shall peruse that work, and shall take notice of sundry particulars and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not publick: and, being a private exercise directed to myself, what is delivered therein was rather a memorial unto me, than an example or rule unto any other: and therefore, if there be any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them; or if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that (I protest), from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many real lapses therein, which others might take notice of, and more than I suspected myself. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conceptions at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judgment at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my passed apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my present self. There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein merely tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments; and, as I have declared [I], shall[1] no further father them than the best and [most] learned[1] judgements shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations, I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every ingenuous reader.

THOMAS BROWNE.

[1] [*I*] *shall, &c. . . . [most] learned, &c.*] Conjecturally inserted, and therefore inclosed within brackets;—a distinction which will be carefully observed throughout the present edition, in the (very few) instances which may occur of the slightest deviation from preceding editions.—*Ed.*

RELIGIO MEDICI.

For my religion, though there be several circumstances that might persuade the world I have none at all,—as the general scandal of my profession,[1]—the natural course of my studies,[2]—the indifferency of my behaviour and discourse in matters of religion (neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another), —yet, in despite hereof, I dare without usurpation assume the honourable style of a Christian. Not that I merely owe this title to the font, my education, or the clime wherein I was born, as being bred up either to confirm those principles my parents instilled into my unwary understanding, or by a general consent proceed in the religion of my country; but that having, in my riper years and confirmed judgment, seen and examined all, I find myself obliged, by the principles of

[1] *scandal of my profession.*] Physicians do commonly bear ill in this behalf. It is a common speech, *Ubi tres medici duo athei.* The reasons why those of that profession (I declare myself that I am none, but *causarum actor mediocris,* to use Horace his phrase) may be thought to deserve that censure, the author rendereth, § 19.—*K.*

[2] *the natural course of my studies.*] The vulgar lay not the imputation of atheism only upon physicians, but upon philosophers in general; who, for that they give themselves to understand the operations of nature, calumniate them, as though they rested in the second causes, without any respect to the first. Hereupon it was, that in the tenth age Pope Silvester the Second passed for a magician, because he understood geometry and natural philosophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And Apuleius, long before him, laboured of the same suspicion, upon no better ground. He was accused, and made a learned apology for himself; and in that hath laid down what the ground is of such accusations. *'Apul. in Apolog.* And it is possible that those that look upon the second causes scattered, may rest in them, and go no farther, as my Lord Bacon, in one of his Essays, observeth: but our author tells us there is a true philosophy, from which no man becomes an atheist, § 48.—*K.*

grace, and the law of mine own reason, to embrace no other name but this: neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks, Infidels, and (what is worse) Jews; rather contenting myself to enjoy that happy style, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a title.

> Quousque patiere, bone Jesu!
> Judæi te semel, ego sæpius crucifixi;
> Illi in Asia, ego in Britania,
> Gallia, Germania;
> Bone Jesu, miserere mei, et Judæorum.[3]

SECT. II.—But, because the name of a Christian is become too general to express our faith,—there being a geography of religion[4] as well as lands, and every clime not only distinguished by its laws and limits, but circumscribed by its doctrines and rules of faith,—to be particular, I am of that reformed new-cast religion, wherein I dislike nothing but the name; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles disseminated, the fathers authorized, and the martyrs confirmed; but, by the sinister ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates,[5] and the fatal corruption of times so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity. Now, the accidental occasion whereupon, the slender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the person by whom, so good a work was set on foot,[6] which in our adversaries beget contempt

[3] This verse is inserted from the *MSS. L. & W.* 2.—*Ed.*

[4] *a geography of religion.*] That is, of Christian religion, which you may see described in Mr. Brerewood's inquiries.—*K.*

Præsertim in Europa inter Christianos; vide nuper Amstelodami editum libellum, cujus auctor Bernhardus Varenius, *De Diversitat. Gent. Religion.* In Asia tamen et Africa magna etiam religionum diversitas est: et id non solum inter Ethnicos,—ut sunt Chinenses ac Japonenses,—(vide *Trigaut. De Exped. Christ. apud Chin.* et *Bernh. Varen. in Descriptione Regni Japoniæ,*)—sed etiam inter Mahumetanos, ut addiscimus ex Leone Africano, lib. viii. cap. 25.—*M.*

[5] *prelates.*] Both the surreptitious editions (of 1642), with the *MSS. W. & R.*, read, *presbyters.*—*Ed.*

[6] *so good a work was set on foot.*] This is graphically described by Thuanus, in his history: but, because his words are too large for this purpose, I shall give it you somewhat more briefly, according to

and scorn, fill me with wonder, and are the very same objections the insolent pagans first cast at Christ and his disciples.

SECT. III.—Yet I have not so shaken hands with[7] those

the relation of the author of the history of the council of Trent. The occasion was the necessity of Pope Leo the Tenth, who by his profusion had so exhausted the treasure of the church, that he was constrained to have recourse to the publishing of indulgences to raise monies; some of which he had destined to his own treasury, and other part to his allies, and particularly to his sister he gave all the money that should be raised in Saxony; and she, that she might make the best profit of the donation, commits it to one Aremboldus, a bishop, to appoint treasurers for these indulgencies. Now the custom was, that, whensoever these indulgences were sent into Saxony, they were to be divulged by the friars Eremites, of which order Luther then was: but Aremboldus his agents thought with themselves that the friars Eremites were not so well acquainted with the trade that, if the business should be left to them, they themselves should either be able to give so good an account of their negotiation, or get so much by it, as they might do in case the business were committed to another order. They thereupon recommended it to (and the business was undertaken by) the Dominican friars, who performed it so ill, that the scandal arising both from thence, and from the ill lives of those that set them at work, stirred up Luther to write against the abuses of these indulgencies: which was all he did at first; but then, not long after, being provoked by some sermons and small discourses that had been published against what he had written, he rips up the business from the beginning, and publishes xcv theses against it at Wittenburg. Against these, Tekel, a Dominican, writes; then Luther adds an explication to his. Eckius and Prierius, Dominicans, thereupon take up the controversy against him: and now Luther begins to be hot; and because his adversaries could not found the matter of indulgences upon other foundations than the Pope's power and infallibility, that begets a disputation betwixt them concerning the Pope's power, which Luther insists upon as inferior to that of a general council; and so by degrees he came on to oppose the popish doctrines of remission of sins, penances, and purgatory; and by reason of Cardinal Cajetan's imprudent management of the conference he had with him, it came to pass that he rejected the whole body of popish doctrine. So that by this we may see what was the accidental occasion wherein, the slender means whereby, and the abject condition of the person by whom, the work of reformation of religion was set on foot.—*K.*

[7] *shaken hands with . . . . as to stand in diameter and sword's point with them.*] These words are rendered by Mr. Merryweather, *memet adjungo . . . . . ita ut eisdem ex diametro repugnem:* wherein he hath too much played the scholar, and showed himself to be more skilful in foreign and ancient customs than in the vernacular practice and usage of the language of his own country: for although amongst the Latins, protension of the hand was a symbol and sign of peace and

desperate resolutions who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new-trimmed in the dock,—who had rather promiscuously retain all, than abridge any, and obstinately be what they are, than what they have been,—as to stand in diameter and sword's point with them.[7] We have reformed from them, not against them: for, omitting those improperations[8] and terms of scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our affections, and not our cause, there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them or for them. I could never perceive any rational consequence from those many texts which prohibit the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the temples of the heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might profane our prayers, or the place wherein we make

concord;—as Alexander ab Alexandro, "Manum vero protendere, pacem peti significabat," *Gen. Dier.* lib. iv. cap. ult.; which also is confirmed by Cicero, *Pro Dejotaro,* and Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico,* lib. ii;—and was used in their first meetings, as appears by the phrase, "jungere hospitio dextras," and by that of Virgil,

"Oremus pacem, et dextras tendamus inermes,"

and many like passages, that occur in the poets, to which I believe the translator had respect; yet, in modern practice, especially with us in England, that ceremony is used as much in our adieus as in the first congress; and so the author meant in this place, by saying that he had not shaken hands; that is, that he had not so deserted or bid farewell to the Romanists, as to stand at sword's point with them; and then he gives his reasons at those words, "for omitting those improperations, &c." So that, instead of *memet adjungo,* the translator should have used some word or phrase of a clean contrary signification. And instead of *ex diametro repugnent,* it should be *ex diametro repugnem.*—*K.*

Il semble que le translateur en Latin n'a pas bien compris cette façon de parler, se servant au lieu de cela, *memet adjungo. Shaken hands* sert ordinairement quand on prend son congé de quelqu'un, et qu'on dit adieu.—*Fr. Tr.*

It has been remarked to me, that Keck's quotation from Virgil is inapplicable; he might more properly have adduced the following passages:—*Æn.* l. i. 408, 514; vi. 697; viii. 124, 164, 467.—*Ed.*

[8] *improperations.*] From *impropero,* to reproach, to taunt; see in *Plaut. Rud.* 3, 4. *MS. R.* has a blank in place of the word; and in *MS. L.* it stands, *impropriations. MS. W.* 2 reads *improper actions.*—*Ed.*

them; or that a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator anywhere, especially in places devoted to his service; where, if their devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it. Holy water and crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all. I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms superstition: my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet, at my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a church; nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr.[9] At the sight of a cross, or crucifix, I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour. I cannot laugh at, but rather pity, the fruitless journeys of pilgrims, or contemn the miserable condition of friars; for, though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of devotion. I could never hear the Ave-Mary bell* without an elevation,[1] or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all,—that is, in silence and dumb contempt. Whilst, therefore, they directed their devotions to her, I offered mine to God; and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine own. At a solemn procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts, blind with opposition and preju-

* A church-bell, that tolls every day at six and twelve of the clock; at the hearing whereof every one, in what place soever, either of house or street, betakes himself to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.[a]

[9] *I should violate my own arm rather than a church; nor willingly, &c.*] The two editions of 1642 and *MSS. W. & R.* have this sentence thus: I should cut off my arm, rather than violate a church window, than deface or demolish the memory of a saint or martyr."—*Ed.*

[1] *elevation.*] *Occasion,* in the edition of 1642 and *MSS. W. R.; oraison* in *MS.L.*—*Ed.*

---

[a] Cette coustume n'est pas seulement en usage parmi les papistes, mais aussi parmi les Luthériens; mais ceux-cy ne font pas leurs prières en l'honneur de Marie.—*Fr. Tr.*

dice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter. There are, questionless, both in Greek, Roman, and African churches, solemnities and ceremonies, whereof the wiser zeals do make a Christian use; and which stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgments that cannot consist in the narrow point and centre of virtue without a reel or stagger to the circumference.

SECT. IV.—As there were many reformers, so likewise many reformations; every country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national interest, together with their constitution and clime, inclined them: some angrily and with extremity;[2] others calmly and with mediocrity, not rending, but easily dividing, the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation;—which, though peaceable spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extremes,—their contrarieties in condition, affection, and opinion,[3]—may, with the same hopes, expect a union in the poles of heaven.

SECT. V.—But, to difference myself nearer, and draw into a lesser circle; there is no church whose every part so squares unto my conscience, whose articles, constitutions, and customs, seem so consonant unto reason, and, as it were, framed to my particular devotion, as this whereof I hold my belief—the church of England; to whose faith I am a sworn subject, and therefore, in a double obligation, subscribe unto her articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions:[4] whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe, according to the rules of my private reason, or the humour and fashion of my devotion; neither believing this because Luther

[2] *with their constitution and clime, &c.*] The Lansdowne *MS.* reads, "with their constitution and temper, inclined them: some with extremity and fury, &c."—*Ed.*

[3] *opinion,—*] In the Lansdowne *MS.* the paragraph is thus concluded: "—and will not easily despair of so happy an effect, may as easily conceive an union with the poles in heaven."—*Ed.*

[4] *constitutions.*] The surreptitious editions and the *MSS. W. R. & L.* insert here the following clause:—"no man shall reach my faith unto another article, or command my obedience to a canon more."—*Ed.*

affirmed it, nor disapproving[5] that because Calvin hath disavouched it. I condemn not all things in the council of Trent, nor approve all in the synod of Dort. In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the church is my text; where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but from the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries, and a gross error in ourselves, to compute the nativity of our religion from Henry the Eighth; who, though he rejected the Pope, refused not the faith of Rome,[6] and effected no more than what his own predecessors desired and essayed in ages past,[7] and it was conceived the state of Venice would have attempted in our days.[8] It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those

[5] *disapproving.*] Thus in *MS. R.*: *MS. L.* has, *disallowing*: *MS. W.* and all the editions read, *disproving;* but, without doubt, incorrectly.—*Ed.*

[6] *who, though he rejected the Pope,* refused *not the faith of Rome.*] So much Buchanan, in his own life, written by himself, testifieth; who, speaking of his coming into England, about the latter end of that king's time saith, "sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die ac eodem igne (very strange!) utriusque factionis homines cremarentur, Henrico viii. jam seniore suæ magis securitati quam religionis puritati intento." *Opera Omnia, cur. Ruddimanno. Edin.* 1715, p. 3. And, for confirmation of this assertion of the author, vide *Stat.* 31 Hen. VIII. cap. xiv.—*K.*

See also *Hume, History of England,* chap. 31, anno 1534.—*Lingard, Hist. of England,* Hen. VIII. chap. 3. 1531, May 4.—*Ibid.* chap. iv. § 3.—*Henry, Hist. of Great Britain,* vol. xii. p. 71.

Instead of *refused,* the Editions of 1642 read, *confuted.*—*Ed.*

[7] *and effected no more than what his own predecessors, &c.*] It can scarcely be necessary to illustrate this allusion by reminding the reader of the long and repeated struggles maintained against papal tyranny by many sovereigns of this kingdom before the time of Henry VIII. especially by William Rufus, and Henry I. & II. against Anselm and Becket, and John against Pope Innocent III. But these contests ever ended in the advancement of the claims and power of Rome, and in the humiliation of the king and government. Nor will this result surprise us, if we consider the direct tendency of the transactions which took place, to produce, by the alternate appeals of all parties to the Pope, the extension of his power; and if we estimate, still further, the immense effect which papal fulminations must have produced on a mass of population sunk in the grossest ignorance and superstition. On this subject see the graphical description of Hume: *History of England,* chap. 12, anno 1207.—*Ed.*

[8] *and it was conceived the state of Venice would have attempted in our*

popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of Rome, to whom, as a temporal prince, we owe the duty of good language. I confess there is a cause of passion between

days.] This expectation was in the time of Pope Paul the Fifth, who, by excommunicating that republic, gave occasion to the senate to banish all such of the clergy as would not, by reason of the pope's command, administer the sacraments; and upon that account the Jesuits were cast out, and never since received into that state.—*K.*

The assertion in this note, that "the Jesuits, after their expulsion from Venice, have never again been tolerated there," was made by the Annotator, in whose time it was true; and I have been recently assured by a member of that Society (through the medium of a friend), that it is still true. I find, however, that the statement is no longer strictly correct. The Jesuits, though under considerable restrictions, did obtain readmission to the territory of the republic, in 1657,—by the influence of Pope Alexander VII. and in consideration of assistance rendered by that pontiff, to the Venetians, in permission to levy taxes on their clergy, and in a donation, to the republic and the family of Chigi, of a large sum of money, subscribed by the Jesuits themselves.—See *Racine Abrégé de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, p. 40, *Histoire Général de la naissance et des progrès de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 4 vols. 12mo. 1761, t. i. p. 409—412. *Daru, Histoire de Venise*, t. iv. 570—572.

It does not appear, from any account which we have been able to find, that the government or people of Venice had ever any serious intention of changing their religious opinions. On the contrary, they have always been distinguished as the most zealous catholics of Italy, and consequently the most opposed to the tenets of either Calvin or Luther. But it was impossible, from the nature of their government (the most despotic, perhaps, that ever existed under the name of a republic), to suffer any interference on the part of the pope, in the administration of their laws, and in the disposal of offices, whether civil or ecclesiastical. "Pour être parfaitement assurée contre les envahissemens de la puissance ecclésiastique, Venise commença par lui ôter toute prétexte d'intervenir dans les affaires de l'état; elle resta invariablement fidèle au dogme. Jamais aucune des *opinions nouvelles* n'y prit la moindre faveur; jamais aucun hérésiarque ne sortit de Venise." *Daru, Traduction d'Uno Discorso Aristocratico sopra il Governo de' Signori Veneziani.* And we find that, as far back as the time of the Crusades in 1202, the Venetians paid but little attention to the threats of excommunication; when, at the siege of Zara, conducted by the Doge Dandolo in person, at ninety-four years of age, the pope declared the whole army to be without the pale of the holy church, if they persisted in their enterprise. This threat was entirely disregarded by the Venetians; but the French, who formed a part of the expedition, were obliged to purchase absolution of his holiness at a very dear and mortifying rate; namely, the restoration of all the booty they had obtained at the pillage of Zara. Dandolo, instead of soliciting an accommodation, persisted that the court of Rome had no right to interfere in the

us: by his sentence I stand excommunicated; heretic is the best language he affords me: yet can no ear witness I ever

measures of the republic; and was supported unanimously in his opinion by the senate, council, and citizens at large.

At the period when the Jesuits had insinuated themselves into almost all the courts and governments of Europe, and, either directly or indirectly, influenced their decisions, Venice, faithful to its principle of excluding every kind of ecclesiastical interference, expelled them from its territory. This happened upon discovering a plan which the society had formed to influence the gondoliers attached to persons of consequence in the state, and by their assistance to obtain, through individuals, the secrets of government, for the purpose of communicating them to the councils of the Vatican, in aid of the views of Paul V. then pope, whose ideas of supremacy amounted to governing, universally, the temporal as well as the spiritual concerns of Christian princes. Exasperated in no small degree by this severity towards his zealous agents, and shocked at the want of respect to the papal dominion plainly evinced on several other occasions, Paul directed his nuncio to make a severe remonstrance to the Venetian government, and to delare that "he (the holy father) would be happy to sacrifice his life in the defence of his jurisdiction." This declaration was followed up by a most peremptory bull, dated April 17, 1606; in which his holiness set forth that, if the republic should not make a proper submission in the course of twenty-seven days, it should receive sentence of excommunication. Copies of this bull were posted up by order of the nuncio in all the streets of the city, and instantly torn down by order of the government. Resentment filled the breasts of every class of citizens against the court of Rome; offers of men and money were poured daily into the senate, to resist these arbitrary proceedings; and even the clergy, in spite of the intrigues of secret agents and the increasing efforts of the nuncio, disregarded the papal authority, and continued to say mass in the churches as before. The monks of the order of St. Bernard offered a hundred and fifty thousand ducats towards the general defence; and, in fine, the most unequivocal spirit was manifested by all ranks and degrees, except the immediate agents of Rome, to support the independence of their country. Under these circumstances, the nuncio had recourse to entreaty; and he conjured the senate to offer some terms of accommodation to the holy father, to avert the dreadful sentence of excommunication: but the doge, in the following reply, as cited by Daru, left no alternative but an immediate rupture with the holy see. "L'Europe," said he, "ne pourra que désapprouver la rigueur que le pape veut employer contre un peuple qui a toujours montré tant de zèle pour la réligion, et tant de dévouement au saint siége. Vous conseillez la paix; mais c'est à ceux qui la troublent que vous devez offrir vos conseils. Vous nous exhortez à ne pas nous exposer à de plus grandes dangers. Il en est un très-grand, que le pape aurait a craindre, si la république, moins fidèle à ses principes, n'écoutait que son juste ressentiment; ce serait, *qu'elle se separât elle-même de l'obéissance du saint siége, à l'imitation de tant de peuples qui en ont donné*

returned to him the name of antichrist, man of sin, or whore of Babylon. It is the method of charity to suffer without reaction: those usual satires and invectives of the pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose ears are opener to rhetoric than logic; yet do they, in no wise, confirm the faith of wiser believers, who know that a good cause needs not be patroned by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute.

SECT. VI.—I could never divide myself from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that from which, perhaps, within a few days, I should dissent myself.[9] I have no genius to disputes in religion: and have often thought it wisdom to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage. Where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with

recemment l'exemple. Faites sentir ce danger au saint-père; engagez-le à écouter des conseils plus pacifiques. Mon âge et mon expérience m'autorisent à vous parler ainsi."—After this formal answer, the Venetian ambassador was recalled from Rome, and the nuncio received orders to quit Venice. The most violent manifestoes were published on each side of the question: nearly the whole of the courts of Europe were, either voluntarily or at the request of the pope, involved in the dispute; and it was not until the month of April of the following year (1607) that an accommodation was effected, through the mediation of the court of France, which for a time covered the embers of animosity, without entirely extinguishing them. No rejoicings, however, took place on the occasion. Every application for the restoration of the Jesuits was peremptorily refused; and in Venice they have never again been tolerated. It is a curious fact, that Paul V. when only a cardinal, once being in conversation with Leonard Donato, at that time ambassador of Venice at the court of Rome, declared that, if he were pope, and the republic should give him cause of dissatisfaction, he would not lose his time in manifestoes and negotiations, but would immediately issue his interdict against it. "And I," returned Donato, "if I were doge, would despise your anathemas." Each of them had his determination put to the proof, by the events which took place.—*Ed.*

[9] *or be angry with his judgment, &c.*] I cannot think but, in this expression, the author had respect to that of that excellent French writer, Monsieur Montaigne, in whom I often trace him. "Combien diversement jugeons-nous de choses? Combien de fois changeons-nous nos fantasies? Ce que je tiens aujourd'hui, et ce que je crois, je le tiens et le crois de toute ma croyance, mais ne m'est-il pas advenu, non une fois, mais cent, mais mille, et tous les jours, d'avoir embrassé quelque autre chose?" *Montaigne, Essais,* liv. ii. chap. 12.—*K.* See note 6, p. 10.—*Ed.*

men above ourselves; but, to confirm and establish our opinions, tis best to argue[1] with judgments below our own, that the frequent spoils and victories over their reasons may settle in ourselves an esteem and confirmed opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gauntlet in the cause of verity; many, from the ignorance of these maxims, and an inconsiderate zeal unto truth, have too rashly charged the troops of error[2] and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth. A man may be in as just possession of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace than to hazard her on a battle. If, therefore, there rise any doubts in my way, I do forget them, or at least defer them, till my better settled judgment and more manly reason be able to resolve them; for I perceive every man's own reason is his best Œdipus, and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments. In philosophy, where truth seems doublefaced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself: but in divinity I love to keep the road; and, though not in an implicit, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the church, by which I move; not reserving any proper poles, or motion from the epicycle of my own brain. By this means I leave[3] no gap for heresy, schisms, or errors, of which at present, I hope I shall not injure truth to say,[4] I have no taint or tincture. I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three; not any begotten in the latter centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine.[5] For, indeed, heresies perish not with their

[1] *argue.*] Thus, *MSS. W. R. & L.* The two *Edts.* of 1642 read, *agree.—Ed.*

[2] *many, from the ignorance of these maxims, &c.*] *MS. L.* gives the following reading of this clause:—"many, out of zeal unto truth, more conscious of their desires than abilities, have too rashly charged the troope of errour."—*Ed.*

[3] *leave.*] Thus all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, 1643, 1645, and 1686:—those of 1659, 1672, 1678, 1682, and 1736, read, *have.—Ed.*

[4] *of which at present, &c.*] *Edts.* 1642 and the *MSS.* except *MS. W.* 2, read, "of which at present I shall injure truth to say, &c."

[5] *mine.*] The remaining part of this section is not in *MS. L.—Ed.*

authors; but, like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another.[6] One

[6] *heresies perish not with their authors; but, like the river* Arethusa, *&c.*] Who would not think that this expression were taken from M. Montaigne, pl. 2. *des Ess.* cap. 12, where he hath these words, "Nature enserre dans les termes de son progrès ordinaire, comme toutes autres choses, aussi les créances, les jugements et opinions des hommes; elles ont leur revolutions;" and that Montaigne took his from Tully: "Non enim hominum interitu sententiæ quoque occidunt." *Tull. De Nat. Deorum,* lib. i. c. 5.—*K.*

Here we are compelled to differ from Mr. Keck's opinion; and on the very best grounds:—we have Sir Thomas Browne's authority for asserting that his opinions, however similar to those of the celebrated French essayist, were not borrowed from his writings. Among the miscellaneous papers of our author, preserved in the British Museum, we find the following passage, in his own handwriting. "Some conceits and expressions are common unto divers authors of different countries and ages; and that not by imitation, but coincidence, and concurrence of imagination, fancy, and invention, upon harmony and production. Divers plants have been thought to be peculiar unto some one country; yet, upon better discovery, the same have been found in distant regions, and under all community of parts. Scaliger observes how an Italian poet fell upon the same verse with another; and that one who had never read Martial fell upon a verse in him. Thus it is less strange that Homer should Hebraize, and that many sentences in human authors should seem to have their original in Scripture. In a piece of mine, published long ago, the learned annotator hath paralleled many passages with others in Montaigne's Essays; whereas, to deal clearly, when I penned that piece I had never read these leaves in that author, and scarce any more ever since."—*Ed.*

Of the river *Arethusa,* thus Seneca: "Videbis celebratissimum carminibus fontem Arethusam nitidissimi ac perlucidi ad imum stagni, gelidissimas aquas profundentem: sive illas ibi primum nascentes invenit, sive immersum terris flumen integrum subter tot maria, et a confusione pejoris undæ servatum, reddidit." *Senec. De Consolat. ad Martiam,* cap. 17.—*K.*

The annotator might, more aptly for the illustration of Sir Thomas Browne's allusion, have quoted *Seneca, Natural Quest.* lib. iii. cap. 26. See also *Strabo,* lib. vi. cap. 2. § 4. Swinborne, in his *Travels in the Two Sicilies,* vol. ii. p. 330, describes the situation of the fountain Arethusa; but remarks that "rubbish chokes up its wholesome sources; the waves have found a passage through the rocks, which repeated earthquakes have split; and not a fish is to be seen in it. Sometimes, after an earthquake, it has been left dry, and, at other times, the whole mass of its waters has been tainted with subterraneous effluvia. Its fountain-head probably lies among the neighbouring hills. Not Arethusa alone, but all the surrounding objects, imprint a melancholy sensation on the mind, while it draws a comparison between the present humble state of things and their once flourishing condition."—*Ed.*

general council is not able to extirpate one single heresy: it may be cancelled for the present; but revolution of time, and the like aspects from heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again. For, as though there were a metempsychosis, and the soul of one man passed into another, opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year:* every man is not only himself; there have been many Diogeneses, and as many Timons, though but few of that name; men are lived over again; the world is now as it was in ages past; there was none then, but there hath been some one since, that parallels him, and is, as it were, his revived self.

SECT. VII.—Now, the first of mine was that of the Arabians;[7] that the souls of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day: not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soul, but, if that were (which faith, not philosophy, hath yet thoroughly disproved), and that both entered the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do

* A revolution of certain thousand years, when all things should return unto their former estate, and he be teaching again in his school, as when he delivered this opinion.

[7] *Now, the first of mine was that of the Arabians.*] For this heresy, the author here showeth what it was; they are called Arabians from the place where it was fostered, and because the heresiarch was not known. Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Nicephorus, do all write of it. The reason of this heresy was so specious, that it drew Pope John XXII. to be of the same persuasion.—*K.*

"It was not only in the point now mentioned, that the doctrine of the gospel suffered, at this time, from the erroneous fancies of wrong-headed doctors. For there sprang up now, in Arabia, a certain sort of minute philosophers, the disciples of a master whose obscurity has concealed him from the knowledge of after-ages, who denied the immortality of the soul, and believed that it perished with the body; but maintained, at the same time, that it was to be recalled to life with the body, by the power of God. The philosophers, who held this opinion, were called Arabians, from their country. Origen was called from Egypt, to make head against this rising sect; and disputed against them, in a full council, with such remarkable success, that they abandoned their erroneous sentiments, and returned to the received doctrine of the church." *Mosheim, Eccl. Hist.* vol. i. ch. 5. § 16. p. 307. Such is the brief account which Mosheim gives of this heresy. For the account of its adoption by Pope John XXII., see *Bower's History of the Popes,* vol. vi. p. 441.—*Ed.*

of the body, that it should rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last alarm. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soul: so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity. The second was that of Origen;[8] that God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but, after a definite time of his wrath, would release the damned souls from torture; which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God, his mercy; and did a little cherish it in myself, because I found therein no malice, and a ready weight to sway me from the other extreme of despair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too easily disposed. A third there is, which I did never positively maintain or practise, but have often wished it had been consonant to truth, and not offensive to my religion;[9] and that is, the prayer for the dead;[1] whereunto I was inclined from some charitable inducements, whereby I could[2] scarce contain my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a bell, or behold his corpse without an orison for his soul. 'Twas a good way, methought, to be

[8] *The second was that of* Origen.] Besides Saint Augustine, Epiphanius and Saint Hierom relate that Origen held that, not only the souls of men, but the devils themselves, should be discharged from tortures after a certain time: but Genebrard endeavours to clear him of this. Vide *Coquæum, in Aug. De Civ. Dei*, lib. xxi. c. 17.—*K.*

For *Origen*, the Editions of 1642 read, *the Chiliast; MSS. W., W.* 2, *& L.* read, *the Chiliasts;* and *MS. L. the Origenists and Chiliasts.—Ed.*

[9] *and not offensive to my religion.*] This clause is in *MSS. W. & W.* 2, but not in *MS. R.—Ed.*

[1] *prayer for the dead.*] The *De Profundis* of the Roman church. Dr. Johnson is evidently inclined to our author's sentiments on this head, and remarks that the prayer for the dead is proper, if it be once established that there are souls in purgatory. When we read the remarkable prayer of Johnson for his deceased wife, recorded by Boswell, vol. i. p. 214, and some passages in the Commonplace-Book of the same author, we may readily believe that he had often in view the opinions of Browne, as well as his style.—*Ed.*

[2] *from some charitable inducements, whereby I could.*] Instead of this clause I find the following, in the *Edts.* 1642 and *MSS. W. L. & R.*; viz. "by an excess of charity, whereby I thought the number of the living too small an object *of devotion*, I could"—with only this variation; that *MSS. L. & R.* read *for my devotion.—Ed.*

remembered by posterity, and far more noble than a history. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacity, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed,[3] or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myself: but, suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves; therefore these opinions, though condemned by lawful councils, were not heresies in me, but bare errors, and single lapses of my understanding, without a joint depravity of my will. Those have not only depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without a heresy, or be the author of an opinion without they be of a sect also.[4] This was the villany of the first schism of Lucifer; who was not content to err alone, but drew into his faction many legions of spirits; and upon this experience he tempted only Eve, well understanding the communicable nature of sin, and that to deceive but one was tacitly and upon consequence to delude them both.

SECT. VIII.[5]—That heresies should arise, we have the prophecy of Christ; but, that old ones should be abolished, we hold no prediction. That there must be heresies, is true, not only in our church, but also in any other: even in the doctrines heretical there will be superheresies; and Arians, not only divided from the church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto schism, and complexionally propense to innovation, are naturally indisposed for a community; nor will be ever confined unto the order or economy of one body; and therefore, when they separate from others, they knit but loosely among themselves; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their church, do subdivide and mince themselves almost into atoms. 'Tis true, that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages; retaining something, not only beside the opinion of their own church, or any other, but also any

[3] *nor so much as ever revealed.*] Not in *MS. R.*—*Ed.*

[4] *of a sect also.*] In *MS. L.* the section ends here.—*Ed.*

[5] *Sect.* VIII.] This section is not in *Edts.* 1642, nor in *MSS. W. R. & L.*—*Ed.*

particular author; which, notwithstanding, a sober judgment may do without offence or heresy; for there are yet, after all the decrees of councils, and the niceties of the schools, many things, untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security, and far without the circle of a heresy.

SECT. IX.—As for those wingy mysteries in divinity, and airy subtleties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *pia mater* of mine. Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith: the deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained, by syllogism and the rule of reason. I love to lose myself in a mystery; to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles of the Trinity—incarnation and resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian,[6] *Certum est quia impossibile est.* I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for, to credit ordinary and visible objects, is not faith, but persuasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's sepulchre; and, when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the miracle.[7] Now, contrarily, I bless myself, and am thankful, that I lived not in the days of miracles; that I never saw Christ nor his disciples. I would not have been one of those Israelites that passed the Red Sea; nor one of Christ's patients, on whom he wrought his wonders: then had my faith been thrust upon me; nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe and saw not. 'Tis an easy and necessary belief, to credit what our eye and sense hath examined. I believe he was dead, and buried, and rose again; and desire to see him in his glory, rather than to

[6] *Tertullian.*] An author in whose works Browne appears to have been deeply read, and whom he strongly resembles.

[7] *and when they, &c.*] Those that have seen it have been better informed than Sir Henry Blount was: for he tells us that he desired to view the passage of Moses into the Red Sea (not being above three days' journey off), but the Jews told him, the precise place was not known within less than the space of a day's journey along the shore; "wherefore (saith he) I left that, as too uncertain for my observation." —*Blount's Voyage into the Levant.*—*K.*

contemplate him in his cenotaph or sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe; as we have reason, we owe this faith unto history: they only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith, who lived before his coming, who, upon obscure prophesies and mystical types, could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.

SECT. X.—'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easy metaphor we may say, the sword of faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the apostle gives it, a buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may lie invulnerable. Since I was of understanding to know that we know nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of faith: I am now content to understand a mystery, without a rigid definition, in an easy and Platonic description. That allegorical description of Hermes* pleaseth me beyond all the metaphysical definitions of divines. Where I cannot satisfy my reason. I love to humour my fancy: I had as lieve you tell me that *animà est angelus hominis, est corpus Dei*, as ἐντελέχεια;—*lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*. Where there is an obscurity too deep for our reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for, by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of faith:[8] and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of faith. I believe there was already a tree, whose fruit our unhappy parents tasted, though, in the same chapter where God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the field were not yet grown; for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth.[9] I believe that the serpent (if we shall literally understand it), from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly, before the curse.[1] I find the trial of

* "Sphæra cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi."

[8] *subtleties of faith.*] The rest of the section is not in *MS. L.—Ed.*

[9] *for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth.*] St. Augustine, *De Genes. ad Literam*, cap. 5, 6, salves that expression from any inconvenience; but the author, in *Pseudodox. Epidemic.* lib. vii. cap. 1, shows that we have no reason to be confident that this fruit was an apple.—*K.*

[1] *I believe that the serpent (if we shall literally understand it), from his proper form and figure, made his motion on his belly before the curse.*]

the pucelage and virginity of women, which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible. Experience and history informs me that, not only many particular women, but likewise whole nations, have escaped the curse of childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex; yet do I believe that all this is true, which, indeed, my reason would persuade me to be false: and this, I think, is no vulgar part of faith, to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to, reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses.

SECT. XI.—In my solitary and retired imagination (*neque enim cum porticus aut me lectulus accepit, desum mihi*) I remember I am not alone; and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his attributes, who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his wisdom and eternity. With the one I recreate, with the other I confound, my understanding: for who can speak of eternity without a solecism, or think thereof without an ecstasy?[1] Time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days older than ourselves, and hath the same horoscope with the world;[2] but, to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning,—to give such an infinite start forwards as to conceive an end,—in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my reason to St. Paul's sanctuary: my philosophy dares not say the angels[3] can do it. God hath not made a creature that can comprehend him; 'tis a privilege of his own nature: "I am that I am" was his own definition unto Moses; and 'twas a short one to confound mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he was.

Yet the author himself showeth, in *Pseudodox. Epidemic.* lib. vii. cap. 1, that the form or kind of the serpent is not agreed on: yet Comestor affirmed it was a dragon; Eugubinus, a basilisk; Delrio, a viper; and others, a common snake: but, of what kind soever it was, he showeth in the same volume, lib. v. cap. 4, that there was no inconvenience that the temptation should be performed in this proper shape.—*K.*

[1] *without an ecstasy.*] *MS. L.* reads, "*under* an ecstasy;" in the sense of "*with less than* an ecstasy."—*Ed.*

[2] *with the world.*] These words not in *Edts.* 1642, nor *MSS. W. & R.* but they are in *MS. W.* 2.—*Ed.*

[3] *the angels.*] So the authorized editions and *MS. W.*; *Edts.* 1642 read, *the apostles*; *MS. R.* reads, *that angels*; *MS. W.* 2, reads "that angels cannot do it."—*Ed.*

Indeed, he only is; all others have and shall be;[4] but, in eternity, there is no distinction of tenses; and therefore that terrible term, predestination, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive, and the wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our estates to come, but a definitive blast of his will already fulfilled, and at the instant that he first decreed it; for, to his eternity, which is indivisible, and altogether, the last trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in Abraham's bosom. St. Peter[5] speaks modestly, when he saith, "a thousand years to God are but as one day;" for, to speak like a philosopher, those continued instances of time, which flow into a thousand years, make not to him one moment. What to us is to come, to his eternity is present;[6] his whole duration being but one permanent point, without succession, parts, flux, or division.

SECT. XII.—There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of Father and Son, we must deny a priority. I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the world eternal, or how he could make good two eternities. His similitude, of a triangle comprehended in a square, doth somewhat illustrate the trinity of our souls, and that the triple unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a trinity of, souls;[7] because there is in us, if not three distinct souls, yet differing faculties, that can and do subsist apart in different subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one soul and

[4] *he only is, &c.*] *Edts.* 1642, and *MSS. W., W.* 2 *& R.* read thus; "he only is what others have and shall be."—*Ed.*

[5] *St. Peter.*] So all the *Edts.* The *MSS.* all erroneously read, St. Paul.—*Ed.*

[6] *present.*] *past* in *MS. L.*—*Ed.*

[7] *there is in us* not three, but *a trinity of, souls.*] The Peripatetics held that men had three distinct souls: whom the hereticks, the Anomæi, and the Jacobites, followed. There arose a great dispute about this matter in Oxford, in the year 1276; and it was then determined against Aristotle. *Dancæus Christ. Eth.* lib. i. cap. 4; and *Suarez,* in his treatise *De Causa Formali, quæst. An dentur plures formæ in uno composito?* affirmeth there was a synod that did anathematize all who held with Aristotle on this point.—*K.*

MS. W. reads, "not three distinct souls, but," &c.—*Ed.*

substance. If one soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct bodies, that were a petty trinity.[8] Conceive the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the intellect, but actually comprehended in its unity, and that is a perfect trinity. I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras,[9] and the secret magick of numbers.[1] "Beware of philosophy," is a precept not to be received in too large a sense:[2] for, in this mass of nature, there is a set of things that carry in their front, though not in capital letters, yet in stenography and short characters, something of divinity; which, to wiser reasons, serve as luminaries in the abyss of knowledge,[3] and, to judicious beliefs, as scales and rundles to mount the pinnacles and highest pieces of divinity. The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes, that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible, wherein, as in a portrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some real substance in that invisible fabrick.

SECT. XIII.—That other attribute, wherewith I recreate my devotion, is his wisdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only do not repent me that I was bred in the way of study. The advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happiness I conceive therein, is an ample recompense for all my endeavours, in what part of knowledge soever.[4] Wisdom is his most beauteous

[8] *petty trinity.*] So *MS. R.—Edts.* 1642, and *MS. W.* read, *pretty trinity.—Ed.*

[9] *I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras.*] "On peut lire en Plutarque, *De Iside, et Osiride,* comment Pythagore nommoit et expliquoit le chiffre avec les noms des Dieux: on peut lire aussi, comment il apprenoit à ses disciples à jurer par le chiffre, dans ces fictions ou sentences dorées qu'il nous a laissées."—*Fr. Tr.*

[1] *and the secret magick of numbers.*] Moltkenius refers this to algebra and cabbala; and after quoting, on the latter subject, several authors, concludes thus: "Optime de ea scripsit Rabbi Joseph Bar Abraam, in libro cui titulus, *Hortus Noæ.* De hac numerorum magia vide et *Rob. Flud. in Hist. Microscosmi;* tractat ibi multis, de magnis numerorum mysteriis."—*M.*

See the article Cabbala in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique.—Ed.*

[2] *in too large a sense.*] *Edts.* 1642 and *MSS. W. L. & R.* read, "in a narrow sense."—*Ed.*

[3] *luminaries in the abyss of knowledge.*] "Luminaries in the *A B C* of knowledge," in *MS. L.—Ed.*

[4] *knowledge soever.*] The whole of the succeeding passage, as far as

attribute: no man can attain unto it: yet Solomon pleased God when he desired it. He is wise, because he knows all things; and he knoweth all things, because he made them all: but his greatest knowledge is in comprehending that he made not, that is, himself. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profession, and embrace the counsel even of the devil himself: had he read such a lecture in Paradise as he did at Delphos,* we had better known ourselves; nor had we stood in fear to know him. I know God is wise in all; wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not: for we behold him but asquint, upon reflex or shadow; our understanding is dimmer[5] than Moses's eye; we are ignorant of the back parts or lower side of his divinity; therefore, to pry into the maze of his counsels, is not only folly in man, but presumption even in angels.[6] Like us, they are his servants, not his senators;[7] he holds no counsel, but that mystical one of the Trinity, wherein, though there be three persons, there is but one mind that decrees without contradiction. Nor needs he any; his actions are not begot with deliberation; his wisdom naturally knows what's best: his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness: consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him: his actions springing from his power at the first touch of his will. These are contemplations metaphysical: my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions he hath left in[8] his creatures, and the obvious effects of nature. There is no danger to profound[9] these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy.[1] The world

* Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν. Nosce teipsum.

the corresponding reference, is omitted in *Edts.* 1642, and in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

[5] *dimmer.*] So in *MSS. W. & R*; but *Edts.* 1642 read, *diviner.*—*Ed.*

[6] *in angels.*] After these words, *MS. L.* adds the following clause: "there is no thread or line to guide us in that labyrinth."—*Ed.*

[7] *not his senators.*] *Edts.* 1642 alone read, *not servators.*—*Ed.*

[8] *expressions he hath left in.*] So all the Editions. The passage stands thus, "impressions he hath left on," in the *MSS. W. L. & R.*—*Ed.*

[9] *profound.*] *Edts.* 1642 and the *MSS.* read, *propound.*—*Ed.*

[1] *sanctum sanctorum, &c.*] *MS. L.* reads, "salvation in philosophy. —*Ed.*

was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man:[2] 'tis the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts. Without this, the world is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when[3] as yet there was not a creature that could conceive or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about, and with a gross rusticity admire his works. Those highly[4] magnify him, whose judicious enquiry into his acts, and deliberate research into his creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration.[5] Therefore,

Search while thou wilt; and let thy reason go,
To ransom truth, e'en to th' abyss below;
Rally the scattered causes; and that line
Which nature twists be able to untwine.
It is thy Maker's will; for unto none
But unto reason can he e'er be known.
The devils do know thee; but those damn'd meteors
Build not thy glory, but confound thy creatures.
Teach my endeavours so thy works to read,
That learning them in thee I may proceed.
Give thou my reason that instructive flight,
Whose weary wings may on thy hands still light.
Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so,
When near the sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover,
And, though near earth, more than the heav'ns discover.
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive,
Rich with the spoils of nature, to my hive,
There will I sit, like that industrious fly,
Buzzing thy praises; which shall never die
Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein an humble creature may

[2] *The world, &c.*] In *MS. L.* this clause is thus: "The world was made not so much to be inhabited by men, as to be contemplated, studied, and known, by man."—*Ed.*

[3] *as it was before the sixth day, when.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, "as it was before, at the first, when." *MSS. W., W.* 2 *& R.* read, "as it was before the first, when."—*Ed.*

[4] *Those highly.*] *Those only,* in *MS. W., W.* 2 *& R.*—*Ed.*

[5] *and learned admiration.*] The succeeding verses and concluding paragraph of the section are not in *Edts.* 1642, nor in the *MSS. W., L. & R.*—*Ed.*

endeavour to requite, and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for, if not he that saith, Lord, Lord, but he that doeth the will of the Father, shall be saved, certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our actions; otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our graves, and our best endeavours not hope, but fear, a resurrection.

SECT. XIV.—There is but one first cause, and four second causes, of all things.[6] Some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as angels; some without form, as the first matter: but every essence, created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its essence and operation. This is the cause I grope after in the works of nature; on this hangs the providence of God. To raise so beauteous a structure as the world and the creatures thereof was but his art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the treasury of his wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections, of the eclipses of the sun and moon, there is most excellent speculation;[7] but, to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle, as to conjoin and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of reason, and a diviner point of philosophy. Therefore, sometimes, and in some things,[8] there appears to me as much divinity in Galen his books, *De Usu Partium*, as in Suarez's Metaphysicks. Had Aristotle been as curious in the enquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of philosophy, but an absolute tract of divinity.

SECT. XV.—*Natura nihil agit frustra*, is the only indisputable axiom in philosophy. There are no grotesques in

[6] *There is but one first cause, and four second causes, of all things.*] Namely, *efficient, material, formal,* and *final:* to which, as Keck remarks in his note on this passage, Plato adds, for a fifth, *exemplar* or *idea.* See also *Boethius De Consolatione,* lib. iii. met. 9, and *St. Augustine,* lib. lxxxiii. quæst. 46. Mr. Nat. Carpenter, in his *Philosophia Libera,* affirmeth, there is no such cause as that which they call the *final cause.* —See *Carpenter, Philosophia Libera,* Decad. iii. Exercit. 5.—*Ed.*

[7] *most excellent speculation.*] Add, "and most sweet philosophy;" from *MS. L.*—*Ed.*

sometimes, and in some things.] Not in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

nature; not any thing framed to fill up empty cantons, and unnecessary spaces. In the most imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the ark, but, having their seeds and principles in the womb of nature, are every where, where the power of the sun is,—in these is the wisdom of his hand discovered. Out of this rank Solomon chose the object of his admiration; indeed, what reason may not go to school to the wisdom of bees, ants, and spiders? What wise hand teacheth them to do what reason cannot teach us?[9] Ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, whales, elephants, dromedaries, and camels; these, I confess, are the colossuses and majestick pieces of her hand; but in these narrow engines there is more curious mathematicks; and the civility of these little citizens more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not Regio Montanus his fly beyond his eagle;[1] or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies than but one in the trunk of a cedar?[2] I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the sea, the increase of Nile, the conversion of the needle to the north; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of nature which, without farther travel, I can do in the cosmography of myself. We carry with us the wonders we seek without us: there is all Africa and her prodigies in us. We are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which

[9] *What wise hand teacheth, &c.*] This sentence is omitted in *MS. L.*—*Ed.*

[1] *Who admires not, &c.*] Du Bartas celebrates the eagle and fly of Regio Montanus, in his poem; 6me jour, 6me semaine.—*Ed.*

[2] *or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies than but one in the trunk of a cedar.*] That is, the vegetative; which, according to the common opinion, is supposed to be in trees, though the Epicureans and Stoicks would not allow any soul in plants; but Empedocles and Plato allowed them not only a vegetative soul, but affirmed them to be animals. The Manichees went farther, and attributed so much of the rational soul to them, that they accounted it homicide to gather either the flowers or fruit, as St. Augustine reports.—*K.*

In *MS. L.* this clause is added; "or what wise man teacheth them to do, what nature cannot teach us?"—*Ed.*

he that studies wisely learns, in a compendium, what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

SECT. XVI.—Thus there are two books from whence I collect my divinity. Besides that written one of God, another of his servant, nature, that universal and publick manuscript, that lies expansed[3] unto the eyes of all. Those that never saw him in the one have discovered him in the other: this was the scripture and theology of the heathens; the natural motion of the sun made them more admire him than its supernatural station did the children of Israel.[4] The ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in them than, in the other, all his miracles. Surely the heathens knew better how to join and read these mystical letters than we Christians, who cast a more careless eye on these common hieroglyphics, and disdain to suck divinity from the flowers of nature. Nor do I so forget God as to adore the name of nature; which I define not, with the schools, to be the principle of motion and rest, but that straight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of his creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day is the nature of the sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve but by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of nature God seldom alters or perverts; but, like an excellent artist, hath so contrived his work, that, with the self-same instrument, without a new creation, he may effect his obscurest designs. Thus he sweeteneth the water with a wood,[5] preserveth the creatures in the ark,[6] which the blast of his mouth might have as easily created;—for God is like a skilful geometrician, who, when more easily, and with one stroke of his compass, he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a

[3] *expansed.*] Thus, in *MS. W.*; *exposed*, in *Edts.* 1642 and in *MS. L.*; *expounded* in *MS. R.*; *expanded* in *MS. W.* 2.—*Ed.*

[4] *did the children of Israel.*] *MS. L.* gives this very singular reading, "did the *wild* Israelites."—*Ed.*

[5] *with a wood.*] See *Exod.* xv. 25. In *MS. R.* the words *with a wood* are omitted, *Edts.* 1672 and 78 read *word.*—*Ed.*

[6] *ark.*] See *Gen.* vii. viii.—*Ed.*

circle or longer way, according to the constituted and forelaid[8] principles of his art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with his prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not.[9] And thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore, to ascribe his actions unto her is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writings. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind of species or creature whatsoever. I cannot tell by what logick we call a toad, a bear, or an elephant ugly; they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward forms; and having passed that general visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, that is, conformable to his will, which abhors deformity, and is the rule of order and beauty. There is no deformity but in monstrosity; wherein, notwithstanding, there is a kind of beauty; nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal fabrick. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never any thing ugly or mis-shapen, but the chaos; wherein, notwithstanding, to speak strictly, there was no deformity, because no form; nor was it yet impregnate[1] by the voice of God. Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature; they being both the servants of his providence. Art is the perfection of nature. Were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a chaos. Nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for nature is the art of God.[2]

[8] *forelaid.*] Thus in *MS. W.; foresaid,* in *MS. L.; aforesaid* in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[9] *could not.*] The remainder of this section is wanting in *MS. L.*—*Ed.*

[1] *nor was it yet impregnate.*] In *Edts.* 1642, these words are omitted. In *MSS. W. & R.* there is a blank instead of them;—thus: "because no form . . . . . by the voice of God."—*Ed.*

[2] *for nature is the art of God.*] Hobbes has adopted these very words

SECT. XVII.—This is the ordinary and open way of his providence, which art and industry have in good part discovered; whose effects we may foretell without an oracle. To foreshow these is not prophecy, but prognostication.[3] There is another way, full of meanders and labyrinths, whereof the devil and spirits have no exact ephemerides: and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence; directing the operations of individual and single essences: this we call fortune; that serpentine and crooked line, whereby he draws those actions his wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way; this cryptic and involved method of his providence have I ever admired; nor can I relate the history of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes, or dangers, and hits of chance, with a *bezo las manos* to Fortune, or a bare gramercy to my good stars. Abraham might have thought the ram in the thicket came thither by accident: human reason would have said, that mere chance conveyed Moses in the ark to the sight of Pharoah's daughter. What a labyrinth is there in the story of Joseph! able to convert a stoick. Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings, and wrenches, which pass a while under the effects of chance; but at the last, well examined, prove the mere hand of God. 'Twas not dumb chance that, to discover the fougade, or powder plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter.[4] I like the victory of '88 the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour, and the partiality of fortune; to wit, the tempests and con-

in the first line of his introduction to *Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power, of a Commonwealth, &c.—Ed.*

[3] *prognostication.*] "A bare prognostication" in *MS. L.—Ed.*

[4] *'Twas not dumb chance that, to discover the* fougade, *or powder plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter.*] In the *Edts.* 1642, and *MSS. W. & R.*, this sentence stands thus: "'Twas not a mere chance to discover the or powder treason, by a miscarriage of the letter." *MS. W.* 2, reads, "'Twas not a mere chance to discover the or powder treason, contrived by a miscarriage of the letter,"—but this is, no doubt, a false reading. The author meant to say 'Twas not dumb chance that, to discover the fougade or powder plot, contrived *a* (i.e. *its*) miscarriage *in* (i.e. *by means of*) the letter.

The term *fougade* is thus explained in Todd's Johnson: "a sort of little mine in the manner of a well, scarce more than ten feet wide, and twelve deep, dug under some work or fortification, and charged with barrels or sacks of gunpowder to blow it up, and covered over with earth."—*Ed.*

trariety of winds. King Philip did not detract from the nation, when he said, he sent his armada to fight with men, and not to combat with the winds. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a maxim of reason we may promise the victory to the superior: but when unexpected accidents slip in, and unthought-of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no obedience to those axioms; where, as in the writing upon the wall, we may behold the hand, but see not the spring that moves it. The success of that petty province of Holland (of which the Grand Seignior proudly said, if they should trouble him, as they did the Spaniard, he would send his men with shovels and pickaxes, and throw it into the sea) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving genius; and to the will of his providence, that dispenseth his favour[5] to each country in their preordinate season. All cannot be happy at once; for, because the glory of one state depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and must obey the swing of that wheel,[6] not moved by intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all estates arise to their zenith and vertical points, according to their predestinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of commonwealths and the whole world, run not upon a helix that still enlargeth; but on a circle, where, arriving to their meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the horizon again.

SECT. XVIII.—These must not therefore be named the effects of fortune[7] but in a relative way, and as we term the works of nature. It was the ignorance of man's reason that begat this very name, and by a careless term miscalled the providence of God: for there is no liberty for causes to

[5] *dispenseth his favour.*] Thus *MS. R. & L.* It is evidently the better reading; and is therefore adopted, though against *MS. W.* and all the editions, which have, "disposeth her favour." *MS. W.* 2, reads, "dispenseth her favour."—*Ed.*

[6] *for, because the glory, &c.*] In *MS. L.* the passage stands thus: "for, besides that the glory of one state depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, which must obey the swing of that wheel."—*Ed.*

[7] *fortune.*] *Nature,* in *Edts.* 1642, and in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

operate in a loose and straggling way; nor any effect whatsoever but hath its warrant from some universal or superior cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at tables; for, even in sortileges[8] and matters of greatest uncertainty, there is a settled and preordered course of effects. It is we that are blind, not fortune. Because our eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the providence of the Almighty. I cannot justify that contemptible proverb, that "fools only are fortunate;" or that insolent parodox, that "a wise man is out of the reach of fortune;" much less those opprobrious epithets of poets,—whore, bawd, and strumpet.[9] 'Tis, I confess, the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of fortune; which doth not any way deject the spirit of wiser judgments who thoroughly understand the justice of this proceeding; and, being enriched with higher donatives, cast a more careless eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. It is a most unjust ambition, to desire to engross the mercies of the Almighty, not to be content with the goods of mind, without a possession of those of body or fortune: and it is an error, worse than heresy, to adore these complimental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essential points of happiness, wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy, the favours of fortune. Let providence provide for fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity, in God, who deals with us but as our natural parents. Those that are able of body and mind he leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion; and pieces out the defect of one by the excess of the other. Thus have we no just quarrel with nature for leaving us naked; or to envy the horns, hoofs, skins, and furs of other creatures; being provided with reason, that can supply them all.[1] We need not labour, with so many arguments, to confute judicial

[8] *sortileges.*] See this subject treated in a masterly manner, in Gataker's treatise on Lots.—*J. C.*

[9] *much less, &c.*] In *MS. L.* the passage stands thus, "much less that scurrilous language of poets, that Fortune is a whore, a bawd, a strumpet."—*Ed.*

[1] *that can supply them all.*] Here terminates *MS. L.*—*Ed.*

astrology; for, if there be a truth therein, it doth not injure divinity. If to be born under Mercury disposeth us to be witty; under Jupiter to be wealthy; I do not owe a knee unto these, but unto that merciful hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto such benevolous aspects. Those that hold, that all things are governed by fortune, had not erred, had they not persisted there. The Romans, that erected a temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of divinity; for, in a wise supputation, all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than Homer's chain;[9] an easy logick may conjoin a heaven and earth in one argument, and, with less than a sorites,[1] resolve all things to God. For though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible cause of all; whose concourse, though it be general, yet doth it subdivide itself into the particular actions of every thing, and is that spirit, by which each singular essence not only subsists, but performs its operation.

SECT. XIX. The bad construction and perverse comment on these pair of second causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto atheism; who, forgetting the honest advisoes of faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of passion and reason. I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissensions between affection, faith, and reason: for there is in our soul a kind of triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, which distracts the peace of this our commonwealth not less than did that other[2] the state of Rome.

As reason is a rebel unto faith, so passion unto reason. As the propositions of faith seem absurd unto reason, so the theorems of reason unto passion and both unto reason; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may be all kings, and yet make but one monarchy: every one exercising his sovereignty and

[9] *Homer's chain.*] See *Homer's Iliad,* viii. 18.—*Platon. Theat.* vol. ii. p. 71. *Ed. Bipont. Luciani Jup. Trag.* 45.—*Ed.*

[1] *a sorites.*] Thus in *Ed.* 1642, *C.* and in the authorized editions:—*Ed.* 1642, *W.* has it *Asorites.*

A sorites is an argument where one proposition is accumulated on another.—*Ed.*

[2] *not less than did that other.*] Vide *Flor.* lib. iv. cap. 6.—*Ed.*

prerogative in a due time and place, according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There are, as in philosophy, so in divinity, sturdy doubts, and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than myself; which I confess I conquered, not in a martial posture, but on my knees.[3] For our endeavours are not only to combat with doubts, but always to dispute with the devil. The villany of that spirit takes a hint of infidelity from our studies; and, by demonstrating a neutrality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus, having perused the Archidoxes, and read the secret sympathies[4] of things, he would dissuade my belief from the miracle of the brazen serpent;[5] make me conceit that image worked by sympathy, and was but an Egyptian trick, to cure their diseases without a miracle. Again, having seen some experiments of bitumen,[6] and having read far more of naphtha,[7] he whispered to my curiosity the fire of the altar

[3] *knees.*] The remainder of the section is wanting in *Edts.* 1642, and in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

[4] *Thus, having perused, &c.*] Paracelsus, and many others, have writ upon this subject, and pretended to cure wounds by anointing the instrument that made them with a certain ointment. Our countryman, Sir Kenelm Digby, likewise wrote a treatise upon this subject, entitled, *A Discourse upon the Sympathetic Powder*, wherein he relates very many strange stories of its wonderful effects.—*Edit.* 1736.

[5] *he would dissuade my belief, &c.*] See *Coquæum, in Aug. De Civitate Dei*, lib. x. cap. 8.—*K.*

[6] *bitumen.*] The common asphaltum, or Jew's pitch, is proper bitumen. It is commonly used for paying the seams of vessels on the Dead Sea, and in the Levant; and forms the principal ingredient in embalming mummies, as we shall take another occasion to observe.—*Ed.*

[7] *naphtha.*] Naphtha is a bituminous oil, of a pale yellowish colour, thin, fluid, light, transparent, odoriferous, unctuous to the touch, and very inflammable. By long exposure to air, and other circumstances, it passes into a second variety, called petrolium.—*Ed.*

"Elle peut de loin attirer le feu à soi, enflammant tout ensemble l'air, qui est là aux environs; et même elle peut brûler au milieu de l'eau. C'étoit la coutume de s'en servir en Sicile dans les lanternes, au lieu d'huile. Plutarque raconte, dans la Vie d'Alexandre le Grand, que les Babyloniens lui y voulant faire voir la force de ce naphtha, en avoient semé ou jeté quelques gouttes dans quelques rues de la ville, et principalement aux environs de son palais, et que venant là auprès avec un flambeau, il commença à brûler et à s'enflammer tellement, que toutes les rues qui en étoient parsemées toutes paroissoient en feu et en flammes."—*Fr. Tr.*

might be natural, and bade me mistrust a miracle in Elias, when he intrenched the altar round with water: for that inflammable substance yields not easily unto water, but flames in the arms of its antagonist.[8] And thus would he inveigle my belief to think the combustion of Sodom might be natural,[9] and that there was an asphaltick and bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of Gomorrah.[1] I know that manna is now plentifully gathered in Calabria; and Josephus tells me, in his days it was as plentiful in Arabia. The devil therefore made the query, "where was then the miracle in the days of Moses?" The Israelites saw but that, in his time, which the natives of those countries behold in ours. Thus the devil played at chess with me, and, yielding a pawn, thought to gain a queen of me; taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and, whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my reason, he strove to undermine the edifice of my faith.

SECT. XX.—Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of infidelity or desperate positions of atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. Those that held religion was the difference of man from beasts, have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of Epicurus, that denied the providence of God, was no atheism, but a magnificent and high-strained conceit of his majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial actions of those inferior creatures. That fatal necessity of the stoicks is nothing but the immutable law of his will. Those that heretofore denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost have been condemned but as hereticks; and those that now deny our Saviour, though more than hereticks, are not so much as atheists: for, though they

[8] *and bade me mistrust a miracle in Elias, &c.*] The history is 1 *Kings* xviii. It should be Elijah. The author, in *Pseudodox.* lib. vii. cap. 15, showeth it was not performed naturally; it was (as he saith) a perfect miracle.—*K.*

[9] *the combustion of Sodom might be natural.*] *Gen.* xix. 24.—Vide et *Strabonem,* l. xvi. *Tac. Hist.* lib. v. ch. 7. *Solinum, Ed. Salmas,* c. 36, *L'Itinerario di Ludov. di Barthema,* lib. i. cap. 6.—*Ed.*

[1] *bituminous nature in that lake before the fire, &c.*] Strabo, in his 16th chapter, says, "It was reported that this lake was not before the destruction of the city, which was followed by an earthquake."—*Ed.*

deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold, as we do, there is but one God.

That villain and secretary of hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three impostors, though divided from all religions, and neither Jew, Turk, nor Christian, was not a positive atheist. I confess every country hath its Machiavel, every age its Lucian, whereof common heads must not hear, nor more advanced judgments too rashly venture on. It is the rhetorick of Satan; and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

SECT. XXI.—I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are their heads carried off with the wind and breath of such motives. I remember a doctor in physick, of Italy, who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the soul, because Galen seemed to make a doubt thereof. With another I was familiarly acquainted, in France, a divine, and a man of singular parts, that on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with three lines of Seneca,[2] that all our antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and philosophy, could not expel the poison of his error. There are a set of heads that can credit the relations of mariners, yet question the testimonies of Saint Paul: and peremptorily maintain[3] the traditions of Ælian or Pliny; yet, in histories of Scripture, raise queries and objections: believing no more than they can parallel in humane authors. I confess there are, in Scripture, stories that do exceed the fables of poets,[4] and, to a captious reader, sound like Garagantua

[2] *three lines of Seneca.*] viz.—

> An toti morimur? nullaque pars manet
> Nostri, ...
> Post mortem nihil est, ipsaque mors nihil.
> Mors individua est noxia corpori,
> Nec parcens animæ.

[3] *peremptorily maintain, &c.*] See this argument used by Bishop Warburton, towards the close of the dedication of his *Divine Legation.* —*J. C.*

[4] *there are, in Scripture, stories that do exceed the fables of poets.*] So the author of *Relig. Laici.* "Certe mira admodum in S. S. plusquam in reliquis omnibus historiis traduntur;" (and then he concludes himself with the author) "Sed quæ non retundunt intellectum, sed exercent.—*K.*

or Bevis.[4] Search all the legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the buckler unto Sampson; yet is all this of an easy possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse, or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that, either in the discourse of man or in the infallible voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies: myself could show a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing; not fantastick queries or objections of air; for I cannot hear of atoms in divinity. I can read the history of the pigeon that was sent out of the ark, and returned no more, yet not question how she found out her mate that was left behind: that Lazarus was raised from the dead, yet not demand where, in the interim, his soul awaited; or raise a law-case, whether his heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though restored to life, have no plea or title unto his former possessions. Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man; or whether there be any such distinction in nature. That she was edified out of the rib of Adam, I believe; yet raise no question who shall arise with that rib at the resurrection.[5] Whether Adam was an hermaphrodite, as the rabbins contend upon the letter of the text; because it is contrary to reason, there should be an hermaphrodite before there was a woman, or a composition of two natures, before there was a second composed.[6] Likewise, whether the world was created in autumn, summer, or the spring;[7] because it was created in them all:

[4] *Garagantua or Bevis.*] For the former see *Rabelais;* for the latter, *Syr Bevis of Southampton.*—*Ed.*

[5] *That she was edified, &c.*] This sentence is wanting in *Edts.* 1642, and in *MSS. W. & R.*

On the subject, see *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, lib. vii. cap. 2.—*Ed.*

[6] *as the rabbins, &c.*] Wanting in *MS. R.*—*Ed.*

[7] *whether the world was created in autumn, summer or the spring.*] Two learned poets of antiquity are of opinion that it begins in spring;—*Lucretius*, lib. v. 800, 816;—*Virgil. Georg.* lib. ii. 335. But there is a difference respecting it among church doctors; some agreeing with these

for, whatsoever sign the sun possesseth, those four seasons are actually existent. It is the nature of this luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year; all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and successive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities, not only in philosophy, but in divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious studies. Pieces only fit to be placed in Pantagruel's library,[8] or bound up with Tartaretus, *De Modo Cacandi*.[9]

SECT. XXII.—These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a mystery. There are others more generally questioned, and called to the bar, yet, methinks, of an easy and possible truth.

'Tis ridiculous to put off or drown the general flood

poets, and some affirming the time to be autumn. Strictly speaking, it was not created in any one, but in all, of the seasons, as the author saith here, and hath shown at large, *Pseudodox. Epid.* lib. vi. cap. 2.—*K.*

[8] *in Pantagruel's library.*] That of St. Victor, described by Pantagruel, *Rabel.* tom. ii. cap. 7.—*Ed.*

[9] *or bound up with Tartaretus,* De Modo Cacandi.] The work here alluded to, or more properly speaking, the *imaginary* work here alluded to, is thus spoken of by a French commentator on the works of Rabelais. "(Pierre Tartaret). Il faudroit recourir aux regîtres de la Sorbonne pour pouvoir dire au juste en quel tems vivoit ce docteur, dont tout le mérite consista autrefois à raffiner encore et à enchérir sur les ridicules subtilitéz de Jean Scot, dans une infinité de questions *quodlibétaires* et autres matières, où Tartaret s'exerça avec tant de témérité, souvent même avec tant d'impiété, que H. Etienne met le Sorboniste Tartaret au nombre de ces malheureux qui avec le tems avoient fait revivre par leurs écrits le detestable *évangile éternel* qu'anciennement les moines mendians opposèrent aux Vaudois et à leur doctrine. Les Contes d'Eutrapel, chap. 26, parlent d'une dispute de ce Tartaret avec Mandeston, autre *quodlibétaire* de cette maison, sur la prononciation du mot *mihi*, laquelle dispute fut assoupie par le grammairien Caillard. Seroit-ce par rapport aux ordures et aux blasphêmes qui étoient sortis en si grand nombre de la plume et de la bouche de Tartaret, ou à propos de la vicieuse coûtume qu'avoit peut-être ce docteur, de dire et d'écrire *chi* pour *hi* dans le mot *mihi*, que Rabelais lui attribue un livre d'un sujet si vilain? L'un et l'autre est possible; mais selon moi l'auteur l'y considère principalement comme disciple de ce même Jean Scot qu'eû égard aux scandaleuses matières par lui remuées, le peintre Holbein avoit déjà plaisamment representé, comme rendant l'ame par la bouche, sous la figure d'un enfant *stulta cacantis logicalia.*" Les œuvres de Pierre Tartaret furent réimprimés in 8vo. à Lyon, l'an 1621.—*Rabelais*, tom. ii. cap. 7. *Amst.* 1711.—*Ed.*

of Noah, in that particular inundation of Deucalion.[1] That there was a deluge once seems not to me so great a miracle as that there is not one always.[2] How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one ark, and within the extent of three hundred cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it, will appear very feasible.[3] There is another secret, not contained in the Scripture, which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest Father to the refuge of a miracle;[4] and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world, and divided islands, should be first planted by men, but inhabited by tigers, panthers, and bears. How America abounded with beasts of prey, and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a horse, is very strange.[5] By what passage those, not only birds, but dangerous and unwelcome beasts, came over. How there be creatures there,[6] which are not found in this triple continent. All which must needs be strange unto us, that hold but one ark; and that the creatures began their progress from the mountains of Ararat.[7] They who, to salve this, would make the deluge

[1] *'Tis ridiculous, &c.*] Lucian's description of the flood of Deucalion so strikingly accords, in its particulars, with the Mosaick account of the deluge, that it is difficult not to refer the two narrations to the same event.—*Ed.*

[2] *seems not to me, &c.*] Il n'est pas besoin de douter, qu'en plusieurs places du monde la mer est plus haute que la terree-ferme; de façon que c'est une merveille, qu'on n'entende pas parler davantage de déluges: notre Hollande est si basse, qu'elle pourroit être entièrement engloutie en peu de temps de la mer, si elle n'en étoit empêchée par les dunes de sable, les digues, les moulins, et les écluses.—*Fr. Tr.*

[3] *feasible.*] On the contrary, *Edts.* 1642 read *difficult;* and *MSS. W. & R.* read, *difficile.*—*Ed.*

[4] *and put the honest Father to the refuge of a miracle.*] This honest father was St. Augustine, who delivers his opinion, that it might be miraculously done, *De Civ. Dei,* lib. xvi. cap. 7; but saith not that it could not be done without a miracle.—*K.*

[5] *is very strange.*] These words are omitted in *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W., W.* 2 *& R.*—*Ed.*

[6] *How there be creatures there.*] In *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* the passage is thus: "How thereby creatures are there."—*Ed.*

[7] *There is another secret, &c.*] The diffusion of the animal creation over the face of the earth does indeed involve a most interesting and difficult inquiry. Whence came the innumerable tribes of human beings,

particular, proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of Holy Scriptures, but of mine own reason, whereby I can make it probable that the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah as in ours; and fifteen hundred years, to people the world, as full a time for them as four thousand years since have been to us.[8] There are other assertions and common tenets drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture,[9] whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray the liberty of my reason. 'Tis a postulate to me, that Methusalem was the longest lived of all the children of Adam; and no man will be able to prove it; when, from the process of the text, I can manifest it may be otherwise.[1] That Judas perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture: though, in one place, it seems to affirm

diversified in form, complexion, and character, which inhabit every continent and island of our globe? Whence the myriads of animals, and birds, and lesser creatures, which everywhere teem in the most astonishing profusion and variety; peopling its mountains, and plains, and forests, and glittering on its surface? Who can solve the problem? Who will undertake to make out successive returns of this mighty population, to mark out the progress of its migrations, and trace back its genealogies through a succession of 4000 years, up to its cradle, the ark, reposing on the summit of Ararat, amidst the silence of universal desolation? It is a question about which so little is known, and so much must depend on conjecture, that it seems rather calculated for the exercise of ingenuity, or even the indulgence of scepticism, than likely to lead to the development of truth. We may observe, however, that to us the difficulty seems the same, whether the deluge existed or not; whether we suppose the migration to have proceeded from the mountain of Ararat or the garden of Eden.

The French translator quaintly remarks: "Il y a eu beaucoup de personnes qui ont brouillé beaucoup de papier, pour trouver la verité de cette affaire; mais il n'y a personne qui en ait pu jamais trouver une parfaite assurance, ou certitude."

Moltkenius quotes *Tostatus, in Gen.* chap. 8.

Among the principal writers of our own country on the deluge, and questions connected with it, we may enumerate Delany, A. Fuller, Cockburn, Burnet, Whiston, Bryant, Catcott, Cumberland, Hurdis, Hutchinson, Ray, Shuckford, &c.—*Ed.*

See Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands, and Works*, vol. viii. p. 279.

[8] *and fifteen hundred years, &c.*] See *Pseudod. Epid.* lib. vi. c. 6.—*K.*

[9] *generally believed as Scripture.*] Not in *MS. R.* but in *MS. W.* 2.—*Ed.*

[1] *'Tis a postulate to me, that Methusalem, &c.*] See *Pseudod. Epid.* lib. vii. cap. 3.—*K.*

it, and, by a doubtful word, hath given occasion to translate it; yet, in another place, in a more punctual description, it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it.[2] That our fathers, after the flood, erected the tower of Babel,[3] to preserve themselves against a second deluge, is generally opinioned and believed; yet is there another intention of theirs expressed in Scripture. Besides, it is improbable, from the circumstance of the place; that is, a plain in the land of Shinar. These are no points of faith; and therefore may admit a free dispute. There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence.[4] The church of Rome confidently proves the opinion of tutelary angels, from that answer, when Peter knocked at the door, 'Tis not he, but his angel; that is, might some say, his messenger, or somebody from him; for so the original signifies; and is as

[2] *That Judas perished by hanging himself, there is no certainty in Scripture, &c.*] The doubt arises from the word *απήγξαατο*, in Matthew xxvii. 5, which signifieth suffocation as well as hanging; but Erasmus translates it "abiens laqueo se suspendit." The words in the Acts are, "When he had thrown down himself headlong, he burst in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out:" which seems to differ much from the expression of Matthew, yet the ancient writers and fathers of the church do unanimously agree that he was hanged. Some are so particular, that they even mention that it was with a cord, on a fig-tree, the day after the kiss, &c.; but there are two, that is, Euthymius and Œcumenius, who assert that hanging did not kill him; but that either the rope broke, or that he was cut down, and afterwards cast himself down headlong, as it is related in the before-mentioned place of the Acts. And this may serve to reconcile these two seemingly disagreeing Scriptures.—*K.*

Keck, in quoting from the Acts, c. i. v. 18, evidently used the Geneva translation, which differs very materially from the commonly used version. See *Rosenmüller, Schol.* in loc., and *Pseud. Epid.* lib. vii. cap. 11.—*Ed.*

[3] *That our fathers, after the flood, erected the tower of Babel.*] For this see what the author saith in his *Pseud. Epidemic.* lib. vii. cap. 6.—*K.*

Josephus témoigne, *Antiquitatum Judaicarum,* lib. i. qu'ils commencèrent cet ouvrage afin qu'un nouveau déluge ne vint pas à les endommager.—*Fr. Tr.*

[4] *consequence.*] Add, from the *Edts.* 1642, and *MSS. W. & R.*, the following clause: "as, to prove the Trinity from the speech of God, in the plural number,—*faciamus hominem,* 'let us make man,' which is but the common style of princes and men of eminency,—he that shall read one of his majesty's proclamations, may with the same ogick conclude, there be two kings in England."—*Ed.*

likely to be the doubtful family's meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young divine, that answered upon this point; to which I remember the Franciscan opponent replied no more, but, that it was a new, and no authentick interpretation.

SECT. XXIII.—These are but the conclusions and fallible discourses of man upon the word of God; for such I do believe the Holy Scriptures; yet, were it of man, I could not choose but say, it was the most singular and superlative piece that hath been extant since the creation. Were I a pagan, I should not refrain the lecture of it; and cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy, that thought not his library complete without it. The Alcoran[5] of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill-composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open sophisms, the policy of ignorance, deposition of universities, and banishment of learning. This hath gotten foot by arms and violence: that, without a blow, hath disseminated itself[6] through the whole earth. It is not unremarkable, what Philo first observed, that the law of Moses continued two thousand years without the least alteration; whereas, we see, the laws of other commonwealths do alter with occasions: and even those, that pretended their original from some divinity, to have vanished without trace or memory. I believe, besides Zoroaster, there were divers others that writ before Moses;[7] who, notwithstanding, have suffered the common

[5] *and cannot but commend, &c.*] In *MS. R.* a blank occurs in the middle of this passage, thus: "And cannot but commend the judgement of Ptolemy, that thought the Alcoran, &c." In *MS. W.* it stands thus, "And cannot but commend the judgement of Ptolemy, that thought the Alcoran, &c."—*Ed.*

[6] *banishment of learning.* This *hath gotten foot by arms and violence:* that, *without a blow,* hath disseminated *itself.*] We follow *MS. W.* in placing a period after "learning"—; but have ventured to differ from all the editions and *MSS.* by transposing *this* and *that,* because the sense evidently required it. The reading of *Edts.* 1642, *doth disseminate,* might perhaps be preferred to that of the other editions, *hath disseminated,* though we have not adopted it.—*Ed.*

[7] *I believe, besides Zoroaster, &c.*] Zoroaster was long before Moses, and of great name: he was the father of Ninus. See *Justin,* lib. ii. "Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis, ego ille sim Cari-

fate of time. Men's works have an age, like themselves; and though they outlive their authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration. This only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general flames, when all things shall confess their ashes.

SECT. XXIV.—I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of Cicero; others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the library of Alexandria: for my own part, I think there be too many in the world; and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the Vatican, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of Solomon.[8] I would not omit a copy of Enoch's pillars,[9] had they many nearer authors than Josephus, or did not relish somewhat of the fable.[1] Some men have written more than others

nondas vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Joannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicunque alius *post* Zoroastrem et Hostanem inter magos celebratus est." *Apuleius in Apoll.*—*K.*

Il n'est pas besoin de douter qu'il n'y ait eu plusieurs autres anciens écrivains, que Moyse; car d'où auroit-il été querir lui-même la sagesse d'Egypte?—*Fr. Tr.*

See *Hobbes' Works*, p. 266.—*Ed.*

[8] *recover the perished leaves of Solomon.*] It is very certain that we have not many things mentioned in 1 *Kings* iv. 32, 33. Josephus tells us, besides, that Solomon wrote upon witchcraft and the manner of casting out devils.—*Antiquities*, lib. viii. cap. 2.—*Edt.* 1736.

"Solomonem De Incantamentis et Formulis Dæmones Ejiciendi libros scripsisse: cui tamen parum tribuendum puto."—*M.*

[9] *I would not omit a copy of Enoch's pillars, &c.*] For this, the story is, that Enoch, or his father Seth, having been informed by Adam, that the world was to perish once by water, and a second time by fire, did cause two pillars to be erected; the one of stone against the water, and another of brick against the fire; and that upon those pillars was engraven all such learning as had been delivered to, or invented by, mankind; and from thence it came that all knowledge and learning was not lost by means of the flood, by reason that one of the pillars (though the other perished) did remain after the flood; and Josephus witnesseth, till his time, *Antiq. Judaic.* lib. i. cap. 3.—*K.*

Vide *De Enochi Libris Epist. Judæ.* et *August. De Civit. Dei*, lib. xviii. c. 38, et lib. xv. cap. 22. "Quod illa tamen merito suspecta habeantur, quæ sub tantæ antiquitatis nomine proferentur, fatetur Augustinus;" *ibid.*—*M.*

[1] *had they many nearer authors than Josephus, or did not relish somewhat of the fable.*] In *MSS. W. & R.*, and *Edts.* 1642, thus: "had they any better author than Josephus, or did not relish too much of the fable."—*Ed.*

have spoken. Pineda quotes more authors, in one work,* than are necessary in a whole world. Of those three great inventions† in Germany, there are two which are not without their incommodities.[2] 'Tis not a melancholy *utinam* of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general synod—not to unite the incompatible difference of religion, but,—for the benefit of learning, to reduce it, as it lay at first, in a few and solid authors; and to condemn to the fire those swarms and millions of rhapsodies, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgments of scholars, and to maintain the trade and mystery of typographers.

SECT. XXV.—I cannot but wonder with what exception the Samaritans could confine their belief to the Pentateuch,

* Pineda, in his *Monarchia Ecclesiastica*, quotes one thousand and forty authors.[a]

† Guns; printing; the mariner's compass. *MS. W.*

[2] *Of those three great inventions in Germany, there are two which are not without their* incommodities.] Those two, he means, are printing and gunpowder, which are commonly taken to be German inventions; but artillery was in China above 1500 years since, and printing long before it was in Germany, if we may believe Juan Gonzales Mendoza, in his *History of China*, lib. iii. cap. 15, 16. The incommodities of these two inventions are well described by Samuel Daniel, lib. vi. of the *Civil Wars*. For the other invention, the Latin annotator doubts whether the author means church-organs or clocks? I suppose he means clocks; because I find that invention reckoned by a German, with the other two, as a remarkable one. It is by Busbequius, speaking of the Turks, who hath these words: "Testes majores minoresque bombardæ, multaque alia quæ ex nostris excogitata ipsi ad se avertunt; ut libros tamen typis excuderent, horologia in publico haberent, nondum adduci potuerunt." *Epist. Legat. Turcic.* I suppose, if he had known any invention which, next to the other two, had been greater than this, he would not have named this; and this being the next considerable, we have no cause to doubt but the author meant it.—*K.*

There seems reason to doubt whether the invention of either clocks or the compass is of German origin. The former has been attributed to the Saracens—the latter to the Chinese.

After *incommodities*, add from the *Edts.* 1642, and from *MSS. W. & R.*, this clause: "and 'tis disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities."—*Ed.*

---

[a] He that would give himself the trouble to reckon the number of authors quoted by Voetius, in his *Theological Disputes*, will find they far surpass the number of Pineda.—*Edit.* 1736.

or five books of Moses.[3] I am ashamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews upon the Old Testament,[4] as much as their defection from the New: and truly it is beyond wonder, how that contemptible and degenerate issue of Jacob, once so devoted to ethnick superstition, and so easily seduced to the idolatry of their neighbours, should now, in such an obstinate and peremptory belief, adhere unto their own doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the church, persist without the least hope of conversion. This is a vice in them, that were a virtue in us: for obstinacy in a bad cause is but constancy in a good: and herein I must accuse those of my own religion; for there is not any of such a fugitive faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian; none that do so often transform themselves, not unto several shapes of Christianity, and of the same species, but unto more unnatural and contrary forms of Jew and Mahometan; that, from the name of Saviour, can descend to the bare term of prophet: and, from an old belief that he is come, fall to a new expectation of his coming. It is the promise of Christ, to make us all one flock: but how and when this union shall be, is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those four members of religion we hold a slender proportion.[5] There are, I confess, some new additions; yet small to those which accrue to our adversaries; and those only drawn from the revolt of pagans; men but of negative impieties; and such as deny Christ, but because they never heard of him. But the religion of the Jew is expressly against the Christian, and the Mahometan against both; for the Turk, in the bulk he now stands, is beyond all hope of conversion: if he fall asunder, there may be con-

[3] *I cannot but wonder, &c.*] Vide *Cunæum De Rep. Hebr.* lib. ii. cap. 16.—*M.*

[4] *I am ashamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews upon the Old Testament.*] De Talmudicis et Scriptuariis, vide *Seldenium De Anno Civil. Veter. Judæor.* cap. 2.—*Scaliger De Emend. Temp.* lib. ii.—*M.*

[5] *of those four members of religion, &c.*] That is, Pagans, Mahometans, Jews, and Christians: yet, even when Sir Thomas wrote, Christians (including the Greek, Papal, and Protestant communions), were more numerous than Jews; now, the proportion is still larger. The population of our globe has been estimated at *one thousand millions*: viz. of Pagans, 630—of Mahometans, 188—of Jews, 12—of Christians, 170.—*Ed.*

ceived hopes; but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes; the persecution of fifteen hundred years hath but confirmed them in their error. They have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted: and have suffered, in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion. It hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion, but wicked heresies and extravagant opinions. It was[6] the first stone and basis of our faith. None can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of[7] martyrs. For, to speak properly, those are true and almost only examples of fortitude. Those that are fetched from the field, or drawn from the actions of the camp, are not oft-times so truly precedents of valour as[8] audacity, and, at the best, attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude. If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which Aristotle requires[9] to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name only in his master, Alexander, and as little in that Roman worthy, Julius Cæsar; and if any, in that easy and active way, have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet, in the passive and more terrible piece, these have surpassed, and in a more heroical way may claim, the honour of that title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest faith to proceed thus far, or pass to heaven through the flames. Every one hath it not in that full measure, nor in so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials; who, notwithstanding, in a peaceable way, do truly adore their Saviour, and have, no doubt, a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

Sect. xxvi.—Now, as all that die in the war are not termed soldiers, so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of religion, martyrs. The council of Constance condemns John Huss for a heretick; the stories of his own party style him a martyr. He must needs offend

[6] *It was.*] He means "The suffering of it was."—*Ed.*

[7] *of.*] *MS. R.* reads *than.*—*Ed.*

[8] *as.*] So the authorized *Edts.* and all the *MSS.*; *Edts.* 1642 read, *and.*—*Ed.*

[9] *which Aristotle requires, &c.*] Voyez *Aristotel. Ethic. ad Nicomach.* lib. iii. cap. 6.—*Fr. Tr.*

the divinity of both, that says he was neither the one nor the other.[1] There are many (questionless) canonized on earth, that shall never be saints in heaven; and have their names in histories and martyrologies, who, in the eyes of God, are not so perfect martyrs as was that wise heathen Socrates, that suffered on a fundamental point of religion, —the unity of God. I have often pitied the miserable

[1] *He must needs offend the divinity, &c.*] The *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, "It is false divinity, if I say he was neither the one nor the other." *MS. R.* reads, "Is it false divinity, if I say he was neither the one nor the other?"

In this passage (as in some others), the author seems to have modified his opinions in preparing them to meet the public eye. The reading of *MS. R.* appears to us to be the true one, and to convey what the author really intended to express; viz. a doubt of the claim which the great Bohemian teacher possessed to be enrolled in "the noble army of martyrs." Feeling, however, some reluctance to avow this doubt,—or, let us rather hope, perceiving at length its injustice, our author has changed the sentence, and presented us with this *truism;* "He must needs offend the divinity of both, that says he was neither the one nor the other." Doubtless; he who differs in opinion from *both* parties, agrees with *neither;* but it would require far more argument to prove that John Huss, though "he does not seem to have held any one doctrine which at that day was called heretical," did not lay down his life for the faith of Christ: "he may," indeed, to use again the words of Milner, "justly be said to have been a martyr for holy practice itself." Our author seems, for want perhaps of an accurate acquaintance with the character and history of John Huss, to have selected him for the illustration of a maxim he was endeavouring (somewhat on his own behalf) to establish: "that a Christian is not required to sacrifice his life upon points of ceremony."

The writings of Sir Thomas Browne (corroborated by several curious particulars we shall give in his Life) abundantly prove how powerful were his sympathies towards all those ceremonies and observances which, he says, "*misguided zeal* terms superstition." This peculiarity of character gave free scope for the display of that fervent and admirable charity which he felt towards those who differed from him in religious profession; but, in the present instance, we do not hesitate to say, it has dictated a position which is indeed "false divinity;" and which, had it been adopted by persecuted Christians in every age, would have robbed the church of the very "first stone and basis of her faith," the principle that Christians are bound, even in the SMALLEST points, involving the authority of their Redeemer, to obey him; remembering his injunction,—"Be thou faithful UNTO DEATH." For the martyrdom of John Huss, we refer to *Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ,* vol. iv. chap. 2.—*Ed.*

bishop* that suffered in the cause of antipodes;[2] yet cannot choose but accuse him of as much madness, for exposing his living on such a trifle, as those of ignorance and folly, that condemned him. I think my conscience will not give me the lie, if I say there are not many extant, that, in a noble way, fear the face of death less than myself; yet, from the moral duty I owe to the commandment of God, and the natural respect that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a ceremony, politick points, or indifferency: nor is my belief of that untractable temper as, not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties. The leaven, therefore, and ferment of all, not only civil, but religious, actions, is wisdom; without which, to commit our-

* Virgilius. *MS. W.*

[2] *that suffered, &c.*] The suffering was, that he *lost* his bishoprick for *denying* the antipodes. Vid. *Aventin. in Hist. Boic.—K.*

"Virgilius, bishop of Saltzburg, having asserted that there existed antipodes, the archbishop of Mentz declared him a heretick, and consigned him to the flames."—*D'Israeli's Cur. of Lit.* vol. i. p. 49.

"Il fut fait évêque, malgré lui, vers l'an 764. Le pape Zacharie le censura publiquement pour avoir avancé qu'il y avoit des antipodes, et déclara même cette opinion hérétique. Virgile mourut le 27 Novembre, 780. Le pape Grégoire IX. le mit au rang des saints; ce qui est une raison de douter qu'il eut été repris comme hérétique au sujet des antipodes."—*Moréri, Gr. Dict.* vol. 10.

"Virgilius had asserted, that the figure of the earth was globular; that it was inhabited all round; and that the parts of it diametrically opposite to each other had, in like manner, their inhabitants diametrically opposite to each other. This Boniface could not comprehend; and therefore wrote to the pope, charging Virgilius, as if he had actually taught a plurality of worlds. This Zachary looked upon as a dangerous heresy, and therefore wrote to Virgilius, summoning him to clear himself, at the tribunal of the apostolic see, from the heresy with which he was charged. Thus much we learn from Zachary's answer to the letter of Boniface. But what was the issue of that affair, we are nowhere told. However, as Virgilius continued to preach, and indeed with great success, the gospel in Bavaria and Carinthia, and was, *some years after, preferred to the see of Saltzburg,* nay, and is now honoured by the church of Rome as a saint, it is not at all to be doubted but that he cleared himself from all suspicion of heresy, to the full satisfaction of the pope, and the great mortification and confusion of his ignorant rival and accuser."—*Bower's History of the Popes,* vol. iii. p. 339.

Which of these conflicting statements are we to believe?—*Ed.*

selves to the flames is homicide, and (I fear) but to pass through one fire into another.

SECT. XXVII.—That miracles are ceased, I can neither prove nor absolutely deny, much less define the time and period of their cessation. That they survived Christ is manifest upon record of Scripture: that they outlived the apostles also, and were revived at the conversion of nations, many years after, we cannot deny, if we shall not question those writers whose testimonies we do not controvert in points that make for our own opinions: therefore, that may have some truth in it, that is reported by the Jesuits of their miracles in the Indies.[3] I could wish it were true, or had any other testimony than their own pens. They may easily believe those miracles abroad, who daily conceive a greater at home—the transmutation of those visible elements into the body[4] and blood of our Saviour;—for the conversion of water into wine, which he wrought in Cana, or, what the devil would have had him do in the wilderness, of stones into bread, compared to this, will scarce deserve the name of a miracle: though, indeed, to speak properly, there is not one miracle greater than another; they being the extraordinary effects of the hand of God, to which all things are of an equal facility; and to create the world as easy[5] as one single creature. For this is also a miracle; not only to produce effects against or above nature, but before nature; and to create nature, as great a miracle as to contradict or transcend her. We do too narrowly define[6] the power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things:[7] how he should work contradictions, I do not under-

[3] *that is reported by the Jesuits of their miracles, &c.*] Moltkenius refers to Joseph Acosta, and Bartholomæus de las Casas. For more recent information, see *Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. du Paraguay;* 3 vols. 4to. 1756.—*The same, translated into English,* 1769.—*Azara's Travels in South America; from* 1781 *to* 1801, 4 vols. 8vo. 1809, and especially *Southey's Hist. of Brazil,* 3 vols. 4to. 1810-19.—*Ed.*

[4] *the body.*] So *MS. R.; Edits.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, "the visible body.—*Ed.*

[5] *and to create the world as easy.*] So also the *MSS.; Edits.* 1642 read, *easily.—Ed.*

[6] *define.*] *Confine* in *MS. R.—Ed.*

[7] *can do all things.*] *Edits.* 1642 read, "cannot do all things but sin." *MSS. W. & R.* read, "can do all things but sin."—*Ed.*

stand, yet dare not, therefore, deny.[8] I cannot see why the angel of God should question Esdras to recall the time past, if it were beyond his own power; or that God should pose mortality in that which he was not able to perform himself. I will not say that God cannot, but he will not, perform many things, which we plainly affirm he cannot. This, I am sure, is the mannerliest proposition; wherein, notwithstanding, I hold no paradox: for, strictly, his power is the same with his will; and they both, with all the rest, do make but one God.

SECT. XXVIII.[9]—Therefore, that miracles have been, I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living, I do not deny: but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead. And this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of relicks, to examine the bones, question the habits and appertenances of saints, and even of Christ himself. I cannot conceive why the cross that Helena found, and whereon Christ himself died, should have power to restore others unto life.[1] I excuse not Constantine from a fall off his horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails on his bridle which our Saviour bore upon the cross in his hands.[2] I compute among your *piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before consecrated swords and roses, that which Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, returned the Genoese for their costs and pains in his wars; to wit; the ashes of John the Baptist. Those that hold, the sanctity of their souls doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies, speak naturally of miracles, and do not salve the doubt. Now, one reason I tender so little devotion unto relicks is, I think the slender and doubtful respect I have always held unto antiquities. For that, indeed, which I admire, is far before antiquity; that is, Eternity; and that is, God himself; who, though he be styled the Ancient of Days, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity, who was before the

[8] *how he should work contradictions, &c.*] Montaigne has a passage very similar to this;—*Essais*, liv. ii. cap. 12.—*K.*

[9] *Sect.* XXVIII.] This section is not in *Edits.* 1642, nor in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

[1] *I cannot conceive why, &c.*] Vide *Nicephori Historica Ecclesiastica*, lib. viii. cap. 29.—*M.*

[2] *I excuse not Constantine, &c.*] Hæc de re videatur *P. Diac. Hist. Miscell.*—*K.*

world, and shall be after it, yet is not older than it: for, in his years there is no climacter: his duration is eternity; and far more venerable than antiquity.

SECT. XXIX.—But, above all things, I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of oracles;[3] and in what swoon their reasons lay, to content themselves, and sit down with such a far-fetched and ridiculous reason as Plutarch allegeth for it.[4] The Jews, that can believe the supernatural solstice

[3] *I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of oracles.*] There are three opinions touching the manner how the predictions of these oracles were performed: some say, by vapour; some, by the intelligences or influences of the heavens; and others say, by the assistance of the devils. Now, the indisputable miracle the author speaks of is, that they ceased upon the coming of Christ; and it is generally so believed: and the oracle of Delphos, delivered to Augustus, mentioned by the author in this section, is brought to prove it; which is this:—

Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub orcum.
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

But yet, it is so far from being true, that their cessation was miraculous, that the truth is, there never were any predictions given by those oracles at all.

That their cessation was not upon the coming of Christ, we have luculent testimony out of Tully, in his 2nd lib. *De Divinat.*, which he writ many years before Christ was born; who tells us, that they were silent (and, indeed, he never thought they were otherwise) long before that time, insomuch that they were come into contempt: "cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate; sed jamdiu jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius?" Sir H. Blount, in his *Levantine Voyage*, saith, he saw the statue of Memnon, so famous of old; he saith it was hollow at top, and that he was told by the Egyptians and Jews there with him, that they had seen some enter there, and come out at the pyramid, two bows-shoot off; then (saith he) I soon believed the oracle, and believe all the rest to have been such; which, indeed, is much easier to imagine, than that it was performed by any of the three ways before-mentioned.—*K.*

On the subject of oracles, see our author's tract; of which we have been so fortunate as to find, in the British Museum, a much more copious *MS.* than that from which Archbishop Tennison printed. See also *Pseud. Epid.* lib. vii. cap. xii.—*Ed.*

[4] *such a far-fetched, &c.*] It was thought that oracles were nourished by exhalations from the earth; and that, when those ceased, the oracles famished and died for want of sustenance. This was Plutarch's reason; but not devised by him; for Cicero scoffs at it: "De vino aut salsamento putes loqui, quæ evanescunt vetustate." *De Divinatione.*—*K.*

of the sun in the days of Joshua, have yet the impudence to deny the eclipse, which every pagan confessed,[5] at his death; but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction: the devil himself confessed it.* Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of human history; or seek to confirm the chronicle of Hester or Daniel by the authority of Megasthenes[6] or Herodotus. I confess, I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed myself out of it with a piece of Justin, where he delivers that the children of Israel, for being scabbed, were banished out of Egypt.[7] And truly, since I have understood the occurrences of the world, and know in what counterfeiting shapes and deceitful visards times present represent on the stage things past, I do believe them little more than things to come.[8] Some have been of my own opinion, and endeavoured to write the history of their own lives; wherein Moses hath outgone them all, and left not only the story of his life, but, as some will have it,[9] of his death also.

SECT. XXX.—It is a riddle to me, how this story of oracles hath not wormed out of the world that doubtful conceit of

* In his oracle to Augustus.

[5] *which every pagan confessed.*] Vid. *Euseb. Chron. ad. An.* xv. *Tiberii;* et *Origen adv. Celsum,* lib. ii. —*Tertull. Apol.* cap. 21.—*Augustinus De Civitate, Dei.* lib. iii. cap. 15.—*M.*

[6] *Megasthenes.*] Est liber suppositititius ab anno Viterbiensi in lucem datus. Megasthenes fuit Rerum Indicarum scriptor, et sæpe a Plinio, Strabone, Solino, Josepho citatur. Sed nullus hujus Megasthenis De Rebus Persicis scribentis meminit.—*M.*

[7] *Justin, where he delivers, &c.*] See *Justin, Hist.* lib. 36. Also *Tacitus, Hist.* lib. v.—*K.*

[8] *little more, &c.*] Ce que témoigne Carolovitius est digne d'être remarqué, lequel ayant été lui-même en personne dans la plupart des assemblées des Royaumes, et après venant à lire l'histoire de Johannes Sleydanus, touchant ces affaires, et voyant que cet homme écrivoit autrement qu'il n'étoit en vérité dit; les écrits de Johannes Sleydanus font, que j'ai de la peine à croire aucun des anciens écrivains, ou historiographes: un certain honnête bourgeois de Leyden ayant lu presque tous ceux qui avoient écrit des guerres des Pays-Bas, disoit, qu'il ne sçavoit ce qu'il en diroit; à cause que pas un de tous ne s'accorde.—*Fr. Tr.*

[9] *as some will have it.*] These words are wanting in *Edts.* 1642, and *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

spirits and witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits; for my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches.[1] They that doubt of these do not only deny them, but spirits: and are obliquely, and upon consequence, a sort, not of infidels, but atheists. Those that, to confute their incredulity, desire to see apparitions, shall, questionless, never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as witches.[2] The devil hath made them already in a heresy as capital as witchcraft; and to appear to them were but to convert them. Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdemain of changelings.[3] I do not credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the

[1] *and do now know, that there are witches.*] Has (sagas) esse probat quotidiana experientia. Vide *Bodini Demonoman.* — *Jac. Angliæ Regis Dæmonolog.* — *Mart. Delrio Disquisitiones Magicas.* — *Wiër. de Præstigiis Dæm.*—*M.*

On the subject of witchcraft, in which our author believed, in common with Bacon, Sir Matthew Hale, Bishop Hall, Richard Baxter, Dr. Henry More, Dr. Willis, Glanville, Lavater, &c., a very amusing essay, by Dr. Ferriar, appeared in the 3rd vol. of the Manchester Memoirs. Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft supplies a list of writers on the subject, and a good chronological view of the progress of opinion relative to it. On the authority of this writer has been related, in the Life of Sir Thomas Browne, a remarkable opinion which he gave in court, on a trial of witches, before Sir M. Hale.

MS. R. reads, "that there are now witches."—*Ed.*

[2] *nor have the power, &c.*] See *Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 1.—*K.*

[3] *the legerdemain of changelings.*] "The word (*changeling*) arises from an odd superstitious opinion, that the fairies steal away children, and put others that are ugly and stupid in their places."—*Johnson.*

> "And her base elfin brood there for thee left:
> Such men do *changelings* call, so changed by fairies' theft."
>
> *Spenser.*

Our author seems scarcely to question the existence of these fairy exchanges: and the hypothesis on which his German editor proposes to account for them is too curious to be omitted.—*Ed.*

Forsan potest diabolus ex semine et sanguine corpus quoddam in utero sagæ conflare, ex eo, postquam saga illud peperit, sugere vel potius lac maternum furari, loqui, et alia infantum munia præstare. Furatur et interdum aliis matribus suos infantes et illos supponit. Sæpe etiam infantes falso pro supposititiis habentur.—*M.* See *Retrospective Review. New Series,* ii. 216.—*Ed.*

devil hath a power to transpeciate[4] a man into a horse, who tempted Christ (as a trial of his divinity) to convert but stones into bread. I could believe that spirits use with man the act of carnality; and that in both sexes.[5] I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body, wherein there may be action enough to content decrepit lust, or passion to satisfy more active veneries; yet, in both, without a possibility of generation: and therefore that opinion, that Antichrist should be born of the tribe of Dan, by conjunction with the devil,[6] is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a rabbin than a Christian. I hold that the devil doth really possess some men; the spirit of melancholy others; the spirit of delusion others: that, as the devil is concealed and denied[7] by some, so God and good angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection[8] of the maid of Germany* hath left a pregnant example.

SECT. XXXI.—Again, I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells, are not witches, or, as we term them, magicians. I conceive there is a traditional magick, not learned immediately from the devil, but at second hand from his scholars, who, having once the secret betrayed, are able and do empirically practise without his advice; they both proceeding upon the principles of nature; where actives, aptly[9] conjoined to disposed passives, will, under any master, produce their effects. Thus, I think, at first, a great part of philosophy was witchcraft; which, being afterward derived to one another, proved but philosophy, and was indeed no more than the honest effects of nature:—

* That lived, without meat, on the smell of a rose.—*MS. W.*

[4] *Transpeciate.*] So also *MS. R.; Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, *transplant.—Ed.*

[5] *I could believe, &c.*] Vide *S. Chrysostom. in Hom.* 22, *in Gen.—Idem. Cyrill.* lib. ix. *contra Jul.—Lactanct.* lib. ii. cap. 15.—*Joseph. Antiq.* lib. i. cap. 4.—*Justin Martyr. Apol.* ii.—*M.*

[6] *that Antichrist, &c.*] Vide de hoc *Augustin. in libro De Antichristo. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech.* 15.—*M.*

See *Augustin. in Levit.* —*Aquin.* i. ii. *De Qu.* 73, *art. ad* 2. —*Justin Martyr. Apol.* i.—*K.*

[7] *denied.*] So *MS. W.; Edts.* 1642 read, *deemed.—Ed.*

[8] *whereof the late defection.*] All the *MSS.* read *detection.—Ed.*

[9] *where actives, aptly.*] In *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* "their actives, actively."—*Ed.*

what invented by us, is philosophy; learned from him, is magick. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad angels. I could never pass that sentence of Paracelsus without an asterisk, or annotation: *ascendens** *constellatum multa revelat quærentibus magnalia*[1] *naturæ*, i.e. *opera Dei*.[2] I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions have been the courteous revelations of spirits;[3] for those noble essences in heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow-natures on earth; and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which forerun the

* Thereby is meant our good angel, appointed us from our nativity.

[1] *magnalia.*] *Animalia* in *Edts.* 1642 and all the *MSS.*—*Ed.*

[2] *Dei.*] On peut trouver ces paroles de Paracelsus en son Traité des Images.—*Fr. Tr.*

[3] *have been, &c.*] Quod etiam docent Platonici. Vide *Iamblichum De Mysteriis*, pp. 52, 53, 54, 55. *Lugduni*, 1577; et *Procl. Lib. De Anima et Dæmon.*—*Porphyr.* l. 2. *De Divinis atque Dæmon. Apulei.*—*De Deo Socratis*, p. 331. Ed. *Amstelodam.* Vide et *Geminam Dissertat. Maximi Tyrii De Deo Socratis.*

Vide *Lactant.* l. 2, c. 15, et *Augustin. in Soliloqu.* c. 27, and *Sermon.* 46, *ad Fratres in Eremo.* Vide *Augustin. in Psalm.* 62.—*Auctor in Tractat. De Diligendo Deo.*—*Porphyrius in Libro De Philosophia Oraculor.* Docet, Deos hominibus indicare quibus capiantur ac gaudeant rebus et quæ vitanda habeant.—*M.*

"Were I inclined to amuse myself with this controversy," says a sensible writer, "I would collect all writings, sacred and profane, on this subject, and summon various classes of writers to take their several proper shares; *and what remained of pure revelation*, expounded by just reasoning, should be my faith on this article. Pedantic superstition, in the person of James I. would load away sorcery, witchcraft, contracts, devils by wholesale. Pagan presumption would ship off hieroglyphics, astrology, magic, manicheism, &c. Popery would claim a large share of angelography. Vulgar popular observation of effects, and ignorance of causes, would claim a very large proportion of small talk on these occult powers. Fancy, in rhetorical guise, would reduce a volume of well-set words to a page of meaning: the volume must be hers, the page mine. Politicians would take off a large stock of the tutelar tribe. Sound reasoners on demonology would represent the demoniacs of the New Testament as diseased people, of whom the good physician, Jesus, spoke in popular style. These would claim many a text from the subject, and I could not rationally refuse their claim. Bright and black wings, and rays, horns, and cloven feet, would fall to artists. I should, perhaps, at last find, that the best guardian angel was a good conscience, and the most formidable devils my own depraved passions."—*Collet's Relics of Literature*, p. 302.

ruins of states, princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels,[4] which more careless inquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

SECT. XXXII.—Now, besides these particular and divided spirits, there may be (for aught I know) a universal and common spirit to the whole world. It was the opinion of Plato,[5] and it is yet of the hermetical philosophers. If there be a common nature, that unites and ties the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am sure there is a common spirit, that plays within us, yet makes no part of us; and that is, the spirit of God; the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence, which is the life and radical heat of spirits, and those essences that know not the virtue of the sun; a fire quite contrary to the fire of hell. This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters,* and in six days hatched the world; this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity. Whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this spirit, (though I feel his pulse) I dare not say he lives; for truly without this, to me, there is no heat under the tropick; nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun.

* Spiritus Domini incubabat aquis. *Gen.* i.—*MS. W.*

[4] *the charitable premonitions of good angels.*] Here again we are reminded of Dr. Johnson's coincidence in feeling with our author on questions connected with the immaterial world. The following passage from Boswell's Life,—though not so much, perhaps, in reference to what Browne calls "good angels," as to the "angels" of good men, is yet sufficiently illustrative of our position, that these two great men thought, as well as wrote, alike. "As to the invocation of saints, he said, 'Though I do not think it authorized, it appears to me that 'the communion of saints' in the Creed means the communion with the saints in heaven, as connected with 'the holy Catholic church.'' He admitted the influence of evil spirits upon our minds, and said, 'Nobody who believes the New Testament can deny it.'" — Vol. iv. p. 317.

[5] *It was the opinion of Plato.*] Vide *Platon. in Parmenide et Timæo,* et *Procl. in Platon. Theol.* l. i. c. 15. —*Virgil.* l. vi. *Aeneid.* Vide plura apud *Portam,* l. i. *Mag. Natur.* c. 6. Veteres Sinenses fere idem crediderunt. Vide *Trigaut.* lib. i. c. 10, *de Exped. Christ. apud Sinas.*—*M.*

As when the labouring sun hath wrought his track
Up to the top of lofty Cancer's back,
The icy ocean cracks, the frozen pole
Thaws with the heat of the celestial coal;
So when thy absent beams begin t' impart
Again a solstice on my frozen heart,
My winter 's o'er, my drooping spirits sing,
And every part revives into a spring.
But if thy quickening beams awhile decline,
And with their light bless not this orb of mine,
A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
And in the midst of June I feel December.[6]
Oh how this earthly temper doth debase
The noble soul, in this her humble[7] place!
Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire
To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
Are not thy beams, but take their fire from hell.
O quench them all! and let thy Light divine
Be as the sun to this poor orb of mine!
And to thy sacred Spirit convert those fires,
Whose earthly fumes choke my devout aspires!

SECT. XXXIII.—Therefore, for spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe, that not only whole countries, but particular persons, have their tutelary and guardian angels. It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome, but an old one[8] of Pythagoras and Plato:[9] there is no heresy in it: and if not manifestly defined in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course and actions of a man's life; and would serve as an hypothesis to salve many doubts, whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution. Now, if you demand my opinion and metaphysicks of their natures, I confess them very shallow; most of them in a negative

[6] *December.*] Insert, from *Edts.* 1642 and *MSS. W. & R.*, these lines:—

Keep still in my horizon, for, to me,
'Tis not the sun that makes the day, but thee!—*Ed.*

[7] *humble.*] *Edts.* 1642 and *MSS. W. & R.* read, *heavenly.*—*Ed.*

[8] *but an old one.*] These words are omitted in *MSS. W. & R.*—*Ed.*

[9] *It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome, &c.*] This appears by Apuleius, a Platonist, in his book *De Deo Socratis*, and elsewhere. See *Mede's Apostasie of the Latter Times*, where, out of this and other authors, you shall see collected all the learning *de Geniis.*—*K.*

way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between ourselves and fellow-creatures: for there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale, of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of mere existence and things of life there is a large disproportion of nature: between plants and animals,[1] or creatures of sense, a wider difference: between them and man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold on, between man and angels there should be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures, who retain the first definition of Porphyry;* and distinguish them from ourselves by immortality: for, before his fall, man also was immortal: yet must we needs affirm that he had a different essence from the angels. Having, therefore, no certain knowledge of their nature, 'tis no bad method of the schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in ourselves, in a more complete and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and, upon the first motion of their reason, do what we cannot without study or deliberation: that they know things by their forms, and define, by specifical difference, what we describe by accidents and properties: and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them: that they have knowledge not only of the specifical, but numerical,[2] forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single hypostatis (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self: that, as the soul hath a power to move the body it informs, so there's a faculty to move any, though inform none: ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance: but that invisible hand that conveyed Habakkuk to the lion's den,[3] or Philip to Azotus, infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance, wherewith mortality is not acquainted. If they have that intuitive knowledge, whereby, as in reflection, they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but

* *Essentiæ rationalis immortalis.—MS. W.*

[1] *plants and animals.*] So the *MSS. W. & R.; Edts.* 1642 read, "two plant-animals."—*Ed.*

[2] *numerical.*] So *MS. R.; MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642, read, *natural.*—*Ed.*

[3] *that conveyed Habakkuk to the lion's den.*] See *Bel* and *The Dragon*, ver. 36, &c.—*Ed.*

they know a great part of ours. They that, to refute the invocation of saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can thoroughly answer that piece of Scripture, "At the conversion of a sinner, the angels in heaven rejoice." I cannot, with those in that great father,[4] securely interpret the work of the first day, *fiat lux*, to the creation of angels; though I confess there is not any creature that hath so near a glimpse of their nature as light in the sun and elements: we style it a bare accident;[5] but, where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual substance, and may be an angel:[6] in brief, conceive light invisible, and that is a spirit.

SECT. XXXIV.—These are certainly the magisterial and masterpieces of the Creator;[7] the flower, or, as we may say, the best part of nothing; actually existing, what we are but in hopes, and probability. We are only that[8] amphibious piece, between a corporeal and a spiritual essence; that middle form, that links those two together, and makes good the method of God and nature, that jumps not from extremes, but unites the incompatible distances by some middle and participating natures. That we are the breath and similitude of God, it is indisputable, and upon record of Holy Scripture: but to call ourselves a microcosm, or little world, I thought it only a pleasant trope of rhetorick, till my near judgment and second thoughts told me there was a real truth therein. For, first we are a rude mass, and in the rank of creatures which only are, and have a dull kind of being, not yet privileged with life, or

[4] *I cannot, with those, &c.*] Alluding probably to St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xi. cap. 9, 19, 32. Keck, however, as well as the French translator, considers the allusion to refer rather to St. Chrysostom, in his Homily on Genesis.

All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "with that great father."—*Ed.*

[5] *we style it a bare accident.*] *MSS. W. & W.* 2 read, "while we style it, &c.;" *Edts.* 1642 read, "while we style a bare accident."—*Ed.*

[6] *where it subsists alone, 'tis, &c.*] Epicurus was of this opinion; also St. Augustine: see *Enchirid. ad Laurentium.*—*K.*

Vide *Rob. Flud. in Historia Microcosmi*, tract. i. § 1, lib. iii. cap. 3: —*et Marsil. Ficin. in lib. de Lumine*, cap. 1, 6, 13.—*M.*

[7] *Creator.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *creature.*—*Ed.*

[8] *that.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *the.*—*Ed.*

preferred to sense or reason; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits: running on, in one mysterious nature, those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures, not only of the world, but of the universe. Thus is man that[9] great and true *amphibium*, whose nature is disposed to live, not only like other creatures in divers elements, but in divided and distinguished worlds; for though there be but one [world][1] to sense, there are two to reason, the one visible, the other invisible; whereof Moses seems to have left description, and of the other so obscurely, that some parts thereof are yet in controversy. And truly, for the first chapters of Genesis,[2] I must confess a great deal of obscurity; though divines have, to the power of human reason, endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet those allegorical interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mystical method of Moses, bred up in the hieroglyphical schools of the Egyptians.[3]

SECT. XXXV.—Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need not wander so far as the first moveable;[4] for, even in this material fabrick, the spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection[5] of time, place, and motion, as beyond the extremest circumference. Do but extract[6] from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond their first

[9] *Thus is man that.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, "this is man the . . . ."—*Ed.*

[1] [*world.*] So in all the *MSS.*—*Ed.*

[2] *the first chapters of Genesis.*] So in all the earlier editions, and the Latin, French, and Dutch translations: *MSS. R. & W.* 2 read, "first chapters of Moses;" *MS. W.* "those last chapters;" *Edts.* 1642, "the last chapter." The editions of 1672, 1686, and 1736, all read, "the first chapter."—*Ed.*

[3] *whereof Moses, &c.*] This passage is not very clearly expressed. It seems, however, to allude to discussions which had arisen respecting the Mosaic descriptions of creation—whether they were to be received literally, as referring to the visible world only; or whether they might not be intended, also, to convey an allegorical picture of the other or invisible world.—*Ed.*

It was a rule among the Jewish preceptors that their disciples should not read the first chapter of Genesis, the Canticles of Solomon, nor the latter part of Ezekiel, till they were thirty years old.—*Ed.* 1736.

[4] *first moveable.*] *Primum mobile.*—*M.*

[5] *exempt from the affection of, &c.*] In the sense of *not affected by.*—*Ed.*

[6] *extract.*] *Abstract*, in *MS. W.*—*Ed.*

matter, and you discover the habitation of angels;[7] which if I call the ubiquitary and omnipresent essence of God, I hope I shall not offend divinity: for, before the creation of the world, God was really all things. For the angels he created no new world, or determinate mansion, and therefore they are everywhere where is his essence, and do live, at a distance even, in himself. That God made all things for man, is in some sense true; yet, not so far as to subordinate the creation of those purer creatures unto ours; though, as ministering spirits, they do, and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man.[8] God made all things for himself; and it is impossible he should make them for any other end than his own glory: it is all he can receive, and all that is without himself. For, honour being an external adjunct, and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a creature, from whom he might receive this homage: and that is, in the other world, angels, in this, man; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our creation, and may justly provoke God, not only to repent that he hath made the world, but that he hath sworn he would not destroy it. That there is but one world, is a conclusion of faith; Aristotle with all his philosophy hath not been able to prove it:[9] and as weakly that the world was eternal; that dispute much troubled the pen of the ancient philosophers, but Moses decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a creation,—that is, a production of something out of nothing. And what is that?—whatsoever[1] is opposite to something; or, more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God: for he only is; all others have an existence with dependency,[2]

[7] *the habitation of angels.*] De illorum loco, aut habitatione, Vid. *Maldonat. De Angelis*, c. 16.—*M.*

[8] *That God made, &c.*] Sunt qui ad probandum eos (spiritus) simul cum orbe condito creatos esse, statuunt hominum causa creatos. Vide *Maldonati in Tract. de Angel.* c. 3.—*M.*

[9] *Aristotle, &c.*] Docet tamen ille, plures haud esse mundos. Vid. lib. i. *De Cœlo*, c. 8, 9.—*M.*

[1] *And what is that?—Whatsoever, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "and that is whatsoever, &c."—*Ed.*

[2] *dependency.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *depending.*—*Ed.*

and are something but by a distinction.[3] And herein is divinity conformant unto philosophy, and not only generation founded on contrarieties, but also creation. God, being all things, is contrary unto nothing; out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and omneity informed[4] nullity into an essence.[5]

SECT. XXXVI.—The whole creation is a mystery, and particularly that of man. At the blast of His mouth were the rest of the creatures made; and at his bare word they started out of nothing: but in the frame of man (as the text describes it) he played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create as make him. When he had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently resulted

[3] *by a distinction.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "by distinction." The rest of the section is omitted in these and in *MS. W.* 2.—*Ed.*

[4] *informed.*] In the sense of *animated.*—*Ed.*

[5] *God being all things, &c.*] The following remarks on this passage have been pointed out to me, by my obliging friend, E. H. Barker, Esq., of Thetford.

"That celebrated philosopher, shall I call him, or atheist? who said that the assemblage of all existence constituted the divine essence, who would have us to consider all corporeal beings as the body of the divinity, published a great extravagance, if he meant that the divine essence consisted of this assemblage. But there is a very just sense, in which it may be said that the whole universe is the body of the Deity. As I call this portion of matter my body, which I move, act, and direct as I please, so God actuates by his will every part of the universe—he obscures the sun—he calms the winds—he commands the sea. But this very notion excludes all corporeity from God, and proves that God is a spirit. If God sometimes represents himself with feet, with hands, with eyes, he means in the portraits rather to give us emblems of his attributes, than images (properly speaking) of any parts, which he possesseth; therefore when he attributes these to himself, he gives to them so vast an extent, that we easily perceive that they are not to be grossly understood. Hath he hands? They are hands, which 'weigh the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance,' which 'measure the waters in the hollow of his hand, and mete out the heavens with a span.' (Isai. xl. 12.) Hath he eyes? They are eyes, which penetrate the most unmeasurable distances. Hath he feet? They are feet which reach from heaven to earth; for 'the heaven is his throne, and the earth is his footstool.' (xlvi. 1.) Hath he a voice? It is as 'the sound of many waters, breaking the cedars of Lebanon, making Mount Sirion skip like an unicorn, and the hinds to calve.' (Ps. xxix. 3, 5, 6, 9.)"—*Saurin's Discourses, transl. by Robert Robinson.*

In *MSS. R. & W.* 2, the next sentence is omitted, ("For these two, &c.")—*Ed.*

a form and soul; but, having raised the walls of man, he was driven to a second and harder creation,—of a substance like himself, an incorruptible and immortal soul.[6] For these two affections[7] we have the philosophy[8] and opinion of the heathens, the flat affirmative of Plato,[9] and not a negative from Aristotle.[1] There is another scruple cast in by divinity concerning its production, much disputed in the German auditories, and with that indifferency[2] and equality of arguments, as leave the controversy undetermined.[3] I am not of Paracelsus's mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction;[4] yet cannot but wonder at the

[6] *and harder creation, &c.*] Vide *Augustinum, De Animæ Immortalitate.—M.*

[7] *affections.*] In the sense of *properties, qualities;* "proprietates," in the Latin translation.

[8] *For these two, &c.*] *MS. W. & Edts.* 1642 read, "For the two assertions we have in Philosophie, &c."

The two qualities alluded to are incorruptibility and immortality.—*Ed.*

[9] *the flat affirmative of Plato.*] In *Phædone, Opera,* tom. i. p. 183, *Ed. Bipont.; Timæo, Ib.* t. ix. p. 431, 432; *Phædro, Ib.* t. x. p. 318, 319, 321.—*Ed.*

[1] *not a negative from Aristotle.*] Vide *Aristotel. De Anima,* l. ii. text. 4 et 19, 21, 22. *De Generatione Animal.* ii. c. 3, dicit, "Solam mentem extrinsecus advenire, divinam esse solam, neque cum ejus actione actionem corporis ullam habere communionem."—*M.*

[2] *indifferency.*] In the sense of *equipoise.—Ed.*

[3] *There is another scruple, &c.*] Namely, "An ex traduce sint animæ sicut et corpora?" *Augustin. Quæstion. Vet. Test.* qu. 23.

Vide *Tolet.* lib. iii.; *Aristot. De Anima,* c. 5, qu. 17; *Burgesdicium,* in *Coll. Phys. Disputat.* 29.—*M.*

[4] *that boldly delivers a receipt, &c.*] "Paracelsus has revealed to us one of the grandest secrets of nature. When the world began to dispute on the very existence of the elementary folk, it was then he boldly offered to give birth to a fairy, and has sent down to posterity the recipe. He describes the impurity which is to be transmuted into such purity, the gross elements of a delicate fairy, which, fixed in a phial in fuming dung, will in due time settle into a full-grown fairy, bursting through its vitreous prison—on the vivifying principle by which the ancient Egyptians hatched their eggs in ovens. I recollect at Dr. Farmer's sale the leaf which preserved this recipe for making a fairy, forcibly folded down by the learned commentator; from which we must infer the credit he gave to the experiment. There was a greatness of mind in Paracelsus, who, having furnished a recipe to make a fairy, had the delicacy to refrain. Even Baptista Porta, one of the most enlightened philosophers, does not deny the possibility of engendering creatures, which 'at their full growth shall not exceed the size of a mouse:' but he adds

multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief than that rhetorical sentence and *antimetathesis*[5]* of Augustine, *creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*. Either opinion will consist well enough with religion: yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me, not wrung from speculations and subtleties, but from common sense and observation; not pick'd from the leaves of any author,[6] but bred amongst the weeds and tares of my own brain. And this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the copulation of a man with a beast:[7] for if the soul of man be not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions merely beasts, but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure, as it can evidence itself in those improper organs? Nor, truly, can I peremptorily[8] deny that the soul, in this her sublunary estate, is wholly, and in all acceptions,[9] inorganical: but that, for the performance of her ordinary actions, is required not only a symmetry and proper disposition of organs, but a crasis and temper correspondent to its operations; yet is not this mass of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper

* *Antanaclasis.*—A figure in rhetoric, where one word is inserted upon another.—*MS. W.*

that 'they are only pretty little dogs to play with.' Were these akin to the fairies of Paracelsus?"—*D'Israeli's Second Series of Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 14, 15.—*Ed.*

[5] antimetathesis.] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "antanaclasis."*—*Ed.*

[6] *author.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *other.*—*Ed.*

[7] *from the equivocal, &c.*] The French translator not only refers to several authorities for the existence of such things, but asserts that he had seen one himself. "Touchant cette affaire, Jean Baptiste, *Mag. Nat.* lib. ii. cap. 12, raconte ou rapporte quelques exemples, qu'il a prises, ou tirées de Plinius, Plutarchus, Ælianus, et autres. Les écrivains ou auteurs témoignent, que cela arrive encore aux Indes en plusieurs endroits; et moimême en ai vu un à Leyden."

Blumenbach however rejects such stories, as fabulous tales which do not need contradiction.—*Ed.*

[8] *peremptorily.*] So in *MSS. R. & W.* 2; *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *reasonably.*—*Ed.*

[9] *and in all acceptions.*] Omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

corpse of the soul, but rather of sense, and that the hand[1] of reason. In our study of anatomy there is a mass of mysterious philosophy, and such as reduced the very heathens to divinity; yet, amongst all those rare discoveries and curious pieces I find in the fabrick of man, I do not so much content myself, as in that I find not,—that is, no organ or instrument for the rational soul; for in the brain, which we term the seat of reason, there is not anything of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a beast: and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganity of the soul, at least in that sense we usually so receive it.[2] Thus we are men, and we know not how; there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us, though it is strange that it hath no history what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entered in us.[3]

SECT. XXXVII.—Now, for these walls of flesh, wherein the

[1] *the hand.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "the nearer *ubi.*"—*Ed.*

[2] *and this is a sensible, &c.*] This concluding part of the sentence is omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[3] *In our study of anatomy, &c.*] "What a contrast," says Dr. Drake, after quoting this and several other similar passages, "do these admirable quotations form, when opposed to the scepticism of the present day, to the doctrines of the physiological materialists of the school of Bichat! A system of philosophy, if so it may be called, which, should it ever unhappily prevail in the medical world, would render the often-repeated, though hitherto ill-founded, sarcasm against the profession, *ubi tres medici, duo Athei*, no longer a matter of calumny.

"It is, however, with pride and pleasure that, at a period when scepticism has been obtruded upon us as a topic of distinction and triumph, and even taught in our public schools, we can point to a roll of illustrious names, the most consummate for their talent among those who have made the study of life, and health and disease their peculiar profession, who have publicly borne testimony to their firm belief in the existence of their God, and in the immortality of the human soul. When Galen, meditating on the structure and functions of the body, broke forth into that celebrated declaration, *Compono hic profecto Canticum in Creatoris nostri laudem*, he but led the way to similar but still more important avowals from the mighty names of Boerhaave and of Haller, of Sydenham and of Browne, and of Mead: men unrivalled for their professional sagacity, and alike impressed with the deepest conviction of one great first cause of future being and of eternity, 'that ancient source as well as universal sepulchre of worlds and ages, in which the duration of this globe is lost as that of a day, and the life of man as a moment.'" *Drake's Evenings in Autumn*, vol. ii. p. 71—73.—*Ed.*

soul doth seem to be immured before the resurrection, it is nothing but an elemental composition, and a fabrick that must[4] fall to ashes. "All flesh is grass," is not only metaphorically, but literally, true; for all those creatures we behold are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves. Nay, further, we are what we all abhor, *anthropophagi*, and cannibals, devourers not only of men, but of ourselves; and that not in an allegory but a positive truth: for all this mass of flesh which we behold, came in at our mouths: this frame we look upon, hath been upon our trenchers; in brief, we have devoured ourselves.[5] I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm his metempsychosis, or impossible transmigration of the souls of men into beasts.[6] Of all metamorphoses or trans-

[4] *must.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *may.*—*Ed.*

[5] *Nay, further, &c.*] The Latin annotator is not content to receive this singular passage literally, as the author clearly intended it. He gives the following notes:

"*Ipsi anthropophagi sumus.*] Ut embryones in utero matris; nam mater ex proprio corpore nutrimentum illis præbet: nutriuntur etiam postea ex utero matris egressi lacte fœmipino.

"*Sed et nos ipsos devorare soliti.*] Nam mœsti et invidi proprium cor comedere dicuntur."—*Ed.*

[6] *I cannot believe, &c.*] The metempsychosis may perhaps be supposed to have arisen out of the belief which the early philosophers adopted of the immortality of the soul. It has been said that Pythagoras not only believed in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls literally; but even went so far as to assert his recollection of the various bodies which his own soul had inhabited; attributing his remembrance to the special grace of Mercury.

"The opinion of the metempsychosis spread in almost every region of the earth; and it continues even to the present time, in all its force amongst those nations who have not yet embraced Christianity. The people of Arracan, Peru, Siam, Camboya, Tonquin, Cochin-China, Japan, Java, and Ceylon, still entertain that fancy, which also forms the chief article of the Chinese religion. The Druids believed in transmigration. The bardic triads of the Welsh are full of this belief; and a Welsh antiquary insists that by an emigration which formerly took place, it was conveyed to the Bramins of India from Wales! It is on this system of transmigration that Taliessin the Welsh bard, who wrote in the sixth century, gives a recital of his pretended transmigrations. He tells how he had been a serpent, a wild ass, a buck, or a crane, &c.; and this kind of reminiscence of his former state, this recovery of memory, was a proof of the mortal's advances to the happier circle. For

migrations, I believe only one, that is of Lot's wife; for that of Nabuchodonosor proceeded not so far. In all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicit sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death as before it was materialed unto life: that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without a miracle: that the souls of the faithful, as they leave earth, take possession of heaven; that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering souls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villany; instilling and stealing into our hearts that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander, solicitous of the affairs of the world. But that those phantasms appear often, and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches, it is because those are the dormitories of the dead, where the devil, like an insolent champion, beholds[7] with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory in Adam.[8]

to forget what we have been, was one of the curses of the circle of evil. According to the authentic Clavigero, in his history of Mexico, we find the Pythagorean transmigration carried on in the west, and not less fancifully than in the countries of the east. The people of Tlascala believe that the souls of persons of rank went after their death to inhabit the bodies of *beautiful and sweet singing birds*, and those of the *nobler quadrupeds;* while the souls of inferior persons were supposed to pass into *weasels, beetles*, and such other *meaner animals.*" *D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 49—52.—*Ed.*

With respect to the real opinions of Pythagoras, on this subject, see *Bulstrode's Essay on Transmigration;* Dr. Stackhouse's preface to the *Chinese Tales;* and Taylor's translation of *Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras.* On the Jewish notions respecting the doctrine of transmigration, see *Stehelin's Rabbinical Literature*, vol. i. p. 277—338.—*E. H. B.*

[7] *beholds.*] So all the *MSS.; Edts.* 1642 read, *holds.*—*Ed.*

[8] *that those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons, &c.*] Vide *Chrysostomum, in Homil.* 29 *in Matthæum; Augustin. De Cura pro mortuis*, c. 10, 16, et seqq.—*M.*

See Sir K. Digby's criticism on this passage.

Modern philosophers of the school of Schott, Gaffarel, &c. have a ready solution, in their *Palingenesis*, for the apparitions of animals as well as plants. "Thus the dead naturally revive: and a corpse may

SECT. XXXVIII.—This is that dismal conquest we all deplore, that makes us so often cry, O Adam, *quid fecisti?* I thank God I have not those strait ligaments, or narrow obligations to the world, as to dote on life, or be convulsed and tremble at the name of death. Not that I am insensible of the dread and horror thereof; or, by raking into the bowels of the deceased, continual sight of anatomies, skeletons, or cadaverous relicks, like vespilloes, or grave-makers, I am become stupid, or have forgot the apprehension of mortality; but that, marshalling all the horrors, and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not anything therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well-resolved Christian; and therefore am not angry at the error of our first parents, or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and, like the best of them, to die; that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements; to be a kind of nothing for a moment; to be within one instant of a spirit.[9] When I take a full view and circle of myself without[1] this reasonable moderator, and equal piece of justice, death, I do conceive myself the miserablest person extant. Were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not entreat a moment's breath from me. Could the devil work my belief to imagine I could never die, I would not outlive that very thought. I have so abject a conceit[2] of this common way of existence, this retaining to the sun and elements, I cannot think this

give out its shadowy reanimation, when not too deeply buried in the earth. Bodies corrupted in their graves have risen, particularly the murdered; for murderers are apt to bury their victims in a slight and hasty manner. Their salts, exhaled in vapour by means of their fermentation, have arranged themselves on the surface of the earth, and formed those phantoms, which at night have often terrified the passing spectator, as authentic history witnesses. They have opened the graves of the phantom, and discovered the bleeding corpse beneath: hence it is astonishing how many ghosts may be seen at night, after a recent battle, standing over their corpses!" *D'Israeli's Second Series of Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 17.—*Ed.*

[9] *one instant of a spirit.*] So in *MSS. R. & W.* 2; *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, "in one instant a spirit."—*Ed.*

[1] *without.*] So in *MS. R.*; *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *but with. MS. W.* 2 reads, *with but.*—*Ed.*

[2] *conceit.*] So in *MSS. R. & W.* 2; *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, *thought.*—*Ed.*

is to be a man, or to live according to the dignity of humanity.[3] In expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life; yet, in my best meditations, do often defy[4] death. [It is a symptom of melancholy to be afraid of death, yet sometimes to desire it; this latter I have often discovered in myself, and think no man ever desired life, as I have sometimes death.[5]] I honour any man that contemns it; nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a soldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible regiments, that will die at the command of a sergeant. For a pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but, for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this dilemma—that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless[6] of the life to come.[7]

SECT. XXXIX.—Some divines count Adam thirty years old at his creation,[8] because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man: and surely we are all out of the computation of our age; and every man is some months older than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements, and the malice of diseases, in that other world, the truest microcosm, the womb of our mother; for besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosom of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest gradations. In that obscure world, the womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the moon; yet longer than the days of many creatures that behold the

[3] *humanity.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *my nature.*—*Ed.*

[4] *defy.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *desire.*—*Ed.*

[5] *It is a symptom, &c.*] This passage is inserted from *MSS. W.* 2 & *R.*; it is not in any edition.—*Ed.*

[6] *hopeless.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *careless.*—*Ed.*

[7] *I thank God, &c.*] "To arm us against the fears of dissolution, volumes upon volumes have been written; but, if we except our hallowed Scriptures, I know not where, in a style so condensed and striking, or on a basis more truly Christian, we can find a better dissuasive, under a confessional form at least, against the inordinate love of life, and the apprehensions of death, than what this passage affords us." *Drake's Evenings in Autumn*, vol. ii. p. 92.—*Ed.*

[8] *Some divines, &c.*] Vide *Augustin.* l. vi. *de Genes. ad liter.* c. 13.—*M.*

sun; ourselves being not yet without life, sense, and reason;[9] though, for[1] the manifestation of its actions, it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation. Entering afterwards upon the scene of the world, we rise up and become another creature; performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of divinity in us,[2] but not in complement and perfection, till we have once more cast our secundine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is, that ineffable place of Paul, that proper[3] *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the philosophers' stone (which is something more than[4] the perfect exaltation[5] of gold) hath taught me a great deal of divinity, and instructed my belief, how that immortal spirit and incorruptible substance of my soul may lie obscure, and sleep awhile[6] within this house of flesh. Those strange and mystical transmigrations that I have observed in silkworms turned my philosophy into divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something divine; and hath more in it than the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

SECT. XL.—I am naturally bashful; nor hath conversation, age, or travel, been able to effront or enharden me; yet I have one part of modesty, which I have seldom discovered in another, that is (to speak truly), I am not so much afraid of death as ashamed thereof; 'tis the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures, that in a moment can so disfigure us, that our nearest friends, wife, and children, stand afraid, and start[7] at us. The birds and beasts of the

[9] *not without life, sense, and reason.*] In perfect consistency with this opinion, Sir Thomas wrote *a Dialogue between two twins in the womb, respecting the world into which they were going.*—Alas! we have hunted for this *morceau* in vain!—It seems to have perished.—*Ed.*

[1] *though, for.*] Not in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[2] *us.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *use.*—*Ed.*

[3] *proper.*] Not in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[4] *something more than.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "nothing else but."—*Ed.*

[5] *exaltation.*] In the sense of *purification.*—*Ed.*

[6] *awhile.*] So in *MSS. R. & W.* 2; omitted in *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[7] *start.*] So all the *MSS.*; *Edts.* 1642 read, *stare.*—*Ed.*

field, that before, in a natural fear, obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath, in a tempest, disposed and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters, wherein I had perished unseen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had said, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Not that I am ashamed of the anatomy of my parts, or can accuse nature of playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vicious life for contracting any shameful disease upon me, whereby I might not call myself as wholesome a morsel for the worms as any.

SECT. XLI.—Some, upon the courage of a fruitful issue, wherein, as in the truest chronicle, they seem to outlive themselves,[8] can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit subsisting in our progenies seems to me a mere fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man, that can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition, should desire to live in his substance in heaven, rather than his name and shadow in the earth.[9] And therefore, at my death, I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph; not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found anywhere, but in the universal register of God. I am not yet so cynical, as to approve the testament of Diogenes,*[1] nor do I altogether allow[2] that rodomontado of Lucan;[3]

> ———*Cœlo tegitur, qui non habet urnam.*
>
> He that unburied lies wants not his hearse;
> For unto him a tomb 's the universe.

---

* Who willed his friend not to bury him, but to hang him up with a staff in his hand, to fright away the crows.

[8] *as in the truest chronicle, &c.*] Eleganter *Cic.* l. 6, *De Republica, in Somnio Scipionis.—M.*

[9] *rather than, &c.*] This clause is in *MS. W.* 2; it is not in *Edts.* 1642, nor in the text of *MSS. W. & R.*, but is inserted in the margin of these *MSS.—Ed.*

[1] *I am not yet so, &c.*] This clause, with the note at "Diogenes," is not in *MS. R.—Ed.*

[2] *allow.*] *Edts.* 1645, 1659, 1672, and 1686, read, *follow.—Ed.*

[3] *Lucan.*] *Pharsalia,* lib. vii. 819. *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *Lucian.—Ed.*

but commend, in my calmer judgment, those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleep by the urns of their fathers, and strive to go the neatest[4] way unto corruption. I do not envy the temper[5] of crows and daws,[6] nor the numerous and weary days of our fathers before the flood. If there be any truth in astrology, I may outlive a jubilee;* as yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn,† nor hath my pulse beat thirty years, and yet, excepting one,[7] have seen the ashes of, and left under ground, all the kings of Europe; have been contemporary to three emperors, four grand signiors, and as many popes:[8] methinks I have outlived my-

* The Jewish computation for 50 years.—*MS. W.*

† The planet Saturn maketh his revolution once in 30 years.—*MS. W.*

[4] *neatest.*] So *Edts.* 1643, 1645, 1678, 1682, 1736, and the foreign *Edts.* All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, 1659, 1672, and 1686, read, *nearest.*—*Ed.*

[5] *temper.*] In the sense of *temperament, constitution.*—*Ed.*

[6] *I do not envy, &c.*] As Theophrastus did, who, dying, accused nature for giving them, to whom it could not be of any concernment, so large a life; and to man, whom it much concerned, so short a one. *Cic. Tusc. Quæst.* l. iii. How long *daws* live, see *Not. ad Sect.* 41.—*K.*

It is clear, from this reference to a note about daws, as well as from other similar evidences, that Keck annoted on the *Edit.* 1643; for in those of 1642, the words, "and daws," do not occur. The note, however, is not to be found; and for that reason, probably, the reference to it is omitted in the *Edit.* 1686. Keck perhaps wrote the above as a memorandum only, with the intention of inserting some observations on the subject; but, through inadvertence, neither wrote the observations, nor erased the reference.

On the longevity of crows, see *Pseud. Epid.* book iii. ch. 9.—*Ed.*

Buffon says that the raven lives above 100 years. Sonnini quotes the following passage from Pliny (l. vii. c. 48); "Hesiodus . . . cornici novem nostras attribuit ætates; quadruplum ejus cervis; id triplicatum corvis;"—which he proposes to reconcile with fact, by rendering *ætas,* 'year.' The crow thus is said to attain to 9 years of age, the stag to 36, the raven to 108; which is true. See *Buffon par Sonnini,* tom. xliv. p. 40.—*Ed.*

[7] *excepting one.*] Christiern IV. King of Denmark, who reigned from 1588 to 1647.—*Ed.*

[8] *have been contemporary to, &c.*] Rodolph II. Matthias, and Ferdinand II., Emperors of Germany;—Achmet I., Mustapha I., Othman II., and Amurath IV., Grand Signiors;—Leo XI., Paul V., Gregory XV., and Urban VIII., Popes.

Our author, however, in reckoning himself contemporary with Leo XI. must have proceeded on his own fanciful principle of computation, laid down in § 39,—"that every man is some months older than he

self, and begin to be weary of the sun;[9] I have shaken hands with delight[1] in my warm blood and canicular days; I perceive I do anticipate[2] the vices of age; the world to me is but a dream or mock-show, and we all therein but pantaloons and anticks, to my severer contemplations.

SECT. XLII.—It is not, I confess, an unlawful prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to outlive that age wherein he thought fittest to die; yet, if (as divinity affirms) there shall be no grey hairs in heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but outlive those perfections in this world, to be recalled unto[3] them by a greater miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be superannuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of Methuselah. But age doth not rectify, but incurvate our natures, turning bad dispositions into worser habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day, as we grow weaker in age, we grow stronger in sin, and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice, committed at sixteen, is not the same, though it agrees in all other circumstances, at forty; but swells and doubles from the circumstance of our ages, wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgement cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon. Every sin, the oftener it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it succeeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and, like figures in arithmetick, the last stands for more than all that went before it.[4] And, though I think no man can live well once, but he

bethinks him:" and thus he might as well have counted *five* Popes;—for Clement VIII., died March 3, 1605; Leo XI. was crowned on the 26th April; and Paul V. on the 29th of May, of the same year;—about six months before Sir Thomas Browne was born.—*Ed.*

[9] *sun.*] *same* in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[1] *shaken hands with delight.*] "Taken leave of it."—*Ed.*

[2] *anticipate.*] So in *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.*; *Edts.* 1642 and *MS. W.* read, *participate.*—*Ed.*

[3] *unto.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *by.*—*Ed.*

[4] *before it.*] In all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, the remainder of this section and the whole of the next are omitted; and the following passage occurs:—"the course and order of my life would be a very death

that could live twice, yet, for my own part, I would not live over my hours past, or begin again the thread of my days; not upon Cicero's ground, because I have lived them well,[5] but for fear I should live them worse. I find my growing judgment daily instruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitiosity make me daily do worse. I find in my confirmed age the same sins I discovered in my youth; I committed many then because I was a child; and, because I commit them still, I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a child, before the days of dotage; and stand in need of Æson's bath before threescore.[6]

SECT. XLIII.—And truly there goes a deal of providence to produce[7] a man's life unto threescore; there is more required than an able temper[8] for those years: though the radical humour contain in it sufficient oil for seventy, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty: men assign not all the causes of long life, that write whole books thereof. They that found themselves on the radical balsam, or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel lived not so long as Adam. There is therefore a secret gloom or bottom of our days: 'twas his wisdom to determine them: but his perpetual and waking providence that fulfils and accomplisheth them; wherein the spirits, ourselves, and all the creatures of God, in a secret and disputed way, do execute his will. Let them not therefore complain of immaturity that die about thirty: they fall but like the whole world, whose solid and well-composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution: when all things are completed in it, its age is accomplished; and the

to others; I use myself to all diets, humours, airs, hunger, thirst, cold, heat, want, plenty, necessity, dangers, hazards: when I am cold, I cure not myself by heat, when I am sick, not by physick; those that know how I live, may justly say I regard not life, nor stand in fear of death."—*Ed.*

[5] *Cicero's ground.*] "Quod reliquum est, te sustenta, mea Terentia, ut potes, honestissime viximus, floruimus."—*Cic. Epist.* lib. xxiv. ep. 24.—*K.*

[6] *Æson's bath.*] See *Ovid. Metam.* lib. vii.—*K.*

[7] *produce.*] In the sense of *extend.*—*Ed.*

[8] *temper.*] In the sense of *constitution;* see it used with the same import, § 41, "the *temper* of crows and daws."—*Ed.*

last and general fever may as naturally destroy it before six thousand, as me before forty. There is therefore some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of nature: we are not only ignorant in antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obscure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a pencil that is invisible; wherein, though we confess our ignorance, I am sure we do not err if we say, it is the hand of God.

SECT. XLIV.—I am much taken with two verses of Lucan, since I have been able not only, as we do at school, to construe, but understand:

> *Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,*
> *Felix esse mori.*[9]
>
> We're all deluded, vainly searching ways
> To make us happy by the length of days;
> For cunningly, to make 's protract this breath,
> The gods conceal the happiness of death.

There be many excellent strains in that poet, wherewith his stoical genius hath liberally supplied him: and truly there are singular pieces in the philosophy[1] of Zeno, and doctrine of the stoics, which I perceive, delivered in a pulpit, pass for current divinity: yet herein are they in extremes, that can allow a man to be his own assassin, and so highly extol the end and suicide of Cato. This is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death; but, where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live: and herein religion hath taught us a noble example; for all the valiant acts of Curtius, Scævola, or Codrus, do not parallel, or match, that one of Job; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any poniards in death itself, like those in the way or prologue unto it. *Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo;*[2] I would not die, but care not to

[9] *Victurosque, &c.*] *Pharsalia*, lib. iv. 519.—*Ed.*

[1] *in the philosophy, &c.*] *Edt.* 1642, *W.* reads, "of the philosophy, &c." *Edt.* 1642, *C.* reads "of philosophy, &c."—*Ed.*

[2] *Emori nolo, &c.*] Referring to a translation in Cicero, of a line in Epicharmus:—

"Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil æstimo." *Tuscul. Quæst.* l. i.—*Ed.*

be dead. Were I of Cæsar's religion, I should be of his desires,[3] and wish rather to go off[4] at one blow, than to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease.[5] Men that look no further than their outsides, think health an appertenance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick; but I, that have examined the parts of man, and know upon what tender filaments that fabrick hangs, do wonder that we are not always so; and, considering the thousand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can die but once. 'Tis not only the mischief of diseases, and the villainy of poisons, that make an end of us; we vainly accuse the fury of guns, and the new inventions of death:—it is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholden unto every one we meet, he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death. God would not exempt himself from that; the misery of immortality in the flesh he undertook not, that was in it, immortal.[6] Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh; nor is it in the opticks of these eyes to behold felicity. The first day of our jubilee is death; the devil hath therefore failed of his desires; we are happier with death than we should have been without it: there is no misery but in himself, where there is no end of misery; and so indeed, in his own sense, the stoic is in the right.[7] He forgets that he can die, who

[3] *Were I of Cæsar's religion, &c.*] Alluding, very probably, to the following passage from Suetonius; "aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus, subitam sibi celeremque optaverat. Et pridie quam occideretur, in sermone nato super cœnam, apud M. Lepidum, quisnam esset finis vitæ commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque prætulerat." *Sueton. in Vit. J. Cæsar.* 87.—*Ed.*

[4] *go off.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "be tortured."—*Ed.*

[5] *disease.*] The remainder of the section is wanting in *Edts.* 1642, and all the *MSS.*—*Ed.*

[6] *he undertook not, &c.*] Rather, "he who was in it immortal, undertook not."—*Ed.*

[7] *the stoic is in the right.*] In adopting sentiments like the following:

"——— mors ultima pœna est
Nec metuenda viris.———"

complains of misery: we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.[8]

SECT. XLV.—Now, besides this literal and positive kind of death, there are others whereof divines make mention, and those, I think, not merely metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the world: Therefore, I say, every man hath a double horoscope; one of his humanity,—his birth, another of his christianity,—his baptism: and from this do I compute or calculate my nativity; not reckoning those *horæ combustæ*,* and odd days, or esteeming myself anything, before I was my Saviour's and enrolled in the register of Christ. Whosoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he wear about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these moral acceptions, the way to be immortal is to die daily; nor can I think I have[9] the true theory of death, when I contemplate a skull or behold a skeleton with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us.[1] I have therefore enlarged that common *memento mori* into a more Christian memorandum, *memento quatuor novissima*,—those four inevitable points of us all, death, judgment, heaven, and hell. Neither did the contemplations of the heathens rest in their graves, without a further thought, of Rhadamanth or some judicial proceeding after death, though in another way, and upon suggestion of their natural reasons. I cannot but marvel from what sibyl or oracle they stole the prophecy of the world's destruction by fire, or whence Lucan learned to say,

> *Communis mundo superest rogus, ossibus astra*
> *Misturus*——
>
> There yet remains to th' world one common fire,
> Wherein our bones with stars shall make one pyre.[2]

---

* That time when the moon is in conjunction, and obscured by the sun, the astrologers call *horæ combustæ*. *MS. W.—Ed.*

[8] *while death is in our own.*] Meaning that death is in our own power, because no one can deprive us of it.—*Ed.*

[9] *I have.*] All the *MSS.* read, "but that I have."—*Ed.*

[1] *imaginations it casts upon us.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "imaginations cast upon it."—*Ed.*

[2] *whence Lucan learned to say, &c.*] Why, Lucan was a stoick, and

I believe the world grows near its end; yet is neither old nor decayed, nor will ever perish upon the ruins of its own principles.[3] As the work of creation was above nature, so is its adversary, annihilation; without which the world hath not its end, but its mutation.[4] Now, what force should be able to consume it thus far, without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my philosophy cannot[5] inform me. Some[6] believe[7] there went not a minute to the world's creation, nor shall there go to its destruction; those six days, so punctually described, make not to them[6] one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and idea of that great work in[8] the intellect of God than the manner how he proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such[9] judicial proceeding, or calling to the bar, as indeed the Scripture seems to imply, and the literal commentators do conceive: for unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way, and, being written unto man, are delivered, not as they truly are, but as they may be understood; wherein, notwithstanding, the different interpretations according to different capacities may stand

it was an opinion among them, almost generally, that the world should perish by fire;—"Stoïcis constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis igneescat." *Minutius in Octav.* But Minutius should have excepted Boethius, Possidonius, Diogenes Babylonius, and Zeno Sidonius, who were stoicks, and yet did not think the world should be destroyed by fire, or yet by any other means.—*K.*

For the passage quoted, see *Pharsalia*, vii. 814.—*Ed.*

[3] *nor will ever perish, &c.*] Sir Kenelm Digby attacks this passage, and refers to the arguments and prophecies of Thomas White, respecting the end of the world. But Sir Thomas is only contending that the world will not undergo annihilation, but only mutation;—that it will never *perish.*—*Ed.*

[4] *but its mutation.*] These words are in all the *MSS.* but not in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[5] *cannot.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read "can."—*Ed.*

[6] *Some . . . . them.*] I . . . me," in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[7] *Some believe, &c.*] De quo vide *Augustin.* l. iv. *De Genesi ad literam*, a cap. 22, usque ad finem; et *De Civit. Dei*, l. ii. c. 7.—*M.*

[8] *that great work in.*] I have adopted this reading on the authority of the *MSS.* in opposition to all the editions, which read, "the great work of."—*Ed.*

[9] *such.*] This word is wanting in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each single edification.

SECT. XLVI.—Now, to determine the day and year of this inevitable time, is not only convincible and statute madness, but also manifest impiety.[1] How shall we interpret Elias's six thousand years,[2] or imagine the secret communicated to a Rabbi which God hath denied unto his angels? It had been an excellent quære to have posed the devil of Delphos,* and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology. It hath not only mocked the predictions of sundry astrologers[3] in ages past, but the prophecies[4] of many melancholy heads in these present; who, neither understanding reasonably things past nor present, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained only to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy, and to fulfil old prophecies,† rather than be the authors of new. "In those days there shall come wars and rumours of wars"[5] to me seems no prophecy, but a constant truth in all times verified since it was pronounced. "There shall be signs in the moon and stars;" how comes he then like a thief in the night, when he gives an item of his coming? That common sign, drawn from the revelation of antichrist, is as obscure as any; in

* The oracle of Apollo.—*MS. W.*

† In those days there shall come liars and false prophets.

[1] *Now to determine, &c.*] Our Saviour's words are, "But of that day and *hour* knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven." Those writers, therefore, who have undertaken to fix the *year* in which the world is to terminate, probably consider themselves in no degree liable to the charge of impiety; and as little, it may be supposed, to that of "convincible and statute madness?"—*Ed.*

[2] *How shall we interpret Elias's six thousand years.*] Vide in Judaico *Thalmude Codice Sanhedrim*, cap. *Chelec;* et *Calixt.* in lib. *de Extremo Judicio*, p. 61.—*M.*

This passage from the Talmud is quoted in *Raymundi Pugione fidei*, pars II. cap. x. § 1, page 394, *Edit. Lipsiæ et Francofurt*, 1687; in which no particular Rabbi is named to whom the communication was made, but only, "*Traditum est a domo Eliæ* (i. e. a discipulis Eliæ); *per sex millia annorum erit mundus*," *&c.*; but as the tradition is handed down by the *disciples* of Elias, the probability is, that they believed the prophet was the medium of information.—*J. K.*

[3] *sundry astrologers.*] Vide *Richter* in *Ax. Ecclesiast.* Ax. 73, p. 86.—*M.*

[4] *prophecies.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edits.* 1642 read, *philosophy.*—*Ed.*

[5] *wars and rumours of wars.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, "liars and false prophets."—*Ed.*

our common compute he hath been come these many years; but, for my own part, to speak freely [omitting those ridiculous anagrams*], I am half of [Paracelsus's] opinion [and think] that antichrist is[6] the philosopher's stone in divinity, for the discovery and invention whereof, though there be prescribed rules, and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man[7] attained the perfect discovery thereof. That general opinion, that the world grows near its end, hath possessed all ages past as nearly as ours. I am afraid that the souls that now depart cannot escape that lingering expostulation of the saints under the altar, *quousque, Domine?* how long, O Lord? and groan in the expectation of the great jubilee.

SECT. XLVII.—This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, his justice;[8] that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings; and reduce those seeming inequalities and respective distributions in this world, to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. This is that one day, that shall include and comprehend all that went before it; wherein, as in the last scene, all the actors must enter, to complete and make up the catastrophe of this great piece. This is the day whose memory hath, only, power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness. *Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi*, that virtue is her own reward, is but a cold principle,[9] and not able to maintain our variable resolutions in a constant and settled way of goodness. I have practised that honest artifice of Seneca,[1] and, in my

* Whereby men labour to prove the pope antichrist, from their name making up the number of the beast. *All the MSS.*

[6] *is as obscure, &c.*] This passage is not in *Edts.* 1642, which read, "the revelation of antichrist, the philosopher's stone, &c."—The words between brackets, and the note, are from all the *MSS.*—*Ed.*

[7] *hardly any man.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "no man."—*Ed.*

[8] *God, his justice.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "God's justice."—*Ed.*

[9] *is but a cold principle.*] It is a stoical principle. "*Pretium sui est.*" *Senec. De Vit. beat.* c. 9.—*K.*

Vide *Cicer. Tusc. Quæst.* l. ii. et v.; unde *Sil. Ital.* lib. xiii. et *Claudian in Cons. Manlium.*—*M.*

[1] *that honest artifice of Seneca.*] What that artifice was, is to be seen in *Senec.* l. i. ep. 11. "Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, et sem-

retired and solitary imaginations[2] to detain me from the foulness of vice, have fancied to myself the presence of my dear and worthiest friends, before whom I should lose my head rather than be vicious; yet herein I found that there was nought but moral honesty; and this was not to be virtuous for his sake who must reward us at the last.[3] I have tried if I could reach that great resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of heaven or hell; and, indeed I found, upon a natural inclination, and inbred loyalty unto virtue, that I could serve her without a livery, yet not in that resolved and venerable[4] way, but that the frailty of my nature, upon an easy temptation, might be induced to forget her. The life, therefore, and spirit of all our actions is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our[5] pious endeavours; without this, all religion is a fallacy, and those impieties of Lucian, Euripides, and Julian,[6] are no blasphemies, but subtile verities; and atheists have been the only[7] philosophers.

SECT. XLVIII.—How shall the dead arise, is no question of my faith; to believe only possibilities is not faith, but mere philosophy. Many things are true in divinity, which are neither inducible by reason nor confirmable by sense; and many things in philosophy confirmable by sense, yet not inducible by reason. Thus it is impossible, by any solid or demonstrative reasons, to persuade a man to believe the conversion of the needle to the north; though this be possible and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment

per ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, et omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus." Et paulo post; "Elige itaque Catonem; si hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Lelium, &c.," which though, as the author saith, it be an honest artifice, yet cannot I but commend the party, and prefer the direction of him (whoever he were) who in the margin of my *Seneca*, over against those words, wrote these: "Quin Deo potius, qui semper omnibus omnia agentibus non tanquam sed re ipsa adest, et videt; ac etiam ut testis, vindex et punitor est male agentis."—*K.*

[2] *I have practised, &c.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, "I have practised solitary imaginations."—*Ed.*

[3] *at the last.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642, read, "at the last day."—*Ed.*

[4] *venerable.*] In the sense of *reverential.*—*Ed.*

[5] *our.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, *their.*—*Ed.*

[6] *Julian.*] Wanting in *Edts.* 1642 and all the *MSS.*—*Ed.*

[7] *only.*] *MSS. W.* 2 & *R.* read *best.*—*Ed.*

unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust, after so many pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements, shall, at the voice of God, return into their primitive shapes, and join again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As at the creation[8] there was a separation of that confused mass into its species; so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As, at the creation of the world, all the distinct species that we behold lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful voice of God separated this united multitude into its several species, so, at the last day, when those corrupted relicks shall be scattered in the wilderness of forms, and seem to have forgot their proper habits, God, by a powerful voice, shall command them back into their proper shapes, and call them out by their single individuals. Then shall appear the fertility of Adam, and the magick of that sperm that hath dilated into so many millions.[9] I have often beheld, as a miracle, that artificial resurrection and revivification of mercury, how being mortified into a thousand shapes, it assumes again its own, and returns into its numerical self.[1] Let us speak naturally, and like philosophers. The forms of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not; nor, as we imagine, wholly quit their mansions; but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts; where they may best protect themselves from the action of their antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes to a contemplative and school-philosopher seems utterly destroyed,

[8] *creation.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, "creation of the world."—*Ed.*

[9] *millions.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, add the following passage here:—

"What is made to be immortal, nature cannot, nor will the voice of God, destroy.

"Those bodies that we behold to perish, were in their created natures immortal, and liable unto death but accidentally, and upon forfeit; and therefore they owe not that natural homage unto death as other bodies do, but may be restored to immortality with a lesser miracle, and by a bare and easy revocation of course return immortal."—*Ed.*

[1] *it assumes again, &c.*] Hinc Gregorius Nyssenus putat, si Deus permittat, corporum nostrorum particulas propter mutuum amorem sponte iterum coituras; probat id exemplo *argenti vivi.*—*M.*

and the form to have taken his leave for ever; but to a sensible[2] artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible[3] part, where they lie secure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the ashes of a plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recall it into its stalk and leaves again.[4] What the art of man can do in these inferior pieces,

[2] *sensible.*] So in *Edts.* 1642, and *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.; MS. W.* reads, *subtile.—Ed.*

[3] *incombustible.*] So in *MS. W.* 2; the *Edts.* 1642 and *MSS. W. & R.* read, *combustible.—Ed.*

[4] *This is, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, read, "This I make good by experience, and can, &c."

Sir Kenelm Digby, who used the édit. 1642, in which Sir Thomas asserts *himself* to have made good the experiment spoken of, expresses his doubt of its success, "if, under the notion of the same, he comprehendeth all the accidents that first accompanied the plants; &c."

The French translator makes the following observations on this curious passage. "Jean de Brune raconte, en sa *Pierre à aiguiser les Esprits,* en sa quatrième principale partie de son premier livre, un exemple semblable à cela, d'un médecin à Krakou, lequel assemble les cendres de toutes sortes de plantes, qui nous sont connues, desquelles il pouvait faire ressusciter derechef la forme des fleurs: et quoi qu'il y ait beaucoup de personnes qui ne le croient pas, où qui n'y adjoutent pas beaucoup de foi, le dit de Brune dit neanmoins au lieu ci-dessus allegué ces choses, *à present ce secret n'est pas si rare; car plusieurs savants chimistes nous en font voir tous les jours des preuves:* ce lieu mérite bien d'être lu."—*Fr. Tr.*

"De quo, tamen," says Moltke, "dubito. Vidi Romæ apud P. Athanasium Kircherum ejusmodi plantam (ut ille referebat, si bene memini) e cineribus resuscitatam. Puto herbas, ex quibus illa fuit, non fuisse combustas, aut in cineres redactas, sed solum exsiccatas, et in pulverem redactas. Ejusmodi aliquid fieri posse ex urticis et aliis non est dubium. Percepi postea dictum Patrem Adiantos sive capillos veneris, partim in cineres redegisse, partim e cineribus sal fecisse, partim e capillis illis aquam distillasse, et postea omnia illa in phiala longa ac ventrem habente miscuisse, collum vitri hermetice clausisse, et collocasse in loco temperato: exindeque novam resurrexisse plantam, lubenter id experientia explorassem, sed satis capillorum invenire hic haud potui. Amicus quidem meus voluit id ex urticis comperire, sed nihil exinde resurrexit. Habeo adhuc alia secreta quæ docent quomodo ex contusis et putrefactis seminibus nova possit resuscitari planta, sed an præstent ea quæ promittunt, nondum hactenus probavi."—*M.*

In the Correspondence of Sir Thomas Browne will be found a letter addressed to him by Dr. Henry Power, intreating "an experimental eviction" of "so high and noble a piece of chymistry, viz. the re-individuality of an incinerated plant." And among Dr. P.'s papers in the

what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in those more perfect and sensible structures? This is

British Museum (*MSS. Sloan.* 1334, f. 33) is preserved, under the head of "Experiments and Subtilties," the following;

"*An admirable secret of representing the very forme of plants by their ashes philosophically prepared. Spoken of by Quercetanus* [Joseph Duchesne] *and Angelus Salæ.*

"Take (saith hee) the salt, both the fixed and the volatile also. Take the very spirit and the phlegme of any herbe, but let them all bee rightly prepared; dissolve them and coagulate them, upon which if you put the water stilled from May-dew, or else the proper water of the hearb you would have appeare; close them all very well in a glasse for the purpose, and by the heate of embers or the naturall heate of ones body, at the bottome of the glasse, the very forme and idæa thereof will be represented; which will suddenly vanish away, the heate being withdrawn from the bottome of the glasse."

We cannot refrain from giving a passage on this subject from *D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature.*

"Never was a philosophical imagination more beautiful than that exquisite *Palingenesis*, as it has been termed from the Greek, or a regeneration; or rather, the apparitions of animals and plants. Schott Kircher, Gaffarel, Borelli, Digby, and the whole of that admirable school, discovered in the ashes of plants their primitive forms, which were again raised up by the force of heat. Nothing, they say, perishes in nature; all is but a continuation, or a revival. The semina of resurrection are concealed in extinct bodies, as in the blood of man; the ashes of roses will again revive into roses, though smaller and paler than if they had been planted: unsubstantial and unodoriferous, they are not roses which grew on rose-trees, but their delicate apparitions; and, like apparitions, they are seen but for a moment! The process of the *Palingenesis*, this picture of immortality, is described. These philosophers having burnt a flower, by calcination disengaged the salts from its ashes, and deposited them in a glass phial; a chemical mixture acted on it, till in the fermentation they assumed a bluish and spectral hue. This dust, thus excited by heat, shoots upwards into its primitive forms; by sympathy the parts unite, and while each is returning to its destined place, we see distinctly the stalk, the leaves, and the flower, arise: it is the pale spectre of a flower coming slowly forth from its ashes. The heat passes away, the magical scene declines, till the whole matter again precipitates itself into the chaos at the bottom. This vegetable phœnix lies thus concealed in its cold ashes, till the presence of heat produced this resurrection—as in its absence it returns to its death."

The following experiment by Sir Thomas Browne, preserved in his handwriting in the British Museum, will throw light on the real character of these supposed vegetable resurrections.

"The water distilled out of the roote of *bryonia alba*, mixed with *sal nitri*, will send forth handsome shootes. Butt the neatest draughts are made in the sand or scurvie grasse water, if you make a thin solution therein of *sal amoniac*, and so lett it exhale; for at the bottom will

that mystical philosophy, from whence no true scholar becomes an atheist, but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real divine, and beholds not in a dream, as Ezekiel, but in an ocular and visible object, the types of his resurrection.

SECT. XLIX.—Now, the necessary[5] mansions of our restored selves are those two contrary and incompatible places we call heaven and hell. To define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my divinity. That elegant[6] apostle, which seemed to have a glimpse of heaven, hath left but a negative description thereof; which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor can enter into the heart of man: he was translated out of himself to behold it; but, being returned into himself, could not express it, Saint John's description by emeralds, chrysolites, and precious stones, is too weak to express the material heaven we behold. Briefly, therefore, where the soul hath the full measure and complement of happiness; where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains completely satisfied that it can neither desire addition nor alteration; that, I think, is truly heaven: and this can only be in the enjoyment of that essence, whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of itself, and the unsatiable wishes of ours.[7] Wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is heaven, though within the circle of this sensible world. Thus, the soul[8] of man may be in heaven anywhere, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body it may remain in its own soul, that is, its Creator. And thus we may say that Saint Paul, whether in the body or out of the body, was yet in heaven. To place it in the

remain woods and rowes of filicular shaped plants, in an exquisite and subtle way of draught, much answering the figures in the stones from the East Indies." *MSS. Sloan.* 1847.—*Ed.*

[5] *necessary.*] In the sense of *inevitable.*—*Ed.*

> "Death, a necessary end,
> Will come, when it will come."—*Shaksp.*

[6] *elegant.*] Merryweather reads, *eloquentissimus*, and the Fr. translator after him renders it, "le plus eloquent."—*Ed.*

[7] *ours.*] i. e. *ourselves.*—*Ed.*

[8] *soul.*] So all the *MSS.*; the *Edts.* 1642 read, *sense.*—*Ed.*

empyreal, or beyond the tenth sphere, is to forget the world's destruction; for when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all[9] shall then be here as it is now there, an empyreal heaven, a *quasi* vacuity; when[1] to ask where heaven is, is to demand where the presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. Moses, that was bred up in all the learning of the Egyptians, committed a gross absurdity in philosophy, when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is truth itself, to a contradiction. Those that imagine heaven and hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extremes, upon consequence of the parable, where Dives discoursed with Lazarus, in Abraham's bosom, do too grossly conceive of those glorified creatures, whose eyes shall easily out-see the sun, and behold without perspective the extremest distances: for if there shall be, in our glorified eyes, the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable[2] a way as now the intellectual. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphere, or in a vacuity, according to Aristotle's philosophy, could not behold each other, because there wants a body or medium to hand[3] and transport the visible rays of the object unto the sense; but when there shall be a general defect of either medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose that medium, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of opticks.

SECT. L.—I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of hell; I know not what to make of purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or[4] purify the substance of a soul.[5] Those flames of sulphur, mentioned in the scrip-

[9] *all.*] So *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.; MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *and.*—*Ed.*

[1] *when.*] *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.* read, *then.*—*Ed.*

[2] *unlimitable.*] *MS. R.* reads, *limitable.*—*Ed.*

[3] *hand.*] The *Edts.* 1642 read *have.*—*Ed.*

[4] *either prey upon, or.*] *MSS. W. & R.* read, "neither prey upon, nor."—*Ed.*

[5] *or conceive a flame, &c.*] Upon this ground Psellus (l. i. *De Energia Dæmonum,* c. 7) holds that angels have bodies (though he grants them to be as pure or more pure than air is), otherwise he could not apprehend how they should be tormented in hell.—*K.*

tures, I take not to be understood of this present hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject whereon to manifest its tyranny. Some who have had the honour to be textuary in divinity are of opinion it shall be the same specifical fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies, and yet not consume us: for in this material world, there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfulest flames; and though, by the action of fire, they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction. I would gladly know how Moses, with an actual fire, calcined or burnt the golden calf into powder: for that mystical metal of gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire,[6] exposed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot, and liquefies, but consumeth not; so when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like gold, though they suffer from the action of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortal in the arms of fire. And surely, if this frame must suffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape; and not only heaven, but earth will not be at an end, but rather a beginning. For at present it is not earth, but a composition of fire, water, earth, and air; but at that time, spoiled of these ingredients, it shall appear in a substance more like itself, its ashes. Philosophers that opinioned the world's destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper[7] action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our chymicks facetiously affirm,[8] that, at the last fire, all shall be crystalized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we fear this term, annihilation, or wonder that God will destroy the works of his creation: for man subsisting, who is, and will then truly appear, a microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed.

[6] *admire.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *adore.*—*Ed.*

[7] *proper.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, *powerfulest.*—*Ed.*

[8] *affirm.*] In all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, the following clause is here added, "yea, and urge Scripture for it."—*Ed.*

For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves,[9] shall as really behold and contemplate the world, in its epitome or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance. In the seed of a plant, to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, though in an invisible way,[1] there exist the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof; for things that are in *posse* to the sense, are actually existent to the understanding. Thus God beholds all things, who contemplates as fully his works in their epitome as in their full volume, and beheld as amply the whole world, in that little compendium of the sixth day,[2] as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

SECT. LI. — Men commonly set forth the torments of hell by fire,[3] and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and describe hell in the same method that Mahomet doth heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular ears: but if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence,

[9] *selves.*] *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.* read, *senses.—Ed.*

[1] *though in an invisible way, &c.*] "Mon fidèle ami, cet esprit bien exercé qu'on fait l'auteur de *l'Interest de la Hollande,* êtant en mon jardin, sut bien me dire, avec de bonnes raisons, qu'on pouvoit voir auparavant dans le cœur de l'oignon, quelle fleur il en proviendroit: il parloit pour lors des tulipes. J. R."—*Fr. Tr.*

[2] *little compendium of the sixth day.*] i. e. man.—*M.*

[3] *Men commonly set forth the torments of hell by fire.*] That the punishments of the next world are to consist of material fire, is a position which is ably controverted by the learned Protestant Saurin in one of his Discourses translated by Robert Robinson. The Holy Scriptures no more unfold to us the precise nature of the punishments, which we may in the next world expect for our offences in this world, than they reveal to us what will be the precise nature of the happiness of the righteous in the next life. Our limited understandings may be as incapable of comprehending the one as the other: it is sufficient for the purposes of human life that we are as well assured of the one as the other. If the joys of heaven are described as "an exceeding weight of glory," an immortal crown, as recumbency in "Abraham's bosom," and singing hallelujahs by the side of the Lamb, the language is as metaphorical as when the pains of hell are said to consist of "a worm that never dieth," a "fire that is never quenched," a "burning lake," a bottomless pit, and similar expressions. If the torment were a "worm," it could not be a fire, or lake, or pit; and if we are compelled to admit the figurative language in the one case, we need not hesitate to apply the same mode of interpretation to the other.—*E. H. B.*

that translated divinity and colony[4] of God, the soul.[5] Surely, though we place hell under earth, the devil's walk and purlieu is about it. Men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains, which to grosser apprehensions represent hell.[6] The heart of man is the place the devils dwell in; I feel sometimes a hell within myself; Lucifer keeps his court in my breast; Legion is revived in me. There are as many hells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds.[7] There was more than one hell in Magdalene, when there were seven devils; for every devil is an hell unto himself;[8] he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi;* and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him: and thus, a distracted conscience here is a shadow or introduction unto hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves? The devil, were it in his power, would do the like; which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

SECT. LII.—I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of hell, nor ever grew pale at the description of that place. I have so fixed my contemplations on heaven, that I have almost forgot the idea of hell; and am afraid

[4] *and colony.*] In the *MSS. W. & R.* there is a blank in place of these words, which are wanting in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[5] *the soul.*] The remainder of the section is wanting in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[6] *flaming mountains, &c.*] Ætna and Vesuvius; which in the popular superstition of the country have been supposed the mouths of hell. —*Ed.* 1736.

[7] *There are as many hells, &c.*] I assure myself that this is false printed, and that instead of Anaxagoras it should be Anaxarchus; for Anaxagoras is reckoned amongst those philosophers that maintained the unity of the world, but Anaxarchus (according to the opinion of Epicurus) held there were infinite worlds. This is he that caused Alexander to weep by telling him that there were infinite worlds; whereby Alexander it seems was brought out of opinion of his geography, who before that time thought there remained nothing, or not much, beyond his conquests.—*K.*

[8] *for every devil is an hell unto himself.*] So Milton in *Paradise Lost,* i. 254.

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

E. H. B.

rather to lose the joys of the one, than endure the misery of the other: to be deprived of them is a perfect hell, and needs methinks no addition to complete our afflictions. That terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof. I fear God, yet am not afraid of him; his mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before his judgments afraid thereof: these are the forced and secondary method of his wisdom, which he useth but as the last remedy, and upon provocation;—a course rather to deter[9] the wicked, than incite the virtuous to his worship. I can hardly think there was ever any scared into heaven: they go the fairest[1] way to heaven that would serve God without a hell: other mercenaries, that crouch unto him in fear of hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves, of the Almighty.

SECT. LIII.—And to be true, and speak my soul, when I survey the occurrences of my life, and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyss and mass of mercies, either in general to mankind, or in particular to myself. And, whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and[2] partial conceit of his mercies, I know not,—but those which others term crosses, afflictions, judgments, misfortunes, to me, who inquire further into them than their visible effects, they both appear, and in event[3] have ever proved, the secret and dissembled favours of his affection. It is a singular piece of wisdom to apprehend truly, and without passion, the works of God, and so well to distinguish his justice from his mercy as not to miscall those noble attributes; yet it is likewise an honest piece of logick so to dispute and argue the proceedings of God as to distinguish even his judgments into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst than the best deserve;[4] and to say he punisheth none in this world, though it be a paradox, is no absurdity. To one that hath

[9] *deter.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *detain.—Ed.*
[1] *fairest.*] *MSS. W.* 2 *& R.* read, *surest.—Ed.*
[2] *inverting and.*] These words are not in *MS. R.—Ed.*
[3] *event.*] *MS. W. & Edts.* 1642 read, *effect.—Ed.*
[4] *because better to, &c.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "because to the worst that the best deserve." In *MS. W.* 2 is a blank in place of the passage.—*Ed.*

committed murder, if the judge should only ordain a fine, it were a madness to call this a punishment, and to repine at the sentence, rather than admire the clemency of the judge. Thus, our offences being mortal, and deserving not only death but damnation, if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease; what frenzy were it to term this a punishment, rather than an extremity of mercy, and to groan under the rod of his judgments rather than admire the sceptre of his mercies! Therefore to adore, honour, and admire him, is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions: and with these thoughts He that knows them best will not deny that I adore him. That I obtain heaven, and the bliss thereof, is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion; it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve nor scarce in modesty to expect. For these two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionably disposed unto our actions; the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

SECT. LIV.—There is no salvation to those that believe not in Christ; that is, say some, since his nativity, and, as divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the end of those honest worthies and philosophers which died before his incarnation. It is hard to place those souls in hell, whose worthy lives do[5] teach us virtue on earth. Methinks, among those many subdivisions of hell, there might have been one limbo left for these. What a strange vision will it be to see their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied furies into real devils! How strange to them will sound the history of Adam, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of! When they [that] derive[6] their genealogy from the gods, shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man! It is an insolent part of reason, to controvert the works of God,

[5] *whose worthy lives do.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "whose life doth."—*Ed.*

[6] *when they* [*that*] *derive.*] *That* is inserted on the authority of all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642. *Edt.* 1643 reads, "when they derive;" and this evidently erroneous reading is followed in most of the editions; some insert, *who.*—*Ed.*

or question the justice of his proceedings. Could humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the creature; or did we seriously perpend that one simile[7] of St. Paul, "shall the vessel say to the potter, why hast thou made me thus?" it would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason: nor would we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to heaven or hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason, live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs; who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will, therefore, and must, at last appear, that all salvation is through Christ; which verity, I fear, these great examples of virtue must confirm, and make it good how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto heaven.[8]

[7] *simile.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *principle.—Ed.*

[8] *There is no salvation, &c.*] On the interesting question discussed in this section, viz. "what will be the future state of those who have died in ignorance of the Christian dispensation?"—the first chapter of Mr. Gurney's *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends* contains so interesting a train of argument, that we shall without hesitation make the following extracts:—

"Let us in the first place endeavour to form some estimate of the breadth of that foundation in religion, on which we are standing in common with mankind in general. God is the Creator and merciful Father of us all. Christ died for us all. A measure of the influence of the Holy Spirit enlightens, and, if obeyed, would save us all. Upon these successive positions I will venture to offer a few remarks.

"The attributes of God, as the Creator and Father of all mankind, were admirably unfolded by the apostle Paul, in his address to the philosophical Athenians; Acts xvii. 24—28." "Let it not be imagined that God is the merciful Father of all mankind, *only* inasmuch as he makes his rain to fall, and his sun to shine for them all, and bestows upon them all a variety of outward and temporal benefits. The Scriptures plainly declare that he wills for them a happiness of a far more exalted and enduring nature. Fallen and corrupt as they are, and separated by their iniquities from the Holy One of Israel, 'he willeth not that any should perish, but that *all* should come to repentance;' 2 Pet. iii. 9." "He who offers deliverance to all men, has appointed for all men a way of escape. 'God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that *the world* through him might be saved;' John iii. 17."

"This observation naturally leads to my second proposition, that Christ died for *all*—a proposition, in order to the proof of which I

SECT. LV.—Nor truly do I think the lives of these, or of any other, were ever correspondent, or in all points con-

need do nothing more than simply cite the explicit declarations, on this subject, of inspired writers; 1 John ii. 1, 2; 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6; Heb. ii. 9; Rom. v. 18—21. The complete parallelism observed in this last passage between the effects of Adam's transgression on the one part, and those of the righteousness of Christ on the other, appears to afford a plain and satisfactory evidence for the truth of the doctrine of universal redemption. The two things are described as being in their operation upon mankind absolutely co-extensive; and as it is true, without limit or exception, that all men are exposed to death through the sin of Adam, so it is true, without limit or exception, that all men may obtain eternal life through the righteousness of Christ."

"As men participate in the disease arising from the sin of Adam who are totally ignorant of its original cause, so, we may with reason infer, that men may also participate in the remedy arising from the obedience of Christ who have received no outward revelation whatever respecting that obedience."

"What was the remark suggested by the case of Cornelius to the apostle Peter? 'Of a truth I perceive,' said he, 'that God is no respecter of persons! *but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him;* ver. 34, 35. When the apostle used these words, the truth which he contemplated appears to have been this: that amongst the nations of the Gentile world, ignorant as they generally were, both of the institutions of the Jews and of the offices of the Messiah, there were individuals who, like Cornelius, feared God and worked righteousness—who had experienced, THEREFORE, in some degree, the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit—and that such inviduals were accepted by the Father of mercies, who is no respecter of persons." "And such also we may believe to have been the happy experience of all those Gentiles whom the apostle was considering, who might be so influenced by the power of the Lord's Spirit, as to *live in the fear of God, and to work righteousness.* That this was, to a great extent, the character of some of the most virtuous of the ancient Gentile philosophers, their recorded sentiments and known history afford us strong reasons to believe; and that it was the character also of many besides them, who were destitute of an outward revelation, we may learn without difficulty from the apostle Paul; Rom. ii. 13—15.

"As the Gentiles to whom the apostle was here alluding were, according to their measure of light, sanctified through the Spirit, and when sanctified accepted; so I think every Christian must allow that they were accepted not because of their own righteousness, but through the merits and mediation of the Son of God. Now the benefit of those merits and that mediation, is offered according to the declarations of Scripture, only to those who believe; for 'without faith it is impossible to please God.' The doctrine that we are justified by faith, and that without faith none can obtain salvation, is to be freely admitted as a

formable, unto their doctrines. It is evident that Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethicks;[9] the stoicks, that

doctrine revealed to mankind on the authority of God himself. Let it, however, be carefully kept in view, that God is *equal*. It is unquestionably true in great as well as in little things, that 'if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not;' 2 Cor. viii. 12. The extent of faith required in man in order that he may be accepted with the Supreme Being, will ever be proportioned to the extent of light communicated. Those to whom the merits and mediation of the Son of God are made known, are undoubtedly required to believe in the merits and mediation of the Son of God. Those from whom the plan of redemption is concealed, and to whom the Deity is made manifest only by his outward works, and by his law written on the heart, may nevertheless so believe in God, that it shall be counted to them 'for righteousness.'

"The reader will observe that I have already deduced the universality of saving light from the declarations of Scripture, that God's tender mercies are over *all* his works, and that Christ died for *all* men. The most plausible objection to this inference, arises from the notion, so prevalent amongst some Christians, that the Spirit of God operates on the heart of man *only* in connexion with the outward knowledge of the Scriptures and of Christ, and that consequently such outward knowledge is indispensable to salvation. Having, therefore, endeavoured to remove this objection, and to show on apostolic authority that there were individuals in the Gentile world who had no acquaintance with the truths of religion as they are revealed in the Holy Scriptures, but who were nevertheless enabled to fear God and work righteousness, I consider there is nothing in the way to prevent our coming to a sound conclusion, that, as, on the one hand, God is merciful to *all* men, and Christ is a sacrifice for *all* men; so on the other hand, *all* men have received *a measure* of that spiritual influence, through which alone they can permanently enjoy the mercy of God, or participate in the benefits of the death of Christ."—*Ed.*

[9] *It is evident that Aristotle, &c.*] And so they did all, as Lactantius hath observed at large. Aristotle is said to have been guilty of great vanity in his clothes, of incontinency, of unfaithfulness to his master Alexander, &c. But 'tis no wonder in him, if our great Seneca be also guilty, whom truly notwithstanding St. Jerome would have inserted into the catalogue of saints, yet I think he as little deserved it, as many of the heathens who did not say so well as he did; for I do not think any of them lived worse. To trace him a little.—In the time of the emperor Claudius, we find he was banished for suspicion of incontinency with Julia the daughter of Germanicus. To look upon him in his exile, we find that then he wrote his epistle De Consolatione to Polybius, Claudius's creature, and therein he extols him and the emperor to the skies; in which he did grossly prevaricate, and lost much of his reputation, by seeking a discharge of his exile by so sordid a means. Upon Claudius's marriage with Agrippina, he was recalled from banish-

condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in Phalaris's bull, could not endure without a groan a fit of the stone or colick. The scepticks, that affirmed they knew nothing,[1] even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the world beside. Diogenes I hold to be the most vainglorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all honours, than Alexander in rejecting none. Vice and the devil put a fallacy upon our reasons; and, provoking us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. The duke of Venice, that [yearly] weds himself unto the sea, by [casting thereinto] a ring of gold,[2] I

ment by her means, and made prætor; then he forgets the emperor, having no need of him, labours all he can to depress him, and the hopeful Britannicus, and procured his pupil Nero to be adopted and designed successor, and the emperor's own son to be disinherited; and against the emperor, whom he so much praised when he had need of him, after his death he writes a scurrilous libel. In Nero's court, how ungratefully doth he behave himself towards Agrippina! who although she were a wicked woman, yet she deserved well of him, and of her son too, who yet never was at rest till he had taken away her life, and upon suspicion cast in against her by this man. Afterwards, not to mention that he made great haste to grow rich, which should not be the business of a philosopher, how well did it become his philosophy to play the traitor against Nero himself, and to become an accomplice in the conspiracy of Piso?—Now let any man judge what a precious legacy it is that he bequeathes by his nuncupative will to his friends, in Tacitus. "Conversus ad amicos (saith he) quando meritis eorum referre gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum jam tamen et pulcherrimum habebat, imaginem vitæ suæ relinquere testatur." It cannot be denied of him, that he hath said very well; but yet it must as well be affirmed, that his practice hath run counter to his theory, to use the author's phrase.—*K.*

[1] *the scepticks, &c.*] Their maxim was,

> "Nihil sciri siquis putat, id quoque nescit.
> An sciri possit, quod se nil scire fatetur."—*K.*

[2] [*yearly*] *weds himself, &c.*] The words between brackets are from all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, the Venetians compelled the neighbouring states to acknowledge their right of sovereignty over the Adriatick Sea;—a right which they have since contended was confirmed to them by Pope Alexander III. in his celebrated declaration to their Doge: "Que la mer vous soit soumise comme l'épouse l'est à son époux, puisque vous en avez acquis l'empire par la victoire." It was in commemoration of this event that the annual ceremony here alluded to was established.—*Ed.*

will not accuse of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the state: but the philosopher, that threw his money into the sea to avoid avarice, was a notorious prodigal.[3] There is no road or ready way to virtue; it is not an easy point of art to disentangle ourselves from this riddle or web of sin. To perfect virtue, as to religion, there is required a *panoplia*, or complete armour; that whilst we lie at close ward[4] against one vice, we lie not open to the veney[5] of another. And indeed wiser discretions, that have the thread of reason to conduct them, offend without a pardon; whereas under[6] heads may stumble without dishonour. There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action, that it is a lesson to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the practice of men holds not an equal pace, yea and often runs counter to their theory; we naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue what is evil: the rhetorick wherewith I persuade another cannot persuade myself. There is a depraved appetite in us, that will with patience hear the learned instructions of reason, but yet perform no further than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monsters; that is, a composition of man and beast: wherein we must endeavour, to be as the poets fancy that wise man, Chiron; that is, to have the region of man above that of beast, and sense to sit but at the feet of reason.

The duke and senate yearly, on Ascension-day, used to go in their best attire to the haven at Lio, and there, by throwing a ring into the water, do take the sea as their spouse. Vid. *Hist. Ital.* by W. Thomas, Cambro-Brit. Busbequius reports that there is a custom amongst the Turks, which they took from the Greek priests, not much unlike unto this. "Cum Græcorum sacerdotibus mos sit certo veris tempore aquas consecrando mare clausum veluti referare, ante quod tempus non facile se committunt fluctibus; ab ea ceremonia nec Turcæ absunt." *Busb.* ep. 3, *Legat. Turcic.*—*K.*

[3] *But the philosopher, &c.*] This was Apollonius Thyaneus, who threw a great quantity of gold into the sea with these words, "Pessundo divitias, ne pessunder ab illis." Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, cast the best jewel he had into the sea, that thereby he might learn to compose himself against the vicissitudes of fortune.—*K.*

[4] *at close ward.*] *MSS. W.* 2 & *R.* read, "at a close guard."—*Ed.*

[5] *veney.*] Or *venew*;—the technical term used by fencers for a *hit.* See *Love's Labour's Lost,* act v. scene 1.—*Ed.*

[6] *under.*] Used adjectively, in the sense of *inferior.*—*Ed.*

Lastly, I do desire with God that all, but yet affirm with men that few, shall know salvation,—that the bridge is narrow, the passage strait unto life: yet those who do confine the church of God either to particular nations, churches, or families, have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

SECT. LVI.[7]—The vulgarity of those judgments that wrap the church of God in Strabo's cloak,[8] and restrain it unto Europe, seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquered all the world, when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. For we cannot deny the church of God both in Asia and Africa, if we do not forget the peregrinations of the apostles, the deaths of the martyrs, the sessions of many and (even in our reformed judgment) lawful councils, held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours. Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than, perhaps, in the judgment of God, excommunicate from heaven one another; much less those Christians who are in a manner all martyrs, maintaining their faith in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the fire, whereas we honour him but in the sunshine.

'Tis true, we all hold there is a number of elect, and many to be saved; yet, take our opinions together, and from the confusion thereof, there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved: for, first, the church of Rome condemneth us; we likewise them; the sub-reformists and sectaries sentence the doctrine of our church as damnable; the atomist, or familist,[9] reprobates all these; and all these,

[7] *Sect.* LVI.] This section is not in any of the *MSS.* nor in *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[8] *Strabo's cloak.*] 'Tis *Strabonis tunica* in the translation, but *chlamydi* would do better, which is the proper expression of the word that Strabo useth: it is not Europe, but the known part of the world that Strabo resembleth to a cloak, and that is it the author here alludeth to; but we have no reason to think that the resemblance of Strabo is very proper: Vid. *Sir Hen. Savil, in not. ad Tac. in vita Agricolæ.*—*K.*

The passage alluded to, in which Strabo compares the exterior configuration of the then known habitable world to that of a cloak, is to be found, lib. ii. c. 5. tom. i. p. 315. in ed. *Siebenkees.*—*Ed.*

[9] *the atomist, or familist.*] Of this class of religionists, for we suspect the two names refer to but one sect, Neal gives the following account.

them again. Thus, whilst the mercies of God do promise us heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be therefore more than one St. Peter; particular churches and sects usurp the gates of heaven, and turn the key against each other; and thus we go to heaven against each other's wills, conceits, and opinions, and, with as much uncharity as ignorance, do err, I fear, in points not only of our own, but one another's salvation.[1]

SECT. LVII.—I believe many are saved who to man seem reprobated, and many are reprobated who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected. There will appear, at the last day, strange and unexpected examples, both of his justice and his mercy; and, therefore, to define either is folly in

"About this time (1575) began to appear the *family of love*, which derived its pedigree from one Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman. By their confession of faith, published this year, it appears that they were high enthusiasts; that they allegorized the doctrines of revelation, and, under a pretence of attaining to spiritual perfection, adopted some odd and whimsical opinions, &c." *History of the Puritans*, i. 273.—*Ed.*

[1] *The whole section.*] The spirit of charity which pervades this section is truly characteristick of its author, and harmonizes perfectly with his reluctance to suppose, that those virtuous heathens, who lived and died in ignorance of the Redeemer, will therefore be excluded from all participation in the benefits of his atonement. We were tempted (p. 405) to compare with those feelings the opinions of an admirable modern writer on the same subject:—and we shall repeat the parallel,—persuaded that in comparing with the present section, Mr. Gurney's delightful concluding reflexions, our readers will readily perceive that similarity of feeling has produced similarity of opinion. In both, it is "the charity that hopeth all things, that thinketh no evil." "Such, according to my apprehension of scriptural truth, are the religious advantages which may be deemed the common allotment of mankind in general. God is their equal judge, and compassionate Father: the Son of God, when clothed with humanity, gave his life a ransom for them all: and lastly, through the operation of his Holy Spirit, a moral sense of right and wrong, accompanied with a portion of quickening and redeeming power, is implanted in them universally. Here, then, we may perceive grounds of union and brotherly kindness co-extensive with the whole world; and whilst we cultivate a sense of these animating truths, we shall be disposed neither to think too highly of ourselves, nor to despise others. On the contrary, a feeling of true charity towards our neighbour, of whatever colour or country, will spread in our hearts; and a lively disposition will arise in us to labour for the happiness of that universal family, who not only owe their existence to the same Creator, but are the common objects of his paternal regard and of his redeeming love."—*Gurney's Observations, &c.*, p. 19.—*Ed.*

man, and insolency even in the devils. Those acute and subtile spirits, in all their sagacity, can hardly[2] divine who shall be saved; which if they could prognostick, their labour were at an end, nor need they compass the earth, seeking whom they may devour. Those who, upon a rigid application of the law, sentence Solomon unto damnation,[3] condemn not only him, but themselves, and the whole world; for by the letter and written word of God, we are without exception in the state of death: but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the letter of his own law, by which alone we can pretend unto salvation, and through which Solomon might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

SECT. LVIII.—The number of those who pretend unto salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the eye of this needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of "little flock" doth not comfort, but deject, my devotion; especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an anarchy in heaven; but, as there are hierarchies amongst the angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the saints. Yet is it, I protest, beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks; my desires only are, and I shall be happy therein, to be but the last man, and bring up the rear in heaven.

SECT. LIX.—Again, I am confident, and fully persuaded, yet dare not take my oath, of my salvation. I am, as it were, sure, and do believe without all doubt, that there is such a city as Constantinople; yet, for me to take my oath thereon were a kind of perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof. And truly, though many pretend to[4] an absolute certainty of their salvation, yet, when an humble soul shall contemplate her own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and

[2] *can hardly.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *cannot.—Ed.*

[3] *Those who, upon a rigid application, &c.*] St. Augustine, upon Psalm cxxvi. and in many other places, holds that Solomon is damned; of the same opinion is Lyra, in 2 *Reg.* c. 7, and *Bellarm.* tom. i. lib. i. *Controv.* c. 5.—*K.*

[4] *pretend to.*] *MS. W.* 2 reads, *believe.—Ed.*

suddenly find how little[5] we stand in need of the precept of St. Paul, "work out your salvation *with fear and trembling*." That which is the cause of my election, I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy and *beneplacit* of God, before I was, or the foundation of the world. "Before Abraham was, I am," is the saying of Christ, yet is it true in some sense[6] if I say it of myself; for I was not only before myself but Adam, that is, in the idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from all eternity. And in this sense, I say, the world was before the creation, and at an end before it had a beginning. And thus was I dead before I was alive; though my grave be England, my dying place was Paradise; and Eve miscarried of me, before she conceived of Cain.[7]

SECT. LX.—Insolent zeals, that do decry good works and rely only upon faith, take not away merit: for, depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophistical[8] way do seem to challenge heaven. It was decreed by God that only those that lapped in the water like dogs, should have the honour to destroy the Midianites; yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine he deserved, that honour thereupon. I do not deny but that true faith, and such as God requires, is not only a mark or token, but also a means, of our salvation; but, where to find this, is as obscure to me as my last end. And if our Saviour could object,[9] unto his own disciples and favourites, a faith that, to the quantity of a grain of mustard seed, is able to remove mountains; surely that which we boast of is not anything, or, at the most, but a remove from nothing.

[5] *little.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *much;* and the French and Dutch translations follow this reading. All the *MSS.* and the English and Latin editions, read *little;* which, though it presents a less obvious meaning, was probably intended by the author, who meant to observe that it is impossible for "a humble soul to contemplate her own unworthiness," *without* "fear and trembling;" so that St. Paul needed not to have enjoined those feelings.—*Ed.*

[6] *in some sense.*] Omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[7] *And thus, &c.*] This clause is not in the *MSS.* nor *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[8] *sophistical.*] *MSS. R.* reads, *syllogistical.*—*Ed.*

[9] *object.*] This seems to be used in the sense of *presenting or proposing as an object.*—*Ed.*

This is the tenour of my belief; wherein, though there be many things singular, and to the humour of my irregular self, yet, if they square not with maturer judgments, I disclaim them, and do no further favour[1] them than the learned and best judgments shall authorize them.

PART THE SECOND.

SECT. I.—Now, for that other virtue of charity, without which faith is a mere notion and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition and humane inclination I borrowed from my parents, and regulate it to the written and[2] prescribed laws of charity. And, if I hold the true anatomy of myself, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue,[3]—for I am of a constitution so general that it consorts and sympathizeth with all things; I have no antipathy, or rather idiosyncrasy, in diet, humour, air, anything. I wonder not at the French for their dishes of frogs, snails, and toadstools, nor at the Jews for locusts and grasshoppers;[4] but, being amongst them, make them my common viands; and I find they agree with my stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a salad gathered in a church-yard as well as in a garden. I cannot start at the presence[5] of a serpent, scorpion, lizard, or sala-

[1] *favour.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *father.*—*Ed.*

[2] *written and.*] Not in *MSS.* or *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[3] *of virtue.*] Not in *MS. R.*—*Ed.*

[4] *the Jews for locusts and grasshoppers.*] Pliny relates that, in some parts of Ethiopia, the inhabitants lived upon nothing but locusts salted, and that the Parthians also accounted them a pleasant article of food. The modern Arabs catch great quantities of locusts, of which they prepare a dish by boiling them with salt, and mixing a little oil, butter, and fat; sometimes they toast them before a fire, or soak them in warm water, and without any other culinary process, devour almost every part except the wings. They are also said to be sometimes pickled in vinegar. The locusts which formed part of John the Baptist's food (Mark i.-6,) were these insects, and not the fruit of the locust-tree. *T. H. Horne's Introduction, &c.* iii. p. 71.—*Ed.*

[5] *presence.*] *Edt.* 1642 *C.* reads, *present.*—*Ed.*

mander; at the sight of a toad or viper, I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others: those national repugnances[6] do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French,[7] Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch; but, where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen's, I honour, love, and embrace them, in the same degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but seem to be framed[8] and constellated unto all. I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden. All places, all airs,[9] make unto me one country; I am in England everywhere, and under any meridian. I have been shipwrecked, yet am not enemy with the sea or winds;[1] I can study, play, or sleep, in a tempest. In brief I am averse from nothing:[2] my conscience would give me the lie if I should say I absolutely detest or hate any essence, but the devil; or so at least abhor anything, but that we might come to composition.[3] If there be any among those common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy[4] of reason, virtue, and religion, the multitude; that numerous piece of monstrosity, which, taken asunder, seem men, and[5] the reasonable creatures of God, but, confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra. It is no breach of charity to call these fools; it is

[6] *national repugnances.*] Sic Angli in publicis plateis Londini non abstinent prætereuntem more gallico vestitum appellare *Frenche Dogge.* Odium inter Hispanos ac Gallos, inter Schotos atque Anglos, inter Danos ac Suecos, inter Turcas atque Ungaros notum est.—*M.*

[7] *French.*] *MS. W. & Edts.* 1642 read, *Flemish.*—*Ed.*

[8] *seem to be framed.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *seemed forty beframed; Edt.* 1643 reads, *seem for to be framed.*—*Ed.*

[9] *airs.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *ages.*—*Ed.*

[1] *yet am not enemy with the sea or winds.*] So said not Cato!—whose three causes of regret are thus enumerated by Plutarch:—1. If he had intrusted a woman with a secret:—2. *If he had gone by sea when he might have travelled on land:*—3. If he had passed a day without transacting any business of importance.—*M.*

[2] *nothing.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "nothing, neither plant, animal, nor spirit."—*Ed.*

[3] *hate any essence, but the devil, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Eds.* 1642 read, "hate the devil; or so at least abhor him but that we may come to composition."—*Ed.*

[4] *enemy.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *inquiry.*—*Ed.*

[5] *men, and.*] Not in *MS. W.* and the *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

the style all holy writers have afforded them, set down by Solomon in canonical[6] scripture, and a point of our faith to believe so. Neither in the name of multitude do I only include the base and minor sort of people: there is a rabble even amongst the gentry;[7] a sort of plebeian heads, whose fancy moves with the same wheel as those; men in the same level with mechanicks, though their fortunes do somewhat gild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies.[8] But, as in casting account three or four men together come short in account of one man placed by himself below them, so neither are a troop of these ignorant Doradoes[9] of that true esteem and value as many a forlorn person, whose condition doth place him[1] below their feet. Let us speak like politicians; there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity, whereby one man is ranked with another, another[2] filed before him, according to the quality of his desert, and pre-eminence of his good parts. Though the corruption of these times, and the bias of present practice, wheel another way, thus it was in the first and primitive commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and cradle of well ordered polities:[3] till corruption getteth ground;—

[6] *canonical.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *holy.—Ed.*

[7] *a rabble even amongst the gentry.*] Optime Socrates dixit: "Neque frumentum optimum judicamus, quod in pulcherrimo agro natum est, sed quod commode nutrit, neque virum bonum et studiosum, aut amicum benevolum, qui genere clarus, sed qui moribus egregiis fuerit. Vid. *Stobæum serm.* 84, *ex vers. Gesner.—M.*

[8] *their fortunes do somewhat gild, &c.*] "Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat." *Hor. Epist.* l. i. 6.—*M.*

[9] *Doradoes.*] From the Spanish, *Dorado,* a gilt-head, gilt-poll. —*J. W.*

The epithet is evidently in allusion to the preceding sentence: "Though their fortunes do somewhat *gild* their infirmities," &c.—*Ed.*

Diogenes, qui ne pouvait souffrir ces gens-là devant ses yeux, voyant une fois un de ces fanfarons, ou de ces galands, avec un habit tout chamarré d'or et d'argent, et se moquant de lui à gorge déployée, dit à ceux qui étoient à l'entour de lui, "et je vous prie voyez un peu cette masse de terre dorée, qui a eté cuite au soleil."—*Fr. Tr.*

[1] *him.*] So in *Edts.* 1642 and 1686—all the *MSS.* and all the other *Edts.* read, *them.—Ed.*

[2] *another.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *and.—Ed.*

[3] *in the* integrity *and* cradle *of well ordered polities.*] "In those well ordered polities whose *entireness* was yet *unbroken,* and their *freshness unimpaired.*" Sir Thomas uses *integrity* in the same sense in the follow-

ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn;—every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a licence or faculty to do or purchase anything.

SECT. II.—This general and indifferent temper of mine doth more nearly dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature, rather than the inoculations and forced grafts of education: yet, if we are directed only by our particular natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but moralists; divinity will still call us heathens. Therefore this great work of charity must have other motives, ends, and impulsions. I give no alms to satisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the will and command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but his that enjoined it; I relieve no man upon the rhetorick of his miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition; for this is still but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion[4] than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity doth not this so much for his sake as for his own: for by compassion we make another's misery our own; and so, by relieving them, we relieve ourselves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other men's misfortunes upon the common considerations of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politick kind of charity, whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men in the like occasions. And truly I have observed that those professed eleemosynaries, though in a crowd or multitude, do yet direct and[5] place their petitions on a few and selected persons; there is surely a physiognomy, which those experienced and master mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face, wherein they spy the signatures and marks of mercy. For there are mystically in our faces certain

ing passage:—"Who go with healthful prayers unto the last scene of their lives, and in the *integrity* of their faculties return their spirit unto God that gave it." *Christian Morals*, p. 1, § 4.—*Ed.*

[4] *passion.*] In the sense of *suffering,—sympathy.—Ed.*

[5] *direct and.*] Omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

characters which carry in them the motto of our souls, wherein he that cannot read A B C may read our natures. I hold, moreover, that there is a phytognomy, or physiognomy, not only of men, but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms.[6] The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all his works, not graphical, or composed of letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations, which, aptly joined together, do make one word that doth express their natures. By these letters God calls the stars by their names; and by this alphabet Adam assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its nature. Now, there are, besides these characters in our faces, certain mystical figures in our hands, which I dare not call mere dashes, strokes *à la volée*[7] or at random, because delineated by a pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, because I carry that in mine own hand which I could never read of nor discover in another. Aristotle, I confess, in his acute and singular book of physiognomy, hath made no mention[8] of

[6] *hang as signs or* bushes, *&c.*] In the epilogue to Shakspeare's *As You Like It*, occurs the following passage :—

"If it be true that *good wine needs no bush*, 'tis true that a good play needs no epilogue," &c.

To which passage we find in Boswell's edition of *Malone's Shakspeare* the following note :—

"It appears formerly to have been the custom to hang a *tuft of ivy* at the door of a vintner. I suppose *ivy* was rather chosen than any other plant, as it has relation to Bacchus." So, in *Gascoigne's Glass of Government*, 1575 :—

"Now a days the good wyne needeth *none ivye garland*."

Again, in *The Rival Friends*, 1632 :—

"'Tis like the *ivy-bush* unto a tavern."

Again, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, 1600 :—

"Green *ivy-bushes* at the vintners' doors."—*Steevens.*

The practice is still observed in Warwickshire and the adjoining counties, at statute-hirings, wakes, &c. by people who sell ale at no other time. And hence, I suppose, the *Bush* tavern at Bristol, and other places.—*Ritson.*—*Ed.*

[7] à la volée.] So all the *MSS.*; but *Edts.* 1642 read, *a Lavole!*—*Ed.*

[8] *hath made no mention.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, "hath made mention.—*Ed.*

chiromancy:[9] yet I believe the Egyptians, who were nearer[1] addicted to those abstruse and mystical sciences, had a knowledge therein: to which those vagabond and counterfeit Egyptians did after[2] pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles, which sometimes might verify their prognosticks.

It is the common wonder of all men, how, among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike: now, contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any. He that shall consider how many thousand several words have been carelessly and without study composed out of twenty-four letters; withal, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the fabrick of one man; shall easily find that this variety is necessary: and it will be very hard that they shall so concur as to make one portrait like another. Let a painter carelessly limn out a million of faces, and you shall find them all different; yea, let him have his copy before him, yet, after all his art, there will remain a sensible distinction: for the pattern or example of everything is the perfectest in that kind,[3] whereof we still come short, though we transcend or go beyond it; because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto its copy. Nor doth the similitude of creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the works of God. For even in things alike there is diversity; and those that do seem to accord do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for, in the same things that we resemble him we are utterly different from him. There was never anything so like another as in all points to concur; there will ever some reserved difference

[9] *chiromancy.*] That Sir Thomas Browne had no disinclination to listen to the marvellous must be allowed; but, from the brief and guarded mention of chiromancy in his *Vulgar Errors*, it may perhaps be inferred that his attachment to that sublime science did not subsequently increase. See *Vulgar Errors*, book v. c. 23.—*Ed.*

[1] *nearer.*] *Edt.* 1642 *W.* reads, *never*. *Edt.* 1642 *C.* reads, *ever*.—*Ed.*

[2] *did after.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *do yet*.—*Ed.*

[3] *Let a painter carelessly limn, &c.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "Let a painter carefully limbe out a million of faces, and you shall find them all different, and after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction from the pattern of every thing in the perfectest of that kind."

All the *MSS.* and *Editions* erroneously read, *limb*, or *limbe*, for *limn*.—*Ed.*

slip in, to prevent the identity; without which two several things would not be alike, but the same, which is impossible.

SECT. III.—But, to return from philosophy to charity, I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive, that to give alms is only to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the act thereof into many branches, and hath taught us, in this narrow way, many paths unto goodness; as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable. There are infirmities not only of body, but of soul and fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do Lazarus. It is no greater charity to clothe his body than apparel the nakedness of his soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understandings do homage to the bounty of ours. It is the cheapest way of beneficence, and, like the natural charity of the sun, illuminates another without obscuring itself. To be reserved and caitiff[4] in this part of goodness is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than the pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling myself a scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition. I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasury[5] of knowledge. I intend no monopoly, but a community in learning. I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knows more than myself, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge, or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head than beget and propa-

[4] *and caitiff.*] Omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

The restricted sense of *niggardly*, in which this word must be here understood, can scarcely be supported by the authority of other writers. It is a sense which neither attaches to *chetif* nor to *cattivo*, the French and Italian originals of the word. Might it, in Sir Thomas's days, be used provincially in that sense? *Stingy* in Norfolk means *illnatured;* in Johnson it means *covetous.*—*Ed.*

[5] *treasury.*] So all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642—this reading has been followed by the Latin and French translators, and we venture to adopt it, in opposition to all other *Edts.* which read *treasure.*—*Ed.*

gate it in his. And, in the midst of all my endeavours, there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with myself, nor can be legacied among my honoured friends. I cannot fall out [with] or condemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion should divide an affection;[6] for controversies, disputes, and argumentations, both in philosophy and in divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the laws of charity. In all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then reason, like a bad hound, spends upon a false scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why controversies are never determined; for, though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled; they do so swell[7] with unnecessary digressions; and the parenthesis on the party is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The foundations of religion are already established, and the principles of salvation subscribed unto by all. There remain[8] not many controversies worthy a passion, and yet never any dispute it without, not only in divinity but inferior arts. What a βατραχομυομαχία and hot skirmish is betwixt S. and T. in Lucian![9] How do grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case* in Jupiter![1] How do they break their own pates, to salve that of Priscian![2] *Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.*

* Whether Jovis or Jupitris.

[6] *an affection.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *our affections.—Ed.*

[7] *swell.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* read, *wander.—Ed.*

[8] *there remain, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "there remains not one controversy worth a passion."—*Ed.*

[9] *hot skirmish is betwixt S. and T. in Lucian.*] In his *Dialog. judicium vocalium,* where there is a large oration made to the vowels, being judges, by *sigma* against *tau,* complaining that *tau* has bereaved him of many words, which should begin with *sigma.—K.*

[1] *Jupiter!*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 add here the following sentence: "How many synods have been assembled and angrily broke up about a line in *propria quæ maribus!*"—*Ed.*

[2] *how do they break their own pates, &c.*] "Franciscus Philelphus Grammaticae regulas, quas in magno habebat pretio, strictim observandas voluit. Accidit autem, ut cum Græco quodam, cujus nomen Timotheus erat, disputaret de quadam syllaba: uterque vero in eo conve-

Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds have been given and credits slain,[3] for the poor victory of an opinion, or beggarly conquest of a distinction! Scholars are men of peace; they bear no arms, but their tongues are sharper than Actius's razor;[4] their pens carry further, and

niebat, ut is, cujus rationes solido fundamento niterentur, alterius barbam avellere deberet. Philelphus hac pugna superior discedebat, et offerebat Timotheus, barbæ loco, pecuniæ summam, ut ei parceret, quam vero alter repudiabat, etiamsi paupertas eum undique premebat, et barbam, virile illud ornamentum, conditione simul inita, ei abscindebat: vide quæ Paulus Jovius in *Elog.* c. 17, et Trithemius *de Scriptt. Eccl.* ac Baylius in *Dictionario Hist.* ea de re referunt." D. Fr. Jani *de Doctoribus Umbraticis, eorumque Variis Incommodis in Republica Literaria Commentarius, Vitembergæ*, 1720, p. 18.

"I am sensible how unjustly the very best classical criticks have been treated. It is said, that our greatest philosopher spoke with much contempt of the two finest scholars of this age, Dr. Bentley and Bishop Hare, for squabbling, as he expressed it, about an old playbook; meaning, as I suppose, Terence's comedies. But this story is unworthy of him; though well enough suiting the fanatick turn of the wild writer that relates it; such censures are amongst the follies of men immoderately given over to one science, and ignorantly undervaluing all the rest. Those learned criticks might, and perhaps did, laugh in their turn (though still, sure, with the same indecency and indiscretion) at that incomparable man, for wearing out a long life in poring through a telescope. Indeed, the weaknesses of such are to be mentioned with reverence. But who can bear, without indignation, the fashionable cant of every trifling writer, whose insipidity passes, with himself, for politeness, for pretending to be shocked, forsooth, with the rude and savage air of *vulgar* criticks; meaning such as Muretus, Scaliger, Casaubon, Salmasius, Spanheim, Bentley! When, had it not been for the deathless labours of such as these, the western world, at the revival of letters, had soon fallen back again into a state of ignorance and barbarity, as deplorable as that from which Providence had just redeemed it.

"To conclude with an observation of a fine writer and great philosopher of our own; which I would gladly bind, though with all honour, as a phylactery, on the brow of every awful grammarian, to teach him at once the use and limits of his art: 'Words are the money of fools, and the counters of wise men.'" *Warburton's Preface to Shakspeare.* —*E. H. B.*

[3] *slain.*] All the *MSS.* read, *stained; Edts.* 1642 read, *shamed.*—*Ed.*

[4] *Actius's razor.*] Accius Nævius, the chief augur, who is reported by Livy, Florus, &c. to have cut a whetstone through with a razor, at the challenge of the king, Tarquinius Priscus.—*Ed.*

give a louder report than thunder.[5] I had rather stand in the shock[6] of a basilisk[7] than in the fury of a merciless pen. It is not mere zeal to learning, or devotion to the muses, that wiser princes patron the arts, and carry an indulgent aspect unto scholars; but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful pen of succeeding ages: for these are the men that, when they have played their parts, and had their *exits*, must step out and give the moral of their scenes, and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices. And surely there goes a great deal of conscience to the compiling of an history: there is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentick kind of falsehood, that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity.

SECT. IV.—There is another offence unto charity, which no author hath ever written of, and few take notice of, and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries, and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious

[5] *Yea, even amongst wiser militants, &c.*] Very amusing illustration of these passages may be found in M. D'Israeli's chapter on "Literary Controversy," in *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. ii. p. 259,—and in his chapter on "Confusion of Words," in the *Second Series*, vol. ii. p. 1.—*Ed.*

[6] *shock.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *stroke.*—*Ed.*

[7] *basilisk.*] The *MSS.* and all the *Editions* read, *basilisco.*—*Ed.*

Defined by Johnson to be "A kind of serpent, called also a cockatrice, which is said to drive away all others by his hissing, and to kill by looking."

Shakspeare alludes to this animal in the following lines:—

> "Make me not sighted like the *basilisk;*
> I've look'd on thousands who have sped the better
> By my regard, but kill'd none so."

Sir Thomas devotes a chapter to the basilisk in his *Vulgar Errors*, b. iii. c. 7, whence Dr. Johnson has quoted the following description of it:—

"The *basilisk* was a serpent not above three palms long, and differenced from other serpents by advancing his head, and some white marks or coronary spots upon the crown."

It will however be seen that there is some doubt of the accuracy of this description.—*Ed.*

epithets we miscal each other, and, by an uncharitable logick, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.

Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Escossois ;[8]
Le bougre Italien, et le fol François ;
Le poltron Romain, le larron de Gascogne,
L'Espagnol superbe, et l'Alleman yvrogne.

[8] *Le mutin Anglois, &c.*] "The following character of the principal nations of Europe was written about the middle of the last century by Mr. Mezer, who was envoy from the elector Palatine to Hanover. Though it may appear somewhat tinctured with prejudice, and time may have made some alterations, yet the moral and political features of each country are pretty correctly drawn, and may be recognized as portraits at the present day :—

"ENGLAND.—The domain of liberty and property; the country of extremes. Virtue is here divine — vice infernal. Here are liberty of conscience, political liberty, civil liberty, commercial liberty, liberty of thought, tongue, and pen, to and beyond the limits of the most profligate licence; newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, registers; turfs, cockpits, clubs, maccaronies, blackguards, stocks, lotteries, schemes, lame ducks, clever fellows, humour, and Novembers big with suicide; post chaises, Italian music and pictures, but few with ears or eyes; the nest of foreigners; the country of Shakspeare, Newton, and Hogarth.

"FRANCE.—The country of CITOYENS and MODE. Here things are estimated by their air. A watch may be a masterpiece without exactness, and a woman rule the town without beauty, if they have air. Here life 's a dance, and awkwardness of step its great disgrace. Character here is dissolved into the public, and an original a name of mirth. '*Cela se fait, et cela ne se fait pas,*' are here the supreme umpires of conduct. Their religion is superstition, fashion, sophism. The ladies lay on rouge in equilateral squares, and powder with brick-dust. Tyranny may grind the face, but not the countenance of a Frenchman: his feet are made to dance in wooden shoes. The parliament resembles an old toothless mastiff. France was the country of Le Sueur and Racine, and is that of Voltaire.

"SPAIN.—The dregs of a nation two centuries past the arbiters of Europe, and leaders of discovery. Still sense, sagacity, and cool courage, are tamely submitted here to the iron yoke of the inquisition; and each note of humanity drowned in the yells of Dominic's victims. The prerogatives of society moulder here in provincial archives: these are the execrable lords of one hemisphere, and the humble factors of Europe. To see a sceptre in the gripe of women. Confessors and favourites make no characteristic of Spain; nor is the country of Calderon and Cervantes, more than its neighbours, the land of ignorance, vanity, indolence, poverty, envy.

"PORTUGAL.—Something of literature and history, glare, gallantry, superstition, earthquakes, daggers, inquisition; the bloody dawns of an uncertain day; the country of Camoens.

"GERMANY.—Its heroes, like Italian pictures, show best at a dis-

St. Paul, that calls the Cretians liars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of their own poet.[9] It is as bloody a thought in one way as Nero's was in another.[1] For by a word we wound a thousand, and at one blow assassin the honour of a nation. It is as complete a piece of madness to miscal and rave against the times; or think to recall men to reason by a fit of passion. Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply hypochondriack as Heraclitus, that bewailed them. It moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours; that is, in their fits of folly and madness, as well understanding that wisdom is not profaned[2] unto the

tance. The rest parcel out to deserts, petty tyrants, priests, pedigreed beggars, and pedants: and all her neighbours know Germany. Yet this is the mother of Arminius and Frederic, of Leibnitz and Wolfe, of Handel and Graun, of Mengs and Donner, of Winkleman and Reimarus.

"RUSSIA.—The motley creation of Peter, called the Great. Imitators of all Europe, but not Russians: a country taught to rear the produce of southern climates to vapid life, and to neglect its own vigorous offspring. History, mathematics, geography, a general balance of trade, inhuman intrepidity, slavery, savage glare of wealth.

"HOLLAND.—A country, through all its ages, fertile of patriots, though now plethoric with wealth, and unstrung by public indolence. A nobility once full of republican metal, sneaking by degrees into courtiers. Here are scholars, civilians, laborious triflers, trade. Here absence of misery is happiness; indifference, contentment; profit, honour. Here sentiment is nonsense; plain sense, wit; jollity, pleasure; possession, enjoyment; money the anchor of minds, the gale of passions, the port of life.

"SWITZERLAND.—The land of liberty. Trade, taste, knowledge, discovery among the Protestants, vigour in all; despisers of death; slaves of money abroad. Abroad, a contemptible swarm of valets, clerks, officers, artists, schemers; the leeches of fools." — *Collet's Relics of Literature.—Ed.*

[9] *of their own poet.*] The passage alluded to is Titus i. 12;—in which St. Paul quotes a line from Epimenides, an epic poet of Crete, contemporary with Solon. His work on oracles and responses, mentioned by St. Jerome, is said to have supplied the quotation.—*Ed.*

[1] *as Nero's was in another.*] Alluding, as Keck supposes, to a brutal reply of Nero's, just before he burnt Rome, related by Suetonius,—*Vit. Neron.* § 38. The succeeding sentence, however, leads to a suspicion that Sir Thomas had confounded Nero with Caligula, and was thinking of the wish of this emperor, "that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might destroy them all *at a blow.*"—*Ed.*

[2] *profaned.*] *Edts.* 1642 read, *common.—Ed.*

world; and it is the privilege of a few to be virtuous. They that endeavour to abolish vice destroy also virtue; for contraries, though they destroy one another, are yet the life of one another. Thus virtue (abolish vice) is an idea. Again, the community of sin doth not disparage goodness; for, when vice gains upon the major part, virtue, in whom it remains, becomes more excellent, and, being lost in some, multiplies its goodness in others, which remain untouched, and persist entire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a satire, content only with an admonition, or instructive reprehension; for noble natures, and such as are capable of goodness, are railed into vice, that might as easily be admonished into virtue; and we should be all so far the orators of goodness as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth.[3] No man can justly censure or condemn another; because, indeed, no man truly knows another. This I perceive in myself; for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud. Those that know me but superficially think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more; God who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing: for he only beholds me, and all the world, who looks not on us through a derived[4] ray, or a trajection[5] of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the help of accidents, and the forms of things, as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, because no man knows himself; for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourselves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent

[3] *are railed into vice, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "are not railed into vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth."—*Ed.*

[4] *derived.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *divided.*—*Ed.*

[5] *or a trajection of a sensible species.*] That is, "God looks on the substance itself, not on a visible or sensible representation emitted or *trajected* by that substance."

Trajection, in the sense of *emission*, is quoted by Dr. Johnson from the *Vulgar Errors*, in the following passage:—

"The *trajections* of such an object more sharply pierce the martyred soul of John, than afterwards did the nails the crucifixed body of Peter." *V. E.* b. vii. c. 10.—*Ed.*

with us. So that in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn, self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest[6] the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures, and such as are complexioned for humility. But how shall we expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to ourselves? "Charity begins at home," is the voice of the world; yet is every man his greatest enemy, and as it were his own executioner. *Non occides*, is the commandment of God, yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his own Atropos, and lends a hand to cut the thread of his own days. Cain was not therefore the first murderer, but Adam, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son Abel; and saw that verified in the experience of another which faith could not persuade him in the theory of himself.

SECT. V.—There is, I think,[7] no man that apprehendeth his own miseries less than myself; and no man that so nearly apprehends another's. I could lose an arm without a tear, and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a play, and receive with a true passion the counterfeit griefs of those known and professed impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted parties misery, or endeavour to multiply in any man a passion whose single nature is already above his patience. This was the greatest affliction of Job, and those oblique expostulations of his friends a deeper injury than the down-right blows of the devil. It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows; which, falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity, to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of itself; for an affliction, like a dimension, may be so divided as, if not indivisible, at least to become insensible. Now with my

[6] *manifest.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *magnify.*—*Ed.*
[7] *I think.*] Not in the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engross, his sorrows; that, by making them mine own, I may more easily discuss them: for in mine own reason, and within myself, I can command that which I cannot entreat without myself, and within the circle of another. I have often thought those noble pairs[9] and examples of friendship, not so truly histories of what had been, as fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor anything in the heroick examples of Damon and Pythias, Achilles, and Patroclus, which, methinks, upon some grounds,[1] I could not perform within the narrow compass of myself. That a man should lay down his life for his friend seems strange to vulgar affections and such as confine themselves within that worldly principle, "charity begins at home." For mine own part, I could never remember the relations that I held unto myself, nor the respect that I owe unto my own nature, in the cause of God, my country, and my friends.[2] Next to these three, I do embrace myself.

[9] *pairs.*] *MSS. W.* 2 and *R.* read, *patterns.—Ed.*

[1] *methinks, upon some grounds.*] These words are not in the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[2] *For mine own part, I could never remember the relations, &c.*] The philosopher Hierocles writes thus (in p. 106 of the learned Thomas Taylor's Translation of *Political and Ethical Fragments*, 1822): "The consideration of the duties pertaining to (our other) kindred, is consequent to the discussion of those that pertain to parents, brothers, wives, and children; for the same things may, in a certain respect, be said of the former as of the latter; and on this account may be concisely explained. For, in short, each of us is, as it were, circumscribed by many circles; some of which are less, but others larger; and some comprehend, but others are comprehended, according to the different and unequal habitudes with respect to each other. For the first, indeed, and most proximate circle is that which every one describes about his own mind as a centre; in which circle the body, and whatever is assumed for the sake of the body, are comprehended. For this is nearly the smallest circle, and almost touches the centre itself. The second from this, and which is at a greater distance from the centre, but comprehends the first circle, is that in which parents, brothers, wife, and children, are arranged. The third circle from the centre is that which contains uncles and aunts, grandfathers and grandmothers, and the children of brothers and sisters. After this is the circle which comprehends the remaining relatives. Next to this is that which contains the common people, then that which comprehends those of the same tribe; afterwards that which contains the citizens: and then two other circles follow, one being the circle of those that dwell in the

I confess I do not observe that order that the schools ordain our affections,—to love our parents, wives, children, and

vicinity of the city, and the other, of those of the same province. But the outermost and greatest circle, and which comprehends all the other circles, is that of the whole human race." My friend Mr. Taylor makes these remarks: "This admirable passage is so conformable to the following beautiful lines in Pope's *Essay on Man*, that it is most probably the source from whence they were derived. The lines are these:—

> Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
> As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake:
> The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads;
> Friend, parent, neighbour, next it will embrace,
> His country next, and next all human race;
> Wide and more wide the o'erflowings of the mind
> Take every creature in of every kind.

In Hierocles, however, the circles are scientifically detailed; in Pope they are synoptically enumerated. Pope, too, has added another circle to that which is the outermost with Hierocles, viz. the circle which embraces every creature of every kind. But as Hierocles, in this fragment, is only speaking of our duties to kindred, among which the whole human race is in a certain respect included, he had no occasion to introduce another circle, though the Platonic doctrine of benevolence is as widely extended as that of Pope."

Of eloquence combined with philosophy a nobler instance can scarcely be found than in the words of Barrow, where he describes the spirit of benevolence, sometimes diffusing itself over the collective interests of man, and sometimes emanating in the sweet and lovely charities of private life. "Charity," says he, "is a right noble and worthy thing; greatly perfective of our nature, much dignifying and beautifying our soul. It rendereth a man truly great, enlarging his mind into a vast circumference, and to a capacity near infinite; so that it by a general care doth reach all things, by an universal affection doth embrace and grace the world. By it our reason obtaineth a field or scope of employment worthy of it, not confined to the slender interests of one person or one place, but extending to the concerns of all men. Charity is the imitation and copy of that immense love, which is the fountain of all being and all good; which made all things, which preserveth the world, which sustaineth every creature. Charity rendereth us as angels, or peers to those glorious and blessed creatures, who without receiving or expecting any requital from us, do heartily desire and delight in our good, are ready to promote it, do willingly serve and labour for it. Nothing is more amiable, more admirable, more venerable, even in the common eye and opinion of men; it hath in it a beauty and a majesty to ravish every heart; even a spark of it in generosity of dealing

then our friends; for, excepting the injunctions of religion, I do not find in myself such a necessary and indissoluble sympathy to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth commandment, if I conceive I may love[3] my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life. I never yet cast a true affection on a woman;[4] but I have loved my friend, as I do virtue, my

breedeth admiration; a glimpse of it in formal courtesie of behaviour procureth much esteem, being deemed to accomplish and adorn a man. How lovely, therefore, and truly gallant is an entire, sincere, constant, and uniform practice thereof, issuing from pure good-will and affection!" *Barrow's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 375.

One of the happiest illustrations I have ever seen, both of the more enlarged and the more limited benevolence, is in Hutcheson, and it well deserves to be quoted: "This universal benevolence towards all men we may compare to that principle of gravitation, which perhaps extends to all bodies in the universe; but, like the love of benevolence, increases as its distance is diminished, and is strongest when bodies come to touch each other. Now, this increase of attraction, upon nearer approach, is as necessary to the frame of the universe, as that there should be any attraction at all; for a general attraction, equal in all distances, would, by the contrariety of such multitudes of equal forces, put an end to all its regularity of motion, and perhaps stop it altogether."—*Enquiry*, p. 222. In the foregoing words there is a complete description of philanthropy, so far as man, by his nature, is capable of feeling, or by reason or religion is required to practise it; and there is a complete refutation, too, of the strange notions that have gone abroad under the imposing name of philosophy. In No. 45 of the *Adventurer*, written by Dr. Johnson, imagery nearly the same as that of Hutcheson is applied to the same subject:—"The reigning philosophy informs us that the vast bodies which constitute the universe, are regulated, in their progress through the etherial spaces, by the perpetual agency of contrary forces; by one of which they are restrained from deserting their orbits, and losing themselves in the immensity of heaven, and held off by the other from rushing together and clustering round their centre with everlasting cohesion. The same contrariety of impulse may be perhaps discovered in the motions of men; we are formed for society, not for combination; we are equally unqualified to live in a close connection with our fellow beings, and in total separation from them; we are attracted towards each other by general sympathy, but kept back from contact by private interests."—*E. H. B.*

[3] *conceive I may love.*] *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "confess I love."—*Ed.*

[4] *I never yet cast a true affection on a woman.*] Moltkenius, the Latin Annotator, gives a very long note on this passage. He suggests that Sir Thomas probably thought it safest not to indulge the tender passion; an opinion which the learned commentator justifies by numerous autho-

soul, my God. From hence, methinks, I do conceive how God loves man; what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions; two natures in one person; three persons in one nature; one soul in two bodies. For though, indeed, they be really divided, yet are they so united, as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls.

SECT. VI.—There are wonders in true affection. It is a body of enigmas, mysteries, and riddles; wherein two so become one as they both become two: I love my friend before myself, and yet, methinks, I do not love him enough. Some few months hence, my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all. When I am from him, I am dead till I be with him.[5] United souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other; which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection; that whom we truly love like our own selves, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the idea of their faces: and it is no wonder, for they are ourselves, and our affection makes their looks our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common constitutions; but on such as are marked for virtue. He that can love his friend with this noble ardour will in a competent degree affect all.[6] Now, if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body, and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found out the true object, not only of friendship, but charity: and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, salvation; which, though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly[7] frame a prayer

rities, bringing together, from various sources, a host of satirical and abusive passages against the fair sex.—*Ed.*

[5] *him.*] Here occurs, in *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642, the following conclusion to the sentence: "when I am with him, I am not satisfied, but would still be nearer him."—*Ed.*

[6] *He that can love, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "He cannot love his friend with this noble ardour, that will in a competent degree affect all.—*Ed.*"

[7] *contentedly.*] Not in *MSS.* or *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

for myself in particular, without a catalogue for my friends; nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never hear the toll of a passing bell,[8] though in my mirth,[9] without my prayers and best wishes for the departing[1] spirit, I cannot go to cure the body of my patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul. I cannot see one say his prayers, but, instead of imitating him, I fall into supplication[2] for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature: and if God hath vouchsafed an ear to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknown devotions. To pray for enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the story of the Italian; our bad wishes and uncharitable[3] desires proceed no further than this life; it is the devil, and the uncharitable votes of hell,[4] that desire our misery in the world to come.

SECT. VII.—"To do no injury nor take none" was a principle which, to my former[5] years and impatient affections, seemed to contain enough of morality, but my more settled years, and Christian constitution, have fallen upon severer[6] resolutions. I can hold[7] there is no such thing as injury; that if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt of an injury: that to hate

[8] *the toll of a passing bell.*] Moltke, in a notice on this passage, says, that it was the custom in England to signify, by the tolling of the bell, when any one was in the agonies of death, in order that those who heard it, might offer up their prayers on behalf of the dying.—*Ed.*

[9] *in my mirth.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read here, "and at a tavern."—*Ed.*

[1] *departing.*] *Edt.* 1642 *W.* reads, *departed.*—*Ed.*

[2] *into supplication.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "into a zealous oration."—*Ed.*

[3] *uncharitable.*] *MSS. W.* 2 and *R.* read, *malevolous.*—*Ed.*

[4] *votes of hell.*] Meaning "*voices* or *prayers* of hell."

And here may be taken in those interchangeable *votes* of priest and people, which are interposed; "O Lord, arise, help us, &c." *Bp. Prideaux, Euch.* p. 225.—*Ed.*

[5] *former.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *firm;*—*MSS. W.* 2 & *R.* read, *infirm.*—*Ed.*

[6] *severer.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *securer.*—*Ed.*

[7] *I can hold.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *I hold.*—*Ed.*

another is to malign himself; that the truest way to love another is to despise ourselves. I were unjust unto mine own conscience if I should say I am at variance with anything like myself. I find there are many pieces in this one fabrick of man; this frame is raised upon a mass of antipathies: I am one methinks but as the world, wherein notwithstanding there are a swarm of distinct essences, and in them another world of contrarieties; we[8] carry private and domestick enemies within, public and more hostile adversaries without. The devil, that did but buffet St. Paul, plays methinks at sharp with me.[9] Let me be nothing, if within the compass of myself, I do not find the battle of Lepanto,[1] passion against reason,[2] reason against faith, faith against the devil, and my conscience against all. There is another man within me that's angry with me,[3] rebukes, commands, and dastards me. I have no conscience of marble, to resist the hammer of more heavy offences: nor yet so soft and waxen, as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity. I am of a strange belief, that it is as easy to be forgiven some sins as to commit some others. For my original sin, I hold it to be washed away in my baptism; for my actual transgressions, I compute and reckon with God but from my last repentance, sacrament, or general absolution; and therefore am not

[8] *we.*] *MSS. W. & R.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *which.*—*Ed.*

[9] *plays methinks at* sharp *with me.*] *Sharp;* "a rapier or pointed weapon." "If butchers had but the manners to go to *sharps*, gentlemen would be contented with a rubber at cuffs."—*Collier.* See *Johnson's Dictionary.*—*Ed.*

[1] *battle of Lepanto.*] This must allude to the battle between Don John of Austria and the Turkish fleet, near Lepanto, in the year 1571; for what is generally termed the battle of Lepanto, was the taking of the town from the Turks by the Venetians, in the year 1678.

This is *translated,* 'totam Pharsaliam' by Merryweather, whom the French translator thus paraphrases: "Je sens en moimême les cruelles guerres civiles, qu'il y eut entre César et Pompée dans la Pharsalie." The French edition was certainly not translated from the original, though it professes to be so.—*Ed.*

[2] *passion against reason.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, 1643, and 1645, read, "passion against passion;" which reading is followed by the Latin and French translations.—*Ed.*

[3] *that's angry with me.*] These words are not in *MS. W.* nor *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

terrified with the sins or madness of my youth. I thank the goodness of God, I have no sins that want a name. I am not singular in offences; my transgressions are epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption.[4] For there are certain tempers of body which, matched with an humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitiosities, whose newness and monstrosity of nature admits no name; this was the temper of that lecher that carnaled with a statue, and the constitution of Nero in his spintrian recreations. For the heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard of stars, the earth in plants and animals, but men's minds also in villany and vices. Now the dulness of my reason, and the vulgarity of my disposition, never prompted my invention nor solicited my affection unto any of these;—yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of myself, that I repute myself the most abject piece of mortality.[5] Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance: there goes indignation, anger, sorrow,[6] hatred, into mine, passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to suit with this action, nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to ourselves to be at variance with our vices, nor to abhor that part of us, which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God; wherein we do but imitate our great selves, the world, whose divided antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole, by their particular discords preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers, whose rebellions, once masters, might be the ruin of all.

SECT. VIII.—I thank God, amongst those millions of vices, I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity,—the first and father sin, not

[4] *corruption.*] The passage which occupies the next ten lines, to "yet, even those common," &c. is not in the *MSS.* nor *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[5] *mortality.*] Here occurs, in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642, the following additional clause; "that I detest mine own nature, and in my retired imaginations cannot withhold my hands from violence on myself."—*Ed.*

[6] *sorrow.*] *MSS. W.* 2 & *R.* read, *contempt.*—*Ed.*

only of man, but of the devil,[7]—pride;[8] a vice whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not

[7] *not only of man, but of the devil.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "not of man, but of devils."—*Ed.*

[8] *I thank God, &c.*] This passage has led Dr. Watts to charge our author with "arrogant temerity" in asserting his exemption from the "father sin" of our nature. And his biographer, Dr. Johnson, scarcely rebuts the charge.

The passage, however, has, in reality, nothing to do with pride in that more extended sense in which Dr. Watts regarded it; it relates rather to the pride of literary attainments. Sir Thomas asserts his freedom from that self-conceitedness which he had observed in men of much less acquirement than himself—and surely we may accept Dr. Johnson's challenge, and appeal to "a perusal of *Religio Medici*," in proof that no one could entertain humbler opinions and feelings respecting himself, as a sinful and feeble creature in the face of his Maker, than did Sir Thomas Browne. See, for example, §§ 58 and 59,—read the following passage in the preceding section: "Even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of myself, that I repute myself the most abject piece of mortality." In the 4th section of part 2 is another passage, which exhibits in the strongest light his real opinion of himself, as before God, and contains the justest reproof of the too hasty conclusions of Dr. Watts: "No man can justly censure or condemn another; because, indeed, no man truly knows another. This I perceive in myself; for I am in the dark to all the world, and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud; those that know me superficially think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more; God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing." See also his exquisite *Evening Hymn*, in the 12th section, part 2.

In having written *Religio Medici* Sir T. B. may indeed be said to have given the fullest proof of *pride;* for what man of any common modesty would think his own opinions or character of sufficient importance to justify such a work? So far as this question involves an attack on all auto-biography—the most interesting description of personal history—we leave it to be answered by those who list. But, as it bears on the censure in question, we reply that *Religio Medici* was *not written for the publick*—it is the self-examination of a philosophical and enthusiastick mind:—it is his comparison of his own peculiarities with those of other men and other minds;—and let it not be forgotten, he was *talking to himself*, though in the event he was *overheard* by the publick. To say that he was egotistical is merely to say that he was writing about himself: to use his own words, "The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast my eye on." But this egotism, to conclude with the remarks of one of his most brilliant admirers, "is always the result of a feeling heart, conjoined with a mind of active curiosity, the natural and becoming egotism of a man,

circumscribed with a world, I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections, that advance and elevate the conceits of other men, add no feathers unto mine. I have seen a grammarian tower and plume himself over a single line in Horace, and show more pride, in the construction of one ode, than the author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the jargon and *patois*[9] of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of myself than had our fathers before the confusion of Babel, when there was but one language in the world, and none to boast himself either linguist or critick. I have not only seen several countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the chorography of their provinces, topography of their cities, but understood their several laws, customs, and policies; yet cannot all this persuade the dulness of my spirit unto such an opinion of myself as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads, that never looked a degree beyond their nests. I know the names and somewhat more of all the constellations in my horizon; yet I have seen a prating mariner, that could only name the pointers and the north-star, out talk me, and conceit himself a whole sphere above me. I know most of the plants of my

who, loving other men as himself, gains the habit and the privilege of talking about himself as familiarly as about other men. Fond of the curious, and a hunter of oddities and strangenesses, while he conceives himself, with quaint and humorous gravity, a useful inquirer into physical truths and fundamental science, he loved to contemplate and discuss his own thoughts and feelings, because he found, by comparison with other men's, that *they*, too, were curiosities; and so, with a perfectly graceful interesting ease, he put *them*, too, into his museum and cabinet of rarities. In very truth, he was not mistaken: so completely does he see every thing in a light of his own, reading nature neither by sun, moon, or candle light, but by the light of the fairy glory around his own head, that you might say, that nature had granted to *him* in perpetuity, a patent and monopoly for all his thoughts." *Coleridge's Remarks on Sir Thomas Browne, in the London Magazine for November*, 1819.—*Ed.*

[9] *Jargon and* Patois.] These words seem to have puzzled both copyists and printers—*MSS. W. & R.* read, "Fargon and Patoiz;" *MS. W.* 2 has, "ffargon and * * * * *;" *Edts.* 1642, "Fargon and Patonis."

Patois, the provincial dialect of the peasantry of France; often applied to any provincial dialect.—*Ed.*

country, and of those about me, yet methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever simpled further than Cheapside. For, indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful or easy measure of knowledge, think they know nothing till they know all; which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates,[1] and only know they know not any thing. I cannot think that Homer pined away upon the riddle of the fishermen, or that Aristotle, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge, and confessed so often the reason of man too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of Euripus.[2] We do but learn, to-day, what our better advanced judgments will unteach[3] to-morrow; and Aristotle doth but instruct us, as Plato did him, that is, to confute himself. I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any: though our first studies and junior endeavours may style us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove, at last, almost all Scepticks,[4] and stand like Janus in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentick philosophy I learned in the schools, whereby I discourse and satisfy the reason of other men; another more reserved, and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. Solomon, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge, hath not only humbled my conceits, but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my books, which tells me it is a vanity to waste our days in the blind pursuit of knowledge: it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that, by instinct and infusion,[5] which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition. It is better to sit down in a

[1] *opinion of Socrates, &c.*] Quæ extat apud *Platon. in Apologia Socratis;* Vid. etiam *Diog. Laertium, in Vit. Socratis,* lib. 2.—*M.*

[2] *Euripus.*] *Strab.* lib. 9; *Plin.* lib. ii. c. 97; *Cic. De Nat. Deor.* lib. 3.—*M.*

See also the author's remarks in *Vulgar Errors,* b. vii. c. 13.—*Ed.*

[3] *unteach.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *teach.*—*Ed.*

[4] *Scepticks.*] "The Scepticks profess to deny that we have any such thing as science; that is to say, a perception of any thing so clear and certain, and founded on such self-evident principles, as to produce absolute conviction."—*Ed.*

[5] *we shall enjoy that, by instinct, &c.*] "As to Natural Philosophy,"

modest ignorance, and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reasons, than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life with sweat and vexation, which death gives every fool gratis,[6] and is an accessary of our glorification.

SECT. IX.—I was never yet once [married], and commend their resolutions who never marry twice.[7] Not that I disallow of second marriage; as neither in all cases of polygamy, which considering some times,[8] and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman. Man is the whole world, and the breath of God; woman the rib and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and vulgar way of coition: it is the foolishest act a wise man commits in all his life, nor is there any thing that will more deject his cooled imagination, when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed.[9] I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful. I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsome picture, though it be but of an horse. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is musick, even in the beauty and the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound[1] of an instrument. For there is a musick wherever there is a harmony, order, or proportion; and thus

remarks Dr. Jortin, "good men will probably have better opportunities to study it in a future state." *Jortin's Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 533.—*Ed.*

[6] *gratis.*] *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *gains; MSS. W.* 2 *& R. grants.*—*Ed.*

[7] *I was never yet once* [*married*], *&c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "I was never yet once and am resolved never to be married twice." The awkward construction of this sentence, in its altered state, as it stands in all the authorized editions, without the word [*married*], shows clearly that the author altered it for the *publick eye;*—a fact which he has betrayed by omitting in his haste to insert the participle where his change made it indispensable."—*Ed.*

[8] *some times, and.*] Omitted in all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642. The 4to ed. 1672 and fol. 1686, absurdly read, "sometimes and."—*Ed.*

[9] *I could* be content, *&c.*] See *Essais de Montaigne*, l. iii. c. 5.—*K.* All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "I could *wish.*"—*Ed.*

[1] *sound.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "vocal sound."—*Ed.*

far we may maintain "the musick of the spheres:" for those well-ordered motions, and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony.[2] Whatsoever is harmonically composed delights in harmony, which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all church-musick. For myself, not only from my obedience but my particular genius I do embrace it:[3] for even that vulgar and tavern-musick,[4] which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion, and a profound contemplation of the first composer.[5] There is some-

[2] *though they give no sound, &c.*] Might not this extraordinary passage have suggested to Addison the following beautiful conclusion to his Hymn on the Glories of Creation?—

"What though, in solemn silence, all
Move round the dark terrestrial ball;
What though no real voice or sound
Amid their radiant orbs be found;
In reason's ear they all rejoice,
And utter forth a glorious voice;
For ever singing, as they shine,
'The hand that made us is divine.'"—*Ed.*

[3] *not only from my obedience, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "not only for my Catholick obedience, but my particular genius, I am obliged to maintain it."—*Ed.*

[4] *even that vulgar and* tavern-musick.] "Musick is an intellectual or a sensual pleasure, according to the temperament of him who hears it. And, by the by, with the exception of the fine extravaganza on that subject in Twelfth Night, I do not recollect more than one thing said adequately on the subject of musick in all literature: it is a passage in the *Religio Medici* of Sir T. Browne; and, though chiefly remarkable for its sublimity, has also a philosophick value, inasmuch as it points to the true theory of musical effects. The mistake of most people is to suppose that it is by the ear they communicate with musick, and, therefore, that they are purely passive to its effects. But this is not so: it is by the reaction of the mind upon the notices of the ear (the *matter* coming by the senses, the *form* from the mind), that the pleasure is constructed: and therefore it is that people of equally good ear differ so much in this point from one another." *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, p. 106.—*Ed.*

Of the *tavern-musick*, the French editor says, "C'est la coutume, ou la manière en Angleterre, d'avoir dans la plûpart des cabarets des instruments musicaux, sur lesquels on joue."—*Fr. Tr.*

[5] *of the first composer.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "of my Maker."—*Ed.*

thing in it of divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world, and creatures of God,—such a melody to the ear, as the whole world, well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God.[6] I will not say, with Plato,[7] the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto musick: thus some, whose temper of body agrees, and humours the constitution of their souls, are born poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhythm. This made Tacitus, in the very first line of his story, fall upon a verse;* and Cicero,[8] the worst of poets, but declaim-

* Urbem Romam in principio reges habuere.—*Taciti Annales,* l. i.

[6] *God.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 add the following passage:—"It unties the ligaments of my frame, takes me to pieces, dilates me out of myself, and by degrees methinks resolves me into heaven."—*Ed.*

[7] *with Plato, &c.*] Plato dixit, "animam concordiæ musicæ esse similem."—Vid. *Marcil. Ficin. in Platonis Timæum,* c. 28.—*M.*

[8] *and Cicero.*] The sin is, however, wrongly laid at Cicero's door; for that Oration cannot be regarded as his composition.

Obiter de versibus prosæ orationi intextis a scriptoribus, insciis sæpius, nonnunquam pravo numerorum sensu deceptis, lectorem monebo adeat Marklandum ad *Suppl.* 901, p. 184; Bosium, Staveren. Heusinger. ad *Nepotis Prœmium;* Dorv. ad *Char.* 620; W. S. Walker, qui se Cæcilium Metellum nuncupare amat, in *Classica Ephemeride,* t. xv. p. 181; xvi. p. 334; xvii. p. 349; xix. p. 328; xx. p. 345; xxi. p. 278; xxii. p. 171; xxiii. pp. 43, 296. Versus in prosaicis Italis Scriptoribus deprehendit Tasson. ad Petrarchæ initium. Et in nostratibus non desunt exempla. Marmontelius, qui in *Narratione Morali,* cui index est Amicitiæ Schola, "Laissez donc la simple amitié doucement amuser le loisir de son âme," omnino est reprehensione dignus; nam nimia in his est cacozelia, cum ipsa adverbii inversio ipsum de metro admonerit. Vide et Vaugelasii *Animadver. de Lingua Gallica,* p. 117, collato Menagio, *Obs.* 190, *Menagiana,* i. 40, 77, 144; iii. 382, ubi similia vitia in Molierii et Ablancurtii oratione notantur; Carpentarium *de Excell. Ling. Gall.* 684, Clericum *Bibl. Univ.* v. 258. Daunovium ad *Boilavii Longin.* 8. Neckera *Misc.* ii. 15. 'Les vers gâtent l'harmonie de la prose; mais un hémistiche réussit quelquefois, et tombe agréablement pour l'oreille.'"

With respect to the poetical talents of Cicero, the line—

O fortunatam natam, me Consule Romam,

is ridiculed by Juvenal for the very alliteration, which Cicero, agreeably to the taste of the age and the practice of his predecessors, affected: examples of alliteration abound in Lucretius, from whom I have cited many instances in *Classical Journal,* liii. 132. But ever after monarchy had

ing for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect hexameter.* I feel not in me those sordid and unchristian desires of my profession;[9] I do not secretly implore and wish for plagues, rejoice at famines, revolve ephemerides and almanacks in expectation of malignant aspects, fatal conjunctions, and eclipses. I rejoice not at unwholesome springs nor unseasonable winters: my prayer goes with the husbandman's; I desire everything in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be out of temper. Let me be sick myself, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me. I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities. Where I do him no good, methinks it is scarce honest gain,[1] though I confess 'tis but the worthy salary of our well intended endeavours. I am not only ashamed but heartily sorry, that, besides death, there are diseases incurable; yet not for my own sake or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity, whose common cause I apprehend as mine own. And, to speak more generally, those three noble professions which all civil commonwealths do honour, are raised upon the fall of Adam, and are not any way exempt from their infirmities. There are not only diseases incurable in physick, but cases indissolvable in law, vices incorrigible in divinity. If general councils may err,[2] I do not see why

* In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse. — *Cicero pro Archia Poeta.*

been established in Rome, it was fashionable and courtly to abuse the name of Cicero,—a name dear alike to eloquence and learning, to liberty and patriotism, to dignity and virtue. To question his oratorical talents would have been a vain attempt. The parasites of those times, therefore, directed their wit against his poetical effusions, because they are more open to attack; and Juvenal had fallen into their ideas. I am persuaded, however, that, if the verses of Cicero be compared with the poetical compositions of his predecessors, contemporaries, and coevals, they will not be found so deficient in merit. But while I admit that, if they are measured by the Virgilian standard, they must sink into insignificance, I cannot justly forget that no poet, who wrote before the time of Virgil, can enter the lists with the Mantuan bard.—*E. H. B.*

[9] *sordid and unchristian desires, &c.*] "Medicis gravis annus in quæstu est." *Senec. de Benefic.* l. vi. c. 38.—*M.*

[1] *scarce honest gain.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "no honest gain."—*Ed.*

[2] *If general councils may err.*] Bodinus, *de Republ.* l. iv. c. 7, docet, Arianorum doctrinam octo consiliis confirmatam.—*M.*

particular courts should be infallible: their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of man, and the laws of one do but condemn the rules of another; as Aristotle ofttimes the opinions of his predecessors,[3] because, though agreeable to reason, yet [they] were not consonant to his own rules and the logick of his proper principles. Again,—to speak nothing of the sin against the Holy Ghost, whose cure not only, but whose nature is unknown,—I can cure the gout or stone in some, sooner than divinity, pride, or avarice in others. I can cure vices by physick when they remain incurable by divinity, and they shall obey my pills when they contemn their precepts. I boast nothing, but plainly say, we all labour against our own cure; for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no *catholicon* or universal remedy I know, but this, which though nauseous to queasy stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is nectar, and a pleasant potion of immortality.

Sect. x.—For my conversation, it is, like the sun's, with all men,[4] and with a friendly aspect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad; and the worst best, that is, while they are kept within the circle of those qualities, wherein they are good. There is no man's mind of so discordant and jarring a temper, to which a tuneable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia;* it is the posy[5] of the best natures, and may be inverted on the worst. There are, in the most depraved and venomous dispositions, certain pieces that remain untouched, which by an *antiperistasis*[6] become more excellent, or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemies' vices, and persist entire beyond the general corruption. For it is also thus in nature: the greatest balsams do lie enveloped in the bodies of the most powerful corrosives. I say moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poisons contain within themselves their

[3] *ofttimes the opinions of his predecessors.*] Instead of these words, all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "the fourth figure."—*Ed.*

[4] *like the sun's, with all men.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "like the sun, without all men."—*Ed.*

[5] *posy.*] Or *poesy;* a motto on a ring, or anything else:—"I should as soon expect to see a critick on the *posy* of a ring, as on the inscription of a medal."—*Addison.*

[6] *antiperistasis.*] The opposition of a contrary quality, by which the quality it opposes becomes heightened."—*Ed.*

own antidotes, and that which preserves them from the venom of themselves; without which they were not deleterious to others only, but to themselves also.[7] But it is the corruption that I fear within me; not[8] the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me, that will destroy me; 'tis I that do infect myself; the man without a navel* yet lives in me. I feel that original canker corrode and devour me: and therefore, *Defenda me, Dios, de me!* "Lord, deliver me from myself!" is a part of my litany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a microcosm, and carries the whole world about him. *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, though it be the apothegm of a wise man[9] is yet true in the mouth of a fool: for indeed, though in a wilderness, a man is never alone; not only because he is with himself, and his own thoughts, but because he is with the devil, who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered motions which accompany our sequestered imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor anything that can be said to be alone, and by itself, but God;—who is his own circle, and can subsist by himself; all others, besides their dissimilary and heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concourse[1] of God, and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone, and by its self, which is not truly one, and such is only

* Adam, whom I conceive to want a navel, because he was not born of a woman. *MS. W.*

[7] *poisons contain, &c.*] The poison of a scorpion is not poison to itself, nor the poison of a toad is not poison to itself; so that the sucking out of poison, from persons infected, by Psylls (who are continually nourished with venomous aliment), without any prejudice to themselves, is the less to be wondered at.—*K.*

The Psylls, or Psylli, are a people in the south of Cyrenaica, said to have had something in their bodies fatal to serpents, and their very smell proved a charm against them, according to Pliny, Lucan, &c. Curious particulars may be found about these people, or people who seem to be so constituted, in the travels of Hasselquist, Bruce, Savary, &c.—*Ed.*

[8] *not.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *and.*—*Ed.*

[9] nunquam minus solus, &c.] Hoc dicere solitus est Publius Scipio; vid. *Cicero de Officiis*, l. iii.—*M.*

[1] *concourse.*] Used here undoubtedly in the sense of *concurrence.*—*Ed.*

God: all others do transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

SECT. XI.—Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate, were not a history, but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common years like a fable. For the world, I count it not an inn, but an hospital; and a place not to live, but to die in. The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on: for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude; for I am above Atlas's shoulders.[2] The earth is a point not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us. That mass of flesh that circumscribes me limits not my mind. That surface that tells the heavens it hath an end cannot persuade me I have any. I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty. Though the number of the ark do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind. Whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I find myself something more than the great. There is surely a piece of divinity in us; something that was before the elements, and owes no homage unto the sun. Nature tells me, I am the image of God, as well as Scripture. He that understands not thus much hath not his introduction or first lesson, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any.[3] *Ruat cœlum, fiat voluntas tua*, salveth all; so that, whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content; and what should providence add more? Surely this is it we call happiness, and this do I enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy, as others in a more apparent truth and reality.

[2] *I am above Atlas's shoulders.*] Meaning, "I am *a world.*"

The following nine sentences, ending with "alphabet of man," are not in the *MSS.* nor *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[3] *as happy as any.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "the happiest man alive;"—and add the following passage;—"I have that in me, that can convert poverty into riches, adversity into prosperity; I am more invulnerable than Achilles: fortune hath not one place to hit me."—*Ed.*

There is surely a nearer apprehension of any thing that delights us, in our dreams, than in our waked senses.[4] Without this I were unhappy; for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me that I am from my friend, but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams, as I do for my good rest; for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness. And surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams, to those of the next, as the phantasms of the night, to the conceit of the day. There is an equal delusion in both; and the one doth but seem to be the emblem or picture of the other. We are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps; and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason; and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity, my ascendant was the watery sign of *Scorpio*. I was born in the planetary hour of *Saturn*,[5] and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardise[6] of company; yet in one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams, and this time also would I choose for my devotions: but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that which hath passed. Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract of sleep, hath not, methinks, thoroughly

[4] *waked senses.*] Here all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 add, "with this I can be a king, without a crown, rich without royalty, in heaven though on earth, enjoy my friend and embrace him at a distance, without which I cannot behold him."—*Ed.*

[5] *planetary hour of* Saturn.] After referring to several writers on judicial astrology, Moltke adds; "Sed propria experientia didici, Astrologiæ judiciaria parum esse tribuendum!"—*Ed.*

[6] *galliardise.*] *Merriment.* Johnson quotes the present passage as the only authority for the use of this word, which he says is "not in use."—*Ed.*

defined it; nor yet Galen, though he seem to have corrected it; for those *noctambulos* and night-walkers, though in their sleep, do yet enjoy the action of their senses. We must therefore say that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus; and that those abstracted and ecstatick souls do walk about in their own corpses, as spirits with the bodies they assume, wherein they seem to hear, see, and feel, though indeed the organs are destitute of sense, and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus it is observed, that men sometimes,[7] upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves. For then the soul begins to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

SECT. XII.—We term sleep a death;[8] and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life.[9] 'Tis indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truly lives, so long as he acts his nature, or some way makes good the faculties of himself. Themistocles therefore, that slew his soldier in his sleep, was a merciful executioner: 'tis a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented; I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it. It is that death by which we may be literally said to die daily; a death which Adam died before his mortality; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death. In fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers, and an half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell[1] in a colloquy with God:—

> The night is come, like to the day;
> Depart not thou, great God, away.

---

[7] *it is observed, that men sometimes.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "I observe that men oftentimes."—*Ed.*

[8] *sleep a death.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "death a sleep."—*Ed.*

[9] *life.*] In all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 the sentences, occupying the six following lines, to the words "discover it," are wanting.—*Ed.*

[1] *and take my farewell, &c.*] Instead of these words, all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "It is a fit time for devotion; I cannot therefore lay me down in my bed without an oration and without taking my farewell," &c.—*Ed.*

Let not my sins, black as the night,
Eclipse the lustre of thy light.
Keep still in my horizon; for to me
The sun makes not the day, but thee.
Thou whose nature cannot sleep,
On my temples sentry keep;
Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
Whose eyes are open while mine close.
Let no dreams my head infest,
But such as Jacob's temples blest.
While I do rest, my soul advance:
Make my sleep a holy trance:
That I may, my rest being wrought,
Awake into some holy thought.
And with as active vigour run
My course as doth the nimble sun.
Sleep is a death;—O make me try,
By sleeping, what it is to die!
And as gently lay my head
On my grave, as now my bed.
Howe'er I rest, great God, let me
Awake again at last with thee.
And thus assur'd, behold I lie
Securely, or to wake or die.
These are my drowsy days; in vain
I do now wake to sleep again:
O come that hour, when I shall never
Sleep again, but wake for ever!

This is the dormitive I take to bedward; I need no other *laudanum* than this to make me sleep; after which I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the sun, and sleep unto the resurrection.

SECT. XIII.—The method I should use in distributive justice, I often[2] observe[3] in commutative; and keep a geometrical proportion in both, whereby becoming equable to others, I become unjust to myself, and supererogate in that common principle, "Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thyself." I was not born unto riches, neither is it, I think, my star to be wealthy; or if it were, the freedom of my mind, and frankness of my disposition, were able to

[2] *often.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *also.*—*Ed.*

[3] *distributive justice, &c.*] "Justice, though it be but one entire virtue, yet is described in two kinds—one, named *justice distributive,* which is in distribution of honour, money, benefice, or other thing semblable: the other is called *commutative,* or by exchange." *Sir T. Elyot, Gov.* fol. 142.—*Ed.*

contradict and cross my fates: for to me avarice seems not so much a vice, as a deplorable piece of madness; to conceive ourselves urinals, or be persuaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous, nor so many degrees beyond the power of hellebore,[4] as this. The opinions of theory, and positions of men, are not so void of reason, as their practised conclusions. Some have held that snow is black, that the earth moves, that the soul is air, fire, water; but all this is philosophy: and there is no delirium, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice.[5] To that subterraneous idol, and God of the earth, I do confess I am an atheist. I cannot persuade myself to honour that the world adores; whatsoever virtue its prepared substance[6] may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without. I would not entertain a base design, or an action that should call me villain, for the Indies; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have methinks two arms too few to embrace myself. Aristotle is too severe, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth, and the bountiful hand of fortune; if this be true, I must confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions, and bountiful well wishes. But if the example of the mite be not only an act of wonder, but an example of the noblest charity, surely poor men may also build hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected cathedrals.[7] I have a private method which others observe not; I take the opportunity of myself to do good; I borrow occasion of charity from my own necessities, and supply the wants of others, when I am in most need myself:[8] for it is an honest stratagem to take advantage of ourselves, and so to husband the acts of virtue, that, where they are defective in one circumstance, they may repay their want, and multiply their goodness in another. I have not Peru in my desires,

[4] *hellebore.*] Said to be a specific against madness.—*Ed.*

[5] *there is no delirium, &c.*] "Meaning there is nothing deserving the name of delirium, when compared with the folly of avarice, &c."—*Ed.*

[6] *its prepared substance, &c.*] Alluding to the *aurum portabile*, of which see *Vulgar Errors*, b. iii. c. 23.—*Ed.*

[7] *surely poor men, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "I can justly boast I am as charitable as some who have built hospitals, or erected cathedrals."—*Ed.*

[8] *myself.*] Here all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 add, "when I am reduced to the last tester, I love to divide it with the poor."—*Ed.*

but a competence and ability to perform those good works to which [the Almighty][9] hath inclined my nature. He is rich who hath enough to be charitable; and it is hard to be so poor that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodness. "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord:" there is more rhetorick in that one sentence than in a library of sermons. And indeed, if those sentences were understood by the reader with the same emphasis as they are delivered by the author, we needed not those volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a beggar without relieving his necessities with my purse, or his soul with my prayers. These scenical and accidental differences between us cannot make me forget that common and untoucht part of us both: there is under these centoes[1] and miserable outsides, those mutilate and semi bodies, a soul of the same alloy[2] with our own, whose genealogy is God as well as ours, and in as fair a way to salvation as ourselves. Statists that labour to contrive a commonwealth without poverty take away the object of our charity; not understanding only[3] the commonwealth of a christian, but forgetting the prophecy of Christ.*

SECT. XIV.—Now, there is another part of charity, which is the basis and pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for whom we love our neighbour; for this I think charity, to love God for himself, and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of him, that retains a reflex or shadow of himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible: all that we truly love is thus. What we adore under affection of our senses deserves not the honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, though to the eyes of sense she be invisible. Thus that part of our noble friends that we love is not that part that we embrace, but that insensible part that

* "The poor ye shall have always with you."—*MS. W.*

[9] *the Almighty.*] The words between brackets are inserted from *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642; the others read, *he.*—*Ed.*

[1] *centoes.*] Patched garments.—*Ed.*

[2] *both: there is under, &c.*] Instead of this sentence, all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "both, the soul being of the same alloy."—*Ed.*

[3] *not understanding only.*] Or rather "not only not understanding."—*Ed.*

our arms cannot embrace. God being all goodness, can love nothing but himself; he loves us but for that part which is as it were himself, and the traduction of his Holy Spirit. Let us call to assize the loves[4] of our parents, the affections of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows and dreams, without reality, truth, or constancy. For first there is a strong bond of affection between us and our parents; yet how easily dissolved! We betake ourselves to a woman, forgetting our mother in a wife, and the womb that bare us in that which shall bear our image. This woman blessing us with children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and sinks from our bed unto our issue and picture of posterity: where affection holds no steady mansion; they growing up in years, desire our ends; or, applying themselves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than ourselves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own issue.

I conclude therefore, and say, there is no happiness under (or, as Copernicus* will have it, above) the sun; nor any *crambo*[5] in that repeated verity and burthen of all the wisdom of Solomon; "All is vanity and vexation of spirit;" there is no felicity in that the world adores. Aristotle,

* Who holds that the sun is the centre of the world.—*MS. W.*

[4] *loves.*] *Edts.* 1642 and 1643 read, *lives.*

All the *MSS.* and the later *Edts.* read, *loves;* with which reading the foreign editions agree.

In this instance then it is clear that the translator detected an error which had not only passed through the two surreptitious editions, but was repeated by the author in the first genuine edition; or rather the translator availed himself of the *Errata,* in *Edit.* 1643, as ought the present editor.—*Ed.*

[5] *nor any crambo in that repeated verity, &c.*] Meaning that the sentiment expressed by Solomon is a truth which cannot be too often repeated.

Crambo is a play in rhyming, in which he that repeats a word that was said before forfeits something.—*Crabb's Techn. Dict.*

In all the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 the words *nor any crambo* are wanting.—*Ed.*

---

who holds, &c.] An opinion which Sir Thomas Browne would by no means adopt; as has already appeared, and will be noticed again in another place.—*Ed.*

whilst he labours to refute the *ideas* of Plato,[6] falls upon one himself: for his *summum bonum*[7] is a chimæra; and there is no such thing as his felicity. That wherein God himself is happy, the holy angels are happy, in whose defect the devils are unhappy;—that dare I call happiness: whatsoever conduceth unto this, may, with an easy metaphor, deserve that name; whatsoever else the world terms happiness is, to me, a story out of Pliny,[8] an apparition or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of happiness than the name. Bless me in this life with but the peace of my conscience, command of my affections, the love of thyself and[9] my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity Cæsar! These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth:[1] wherein I set no rule or limit to thy hand or providence; dispose of me according to the wisdom[2] of thy pleasure. Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.[3]

[6] *Aristotle, whilst, &c.*] Vid. *Eudemior.* l. i. c. 8, et *Metaphys.* l. i. c. 7.—*M.*

[7] *his* summum bonum.] Vid. *Eudemior.* l. i. et ii.—et *De Moribus*, l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, et seq.—*M.*

[8] *out of Pliny.*] These words are not in *MS. W.* nor *Edts.* 1642; *Edts.* 1678, 1682, & 1736 add the following words here "a tale of Bocace or Malizpini," on what authority does not appear.—*Ed.*

[9] *thyself and.*] Not in *MSS.* nor *Edts.* 1642.—*Ed.*

[1] *These are, O Lord, the humble desires, &c.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "These are, O Lord, happiness on earth."—*Ed.*

[2] *wisdom.*] All the *MSS.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, *justice.*—*Ed.*

[3] *Thy will, &c.*] This concluding sentence is not in *MSS. W.* 2 & *R.*; *MS. W.* and *Edts.* 1642 read, "Thy will be done, though in mine own damnation."—*Ed.*

The OBSERVATIONS ON RELIGIO MEDICI, which occupy the following pages, were communicated by SIR KENELM DIGBY (during his confinement in Winchester House) to the Earl of Dorset. While they were in the press, a correspondence respecting them took place between the author and Sir Thomas Browne, in which it appears to have been Sir Thomas's object to induce Sir Kenelm Digby to delay the publication of his Observations, which were on the *surreptitious* edition, till the appearance of the *genuine* one should have enabled him to revise them. That correspondence, together with an anonymous notice on the same subject, were printed at the end of the edition of 1643. In the subsequent editions they precede Religio Medici; an arrangement which has in the present been preferred.—*Ed.*

OBSERVATIONS.

[The numerals which occur throughout these "Observations" indicate the sections in "Religio Medici" referred to.]

To the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Dorset, Baron of Buckhurst, &c.

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED yesternight, your lordship's of the nineteenth current; wherein you are pleased to oblige me, not only by extreme gallant expressions of favour and kindness, but likewise by taking so far into your care the expending of my time, during the tediousness of my restraint, as to recommend to my reading a book that had received the honour and safeguard of your approbation; for both which I most humbly thank your lordship. And, since I cannot in the way of gratefulness express unto your lordship, as I would, those hearty sentiments I have of your goodness to me, I will at the least endeavour, in the way of duty and observance, to let you see how the little needle of my soul

is thoroughly touched at the great loadstone of yours, and followeth suddenly and strongly, which way soever you beckon it. In this occasion, the magnetick motion was impatience to have the book in my hands, that your lordship gave so advantageous a character of; whereupon I sent presently (as late as it was) to Paul's church-yard, for this favourite of yours, Religio Medici: which after a while found me in a condition fit to receive a blessing by a visit from any of such masterpieces, as you look upon with gracious eyes;—for I was newly gotten into bed. This good natured creature I could easily persuade to be my bed-fellow, and to wake with me, as long as I had any edge to entertain myself with the delights I sucked from so noble a conversation. And truly, my lord, I closed not my eyes, till I had enriched myself with (or at least exactly surveyed) all the treasures that are lapped up in the folds of those few sheets. To return only a general commendation of this curious piece, or at large to admire the author's spirit and smartness, were too perfunctory an account, and too slight an one, to so discerning and steady an eye as yours, after so particular and encharged a summons to read heedfully this discourse. I will therefore presume to blot a sheet or two of paper with my reflections upon sundry passages through the whole context of it, as they shall occur to my remembrance. Whereas now your lordship knoweth this packet is not so happy as to carry with it any other expression of my obsequiousness to you, it will be but reasonable, you should even here give over your further trouble, of reading what my respect engageth me to the writing of.

Whose first step is ingenuity and a well natured evenness of judgment, shall be sure of applause and fair hopes in all men for the rest of his journey. And indeed, my lord, methinketh this gentleman setteth out excellently poised with that happy temper: and showeth a great deal of judicious piety in making a right use of the blind zeal that bigots lose themselves in. Yet I cannot satisfy my doubts thoroughly, how he maketh good his professing to follow the great wheel of the church (6) in matters of divinity; which surely is the solid basis of true religion. For to do so, without jarring against the conduct of that first mover by

eccentrical and irregular motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful obedience to the determinations of it, without arrogating to one's self a controling ability in liking or misliking the faith, doctrine, and constitutions, of that church which one looketh upon as their north-star: whereas, if I mistake not, this author approveth the church of England, not absolutely, but comparatively with other reformed churches.

My next reflection is, concerning what he hath sprinkled (most wittily) in several places, concerning the nature and immortality of a human soul, and the condition and state it is in, after the dissolution of the body. And here give me leave to observe what our countryman Roger Bacon did long ago: "That those students, who busy themselves much with such notions, as reside wholly in the fantasy, do hardly ever become idoneous for abstracted metaphysical speculations, the one having bulky foundation of matter, or of the accidents of it, to settle upon (at the least, with one foot): the other flying continually, even to a lessening pitch, in the subtile air. And accordingly, it hath been generally noted, that the exactest mathematicians, who converse altogether with lines, figures, and other differences of quantity, have seldom proved eminent in metaphysicks, or speculative divinity. Nor again, the professors of these sciences, in the other arts. Much less can it be expected that an excellent phycisian, whose fancy is always fraught with the material drugs that he prescribeth his apothecary to compound his medicines of, and whose hands are inured to the cutting up, and eyes to the inspection of anatomized bodies, should easily, and with success, fly his thoughts at so towering a game, as a pure intellect, a separated and unbodied soul." (7) Surely this acute author's sharp wit, had he orderly applied his studies that way, would have been able to satisfy himself with less labour, and others with more plenitude, than it hath been the lot of so dull a brain, as mine, concerning the immortality of the soul.(7) And yet, I assure you, my lord, the little philosophy that is allowed me for my share, demonstrateth this proposition to me, as well as faith delivereth it, which our physician will not admit in his.

To make good this assertion here, were very unreason-

able, since that to do it exactly (and without exactness were no demonstration) requireth a total survey of the whole science of bodies, and of all the operations that we are conversant with, of a rational creature: which I having done with all the succinctness I have been able to explicate so knotty a subject with, hath taken me up in the first draught near two hundred sheets of paper.[1] I shall therefore take leave of this point, with only this note:—that I take the immortality of the soul (under his favour) to be of that nature, that to them only that are not versed in the ways of proving it by reason, it is an article of faith: to others, it is an evident conclusion of demonstrative science.

And with a like short note, I shall observe, how if he had traced the nature of the soul from its first principles, he could not have suspected it should sleep in the grave, till the resurrection of the body.(7) Nor would he have permitted his compassionative nature to imagine it belonged to God's mercy(7) (as the Chiliasts did) to change its condition, in those that are damned, from pain to happiness. For where God should have done that, he must have made that anguished soul another creature than what it was (as to make fire cease from being hot, requireth to have it become another thing than the element of fire); since, that to be in such a condition as maketh us understand damned souls miserable, is a necessary effect of the temper it is in, when it goeth out of the body, and must necessarily (out of its own nature) remain in, unvariably for all eternity; though, for the conceptions of the vulgar part of mankind (who are not capable of such abstruse notions) it be styled (and truly too) the sentence and punishment of a severe judge.

I am extremely pleased with him, when he saith,(9) "there are not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith."[2] And no whit less, when in philosophy he

[1] *which I having done, &c.*] He refers to his *Two Treatises concerning the Body and Soul of Man*, which he published soon after. *Paris*, 1644, fol.—*Ed.*

[2] *I am extremely pleased, &c.*] "Sir Kenelm, a Roman Catholic, was, 'extremely pleased,' without question,—and full of hopes, that this young author might at last *unreason* himself into *implicit belief*, and go over to a church, which would feed his hungry faith with a

will not be satisfied with such naked terms, as in schools used to be obtruded upon easy minds, when the masters' fingers are not strong enough to untie the knots proposed unto them. I confess when I inquire what light (to use our author's example) (10) is, I should be as well contented with his silence, as with his telling me it is *actus perspicui*;[3] unless he explicate clearly to me, what those words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such meat they swallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were such things scientifically and methodically declared, they would be of extreme satisfaction and delight. And that work taketh up the greatest part of my formerly mentioned treatise. For I endeavour to show by a continued progress, and not by leaps, all the motions of nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the terms used by her best secretaries; whereby all wild fantastick qualities and moods (introduced for refuges of ignorance) are banished from my commerce.

In the next place, my lord, I shall suspect that our author hath not penetrated into the bottom of those conceptions, that deep scholars have taught us of eternity.(11) Methinketh[4] he taketh it for an infinite extension of time, and

sufficient quantity of impossibilities.—*Tendimus in Latium!* Tillotson (on the other hand) judging that the papists would make an ill use of this, and such passages as this, in protestant writers, was willing to pass a gentle animadversion upon it, in the following passage:—'I know not what some men may find in themselves; but I must freely acknowledge, that I could never yet attain to that bold and hardy degree of faith, as to believe any thing, for this reason, because it was impossible. So that I am very far from being of *his* mind, that wanted, not only more difficulties, but even impossibilities in the Christian religion, to exercise his faith upon.'

"But, by *impossibilities*, Sir Thomas Browne, as well as Tertullian, meant *seeming* not *real* impossibilities; and what he says should be looked upon as a *verbum ardens*, a rhetorical flourish, and a trial of skill with Tertullian, in which however he had little chance to come off superior. Both of them were lively and ingenious, but the *African* had a warmer complexion than the *Briton*."—*Jortin's Tracts*, vol. i. p. 373.—*Ed.*

[3] *I confess, &c.*] The *words* of Sir Kenelm imply that Sir Thomas had adopted the Aristotelian definition of light, *actus perspicui*, which is not the fact. Sir K. probably *intended* to express his accordance with Sir Thomas in *rejecting* it.—*Ed.*

[4] *Methinketh, &c.*] The opinions which Sir Thomas expresses respecting eternity, are the very opposite to those here attributed to

a never-ending revolution of continual succession; which is no more like eternity, than a gross body is like to a pure spirit. Nay, such an infinity of revolutions is demonstrable to be a contradiction, and impossible. In the state of eternity there is no succession, no change, no variety. Souls or angels, in that condition, do not so much as change a thought. All things, notions, and actions, that ever were, are, or shall be, in any creature, are actually present to such an intellect. And this, my lord, I aver, not as deriving it from theology, and having recourse to beatifick vision, to make good my tenet (for so, only glorified creatures should enjoy such immense knowledge), but out of the principles of nature and reason, and from thence shall demonstrate it to belong to the lowest soul of the ignorantest wretch whilst he lived in this world, since damned in hell. A bold undertaking, you will say. But I confidently engage myself to it. Upon this occasion occurreth also a great deal to be said of the nature of predestination (which, by the short touches *our* author giveth of it, I doubt he quite mistakes), and how it is an unalterable series and chain of causes, producing infallible (and in respect of them, necessary) effects. But that is too large a theme to unfold here; too vast an ocean to describe in the scant map of a letter. And therefore I will refer that to a fitter opportunity, fearing I have already too much trespassed upon your lordship's patience; but that indeed, I hope, you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am sure, my lord, that you (who never forgot anything which deserved a room in your memory) do remember how we are told, that *abyssus abyssum invocat.* So here our author, from the abyss of predestination, falleth into that of the trinity of persons consistent with the indivisibility of the divine nature: (12) and out of that (if I be not exceedingly deceived) into a third, of mistaking, when he goeth about to illustrate this admirable mystery by a wild discourse of a trinity in our souls. The dint of wit is not forcible enough to dissect such tough matter; wherein all the obscure glimmering we gain of that inaccessible light, cometh

him. The author of the anonymous notice, prefixed to *Religio Medici*, justly complains, that Sir Kenelm, "wherein he would contradict, mistaketh or traduceth the intention."—*Ed.*

to us clothed in the dark weeds of negations, and therefore little can we hope to meet with any positive examples to parallel it withal.

I doubt, he also mistaketh, and imposeth upon the severer schools, when he intimateth, that they gainsay this visible world's being but a picture or shadow of the invisible and intellectual: which manner of philosophizing he attributeth to Hermes Trismegistus;(12) but is everywhere to be met with in Plato; and is raised since to a greater height in the christian schools.

But I am sure he learned in no great school,(14) nor sucked from any good philosophy, to give an actual subsistence and being to first matter without a form.[5] He that will allow that a real existence in nature, is as superficially tincted in metaphysicks, as another would be in mathematicks, that should allow the like to a point, a line, or a superficies, in figures. These, in their strict notions, are but negations of further extension, or but exact terminations of that quantity which falleth under the consideration of the understanding, in the present purpose; no real entities in themselves. So likewise, the notions of matter, form, act, power, existence, and the like, that are with truth considered by the understanding, and have there each of them a distinct entity, are nevertheless nowhere by themselves in nature. They are terms which we must use in the negotiations of our thoughts, if we will discourse consequently, and conclude knowingly. But then again, we must be very wary of attributing to things, in their own natures, such entities as we create in our understandings, when we make pictures of them there; for there every different consideration, arising out of the different impression which the same thing maketh upon us, hath a distinct being by itself: whereas in the thing, there is but one single unity, that showeth (as it were in a glass, at several positions), those various faces in our understanding. In a word, all these words are but artificial terms, not real things. And the not right understanding them, is the dangerousest rock that scholars suffer shipwreck against.

[5] *But I am sure, &c.*] Yet did Sir Thomas, in the words alluded to, quote from the Bible: "And the earth was without form."—*Ed.*

I go on with our physician's contemplations. Upon every occasion, he showeth strong parts, and a vigorous brain. His wishes and aims, and what he pointeth at, speak him owner of a noble and a generous heart. He hath reason to wish that Aristotle had been as accurate in examining the causes, nature, and affections, of the great universe he busied himself about, as his patriarch Galen hath been in the like considerations upon his little world, man's body, in that admirable work of his *De usu partium.*(14) But no great human thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may satisfy us, if one in our age buildeth that magnificent structure upon the other's foundations; and especially, if where he findeth any of them unsound, he eradicateth those, and fixeth new unquestionable ones in their room: but so, as they still engross, keep a proportion, and bear a harmony, with the other's great work. This hath now (even now) our learned countryman done, the knowing Master White,[6]

[6] *The knowing Master White.*] An English Roman Catholic priest; whose name was Thomas White, but who assumed, on various occasions, those of Candidus, Albius, Bianche, Rickworth, and Anglus. Moreri calls him, "Thomas de Withe, second fils de Richarde de Withe, originaire de Hutton, dans le comté d'Essex, en Angleterre." He became successively principal of a college at Lisbon, and sub-principal at Douay. During some period of his life he resided with Sir Kenelm Digby, whose Aristotelean notions he zealously adopted,—and by whom therefore he is very naturally introduced to Sir Thomas as "the *knowing* Master White." These notions, however, he not only applied to philosophy, but attempted to carry them into theological subjects, to the great scandal of his church; by whom several of his works were condemned. Descartes, who called him M. Vitus, endeavoured in vain to induce him to adopt his system. Bayle says of him:—"Il avait l'esprit assez pénétrant et assez vaste; mais il n'était pas heureux à discerner les idées qui méritaient de servir de règle et de fondement, ni à développer les matières." Baillet accuses him of obscurity equal to that of the ancient oracles: his reply is curious:—"These learned persons," says he, "either understand me or they do not:—if they understand me, let them refute my opinions; if not, why do they complain of them?" He resided long abroad, at Paris and at Rome, but spent the close of his life in England, where he became acquainted with Hobbes, and where (in 1676) he died, at the advanced age of 94. His works were numerous; among the principal may be mentioned, his Dialogues *De Mundo; Institutiones Peripateticæ; Appendix Theologica de Origine Mundi; Tabulæ Suffragiales de Terminandis Fidei Litibus ab Ecclesia Catholica Fixæ; Tesseræ Romanæ Evulgatio; Statera Morum; De Media Animarum Statu; Sonus Buccinæ,* &c.—*Ed.*

(whose name, I believe, your lordship hath met withal) in, his excellent book, *De Mundo*, newly printed at Paris, where he now resideth, and is admired by the world of lettered men there, as the prodigy of these latter times. Indeed his three dialogues upon that subject (if I am able to judge anything), are full of the profoundest learning I ever yet met withal. And I believe, who hath well read and digested them, will persuade himself, there is no truth so abstruse, nor hitherto conceived out of our reach, but man's wit may raise engines to scale and conquer. I assure myself, when our author hath studied him thoroughly, he will not lament so loud for Aristotle's mutilated and defective philosophy, as, in Boccalini, Cæsar Caporali doth for the loss of Livy's shipwrecked decads.

That logick which he quarrelleth at, for calling a toad or a serpent ugly,(16) will in the end agree with his; for nobody ever took them to be so, in respect of the universe (in which regard, he defendeth their regularity and symmetry), but only as they have relation to us.

But I cannot so easily agree with him, when he affirmeth, that devils, or other spirits in the intellectual world, have no exact ephemerides,(17) wherein they may read beforehand the stories of fortuite accidents. For I believe, that all causes are so immediately chained to their effects, as if a perfect knowing nature get hold but of one link, it will drive the entire series, or pedigree of the whole, to each utmost end. (as I think I have proved in my forenamed treatise); so that in truth, there is no fortuiteness or contingency of things, in respect of themselves, but only in respect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and necessary causes.[7]

Now a like series or chain and complex of all outward circumstances (whose highest link, poets say prettily, is fastened to Jupiter's chair, and the lowest is rivetted to every individual on earth) steered and levelled by God Al-

[7] *But I cannot so easily agree with him, &c.*] Sir Kenelm, in his reply, does not discuss the point at issue; which is, not whether there be any "contingency of things in respect of themselves,"—but whether devils or angels have such "exact ephemerides," or (to use Sir K.'s words) whether they are such "perfect knowing natures," as to foresee future events.—*Ed.*

mighty, at the first setting out of the first mover, I conceive, to be that divine providence and mercy, which (to use our author's own example) giveth a thriving genius to the Hollanders, and the like: and not any secret, invisible, mystical blessing, that falleth not under the search or cognizance of a prudent indagation.

I must needs approve our author's equanimity, and I may as justly say his magnanimity, in being contented so cheerfully (as he saith) to shake hands with the fading goods of fortune, and be deprived of the joys of her most precious blessings; so that he may in recompense possess in ample measure the true ones of the mind.(18) Like Epictetus, that great master of moral wisdom and piety, who taxeth them of high injustice, that repine at God's distribution of his blessings, when he putteth not into their share of goods such things as they use no industry or means to purchase. For why should that man, who above all things esteemeth his own freedom, and who, to enjoy that, sequestreth himself from commerce with the vulgar of mankind, take it ill of his stars, if such preferments, honours, and applauses, meet not him, as are painfully gained, after long and tedious services of princes, and brittle dependences of humorous favourites, and supple compliances with all sorts of natures? As for what he saith of astrology,(18) I do not conceive that wise men reject it so much for being repugnant to divinity (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no solid rules or ground in nature. To rely too far upon that vain art I judge to be rather folly than impiety, unless in our censure we look to the first origin of it, which savoureth of the idolatry of those heathens, that, worshipping the stars and heavenly bodies for deities, did in a superstitious devotion attribute unto them the causality of all effects beneath them. And for aught I know, the belief of solid orbs in the heavens, and their regularly-irregular motions sprang from the same root. And a like inanity I should suspect in chiromancy, as well as astrology (especially, in particular contingent effects), however our author, and no less a man than Aristotle, seem to attribute somewhat more to that conjectural art of lines.

I should much doubt (though our author showeth himself

of another mind) (20), that Bernardinus Ochinus[8] grew at the last to be a mere atheist; when after having been first the institutor and patriarch of the Capucine order (so violent was his zeal then, as no former religious institution, though never so rigorous, was strict enough for him) he from thence fell to be first an heretick, then a Jew, and after a while became a Turk; and at the last wrote a furious invective against those, whom he called the three grand impostors of the world, among whom he ranked our Saviour, Christ, as well as Moses and Mahomet.*

I doubt he mistakes in his chronology, or the printer in the name, when he maketh Ptolemy condemn the Alcoran.[9](23)

He needeth not be so scrupulous, as he seemeth to be, in averring downrightly, that God cannot do contradictory things (27) (though peradventure it is not amiss to sweeten the manner of the expression and the sound of the words); for who understandeth the nature of contradiction will find nonentity in one of the terms, which of God were impiety not to deny peremptorily. For he being in his proper nature self-entity, all being must immediately flow from him, and all not-being be totally excluded from that efflux. Now for the recalling of time past, which the angels posed Esdras withal; (27) there is no contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the essence of time. For it is but put-

* This story I have but upon relation, yet of a very good hand.

[8] Sir Kenelm in this passage implies that Browne attributed *De Tribus Impostoribus* to Bernardinus Ochinus; which is not the case. Much curious speculation and research (and perhaps some invention) has been bestowed on the question of the author of this work, and even of its existence:—a condensed account of which may be found in Barbier's *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes*, 8vo. 1824, vol. iii. p. 648, Art. 21612. See also Renourd *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque d'un Amateur*, t. i. p. 118, and Bayle.—*Ed.*

[9] *I doubt he mistakes, &c.*] There is an entire line omitted in the surreptitious edition, which Sir Kenelm used, and which follows the reading of *MS. W.*, "and cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy, that thought the Alcoran is an ill-composed piece." The correct reading is, "and cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy, that thought *not his library complete without it* (meaning without *the Scriptures*). The Alcoran is an ill-composed piece," &c.—*Ed.*

ting again all things that had motion into the same state they were in, at that moment unto which time was to be reduced back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the same motions, and upon the same wheels it rolled upon before. And therefore God could do this admirable work, though neither Esdras, nor all the power of creatures together could do it: and consequently it cannot in this question be said, that he posed mortality with what himself was not able to perform.[1]

I acknowledge ingenuously, our physician's experience hath the advantage of my philosophy, in knowing there are witches.(30) Yet I am sure I have no temptation to doubt of the Deity; nor have any unsatisfaction in believing there are spirits. I do not see such a necessary conjunction between them, as that the supposition of the one must needs infer the other. Neither do I deny there are witches. I only reserve my assent, till I meet with stronger motives to carry it. And I confess I doubt as much of the efficacy of those magical rules he speaketh of, as also of the finding out of mysteries by the courteous revelation of spirits.(31)

I doubt his discourse of an universal spirit is but a wild fancy; and that in the marshaling of it, he mistaketh the Hermetical philosophers. And surely, it is a weak argument from a common nature, that subsisteth only in our understanding (out of which it hath no being at all),(32) to infer, by parity, an actual subsistence of the like in reality of nature; of which kind of miscarriage in men's discoursings, I have spoken before. And, upon this occasion, I do not see how seasonably he falleth of a sudden from natural speculation, to a moral contemplation of God's spirit working in us.(32) In which also I would inquire (especially upon his sudden poetical rapture), whether the solidity of the judgment be not outweighed by the airiness of the fancy. Assuredly one cannot err in taking this author for a very fine ingenious gentleman: but for how

[1] *Now for the recalling of time past, &c.*] See 2 *Esdras* iv. 5. Here again, Sir Kenelm has misunderstood the passage referred to. Sir Thomas neither asserts that the "recalling of time" involves "a contradiction,"—nor that God "posed mortality with what he was not able to perform." His remarks imply directly the reverse.—*Ed.*

deep a scholar, I leave unto them to judge, that are abler than I am.

If he had applied himself with earnest study, and upon right grounds, to search out the nature of pure intellects, I doubt not but his great parts would have argued more efficaciously, than he doth against those, that between men and angels put only Porphyry's difference, of mortality and immortality.(33) And he would have dived further into the tenor of their intellectual operations; in which there is no succession, nor ratiocinative discourse; for in the very first instant of their creation, they actually knew all that they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free thoughts, past, present, and to come; for they see them in their causes, and they see them all together at one instant; as I have in my fore-mentioned treatise proved at large: and I think I have already touched thus much once before in this letter.

I am tempted here to say a great deal concerning light, by his taking it to be a bare quality.(33) For, in physicks, no speculation is more useful, or reacheth further. But to set down such phenomena of it as I have observed, and from whence I evidently collect the nature of it, were too large a theme for this place. When your lordship pleaseth, I shall show you another more orderly discourse upon that subject, wherein I have sufficiently proved it to be a solid substance and body.[2]

In his proceeding to collect an intellectual world, and in his discoursing upon the place and habitation of angels;(35) as also in his consideration of the activity of glorified eyes, which shall be in a state of rest, whereas motion is required to seeing; and in his subtile speculation upon two bodies, placed in the vacuity,(49) beyond the utmost all-enclosing superficies of heaven (which implieth a contradiction in nature), methinks I hear Apelles crying out, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam:* or rather, it putteth me in mind of one of the titles in Pantagruel's library (which he expresseth himself conversant in), namely, *Quæstio subtilissima, utrum chimæra*

[2] *another more orderly discourse, &c.*] There are several chapters on the subject in the *Treatise on the nature of Bodies*, 4to. Lond. 1645.—*Ed.*

in vacuo bombinans possit comedere secundas intentiones; with which short note I will leave these considerations; in which (if time, and other circumstances allowed it) matter would spring up of excellent learning.

When our author shall have read Master White's Dialogues of the World, he will no longer be of the opinion, that the unity of the world is a conclusion of faith.(35) For it is there demonstrated by reason.

Here the thread of the discourse(36) inviteth me to say a great deal of the production or creation of man's soul. But it is too tedious and too knotty a piece for a letter. Now it shall suffice to note, that it is not *ex traduce*, and yet hath a strange kind of near dependence on the body, which is, as as it were, God's instrument to create it by. This, thus said, or rather tumbled out, may seem harsh. But had your lordship leisure to peruse what I have written at full upon this point, I doubt not but it would appear plausible enough to you.

I cannot agree with him, when he seemeth to impute inconvenience to long life, and that length of time doth rather impair than improve us:(42) for surely if we will follow the course of nature and of reason, it is a mighty great blessing; were it but in this regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boil away the unquietnesses and turbulencies that follow our passions, and to wean ourselves gently from carnal affections, and at the last to drop with ease and willingness, like ripe fruit from the tree; as I remember Plotinus finely discourseth in one of his Æneids. For when before the season, it is plucked off with violent hands, or shaken down by rude and boisterous winds, it carrieth along with it an indigested raw taste of the wood, and hath an unpleasant aigreness in its juice, that maketh it unfit for use, till long time hath mellowed it. And peradventure it may be so backward, as, instead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very centre. In like manner, souls that go out of their bodies, with affections to those objects they leave behind them (which usually is as long as they can relish them), do retain still, even in their separation, a bias, and a languishing towards them; which is the reason why such terrene souls appear oftenest in cemeteries and charnel-houses,(37) and

not that moral one which our author giveth.[4] For life, which is union with the body, being that which carnal souls have straitest affection to, and that they are loathest to be separated from; their unquiet spirit, which can never (naturally) lose the impressions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear consort of his. The impossibility cannot cure them of their impotent desires; they would fain be alive again,

—— iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora. Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?

And to this cause peradventure may be reduced the strange effect which is frequently seen in England, when, at the approach of the murderer, the slain body suddenly bleedeth afresh. For, certainly, the souls of them that are treacherously murdered by surprise, used to leave their bodies with extreme unwillingness, and with vehement indignation against them that force them to so unprovided and abhorred a passage. That soul then, to wreak its evil talent against the hated murderer, and to draw a just and desired revenge upon his head, would do all it can to manifest the author of the fact. To speak it cannot, for in itself it wanteth organs of voice; and those it is parted from are now grown too heavy, and are too benumbed for it to give motion unto. Yet some change it desireth to make in the body, which it hath so vehement inclinations to, and therefore is the aptest for it to work upon. It must then endeavour to cause a motion in the subtilest and most fluid parts (and consequently the most moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the blood, which then, being

[4] *In like manner, &c.*] Alexander Ross attacks our critick's speculations about *terrene* souls, with most quaint arguments. "If souls," quoth he, "after death appear, it must be either in their own, or in other bodies; for else they must be invisible: if in their own, then they must pass through the grave, and enter into their cold and inorganical bodies, and add more strength to them than ever they had, to get out from under such a load of earth and rubbish; if in other bodies, then the end of its creation is overthrown; for it was made to inform its own body, to which only it hath relation, and to no other; and so we must acknowledge a *Pythagorical transanimation.* Such apparitions are delusions of *Satan*, and *monkish* tricks, to confirm superstition."—*Ed.*

violently moved, must needs gush out at those places where it findeth issues.[5]

Our author cannot believe, that the world will perish upon the ruins of its own principles.(45) But Master White hath demonstrated the end of it upon natural reason. And though the precise time for that general destruction be inscrutable; yet he learnedly showeth an ingenious rule, whereby to measure in some sort the duration of it, without being branded (as our author threateneth) with convincible and statute-madness,(46) or with impiety. And whereas he will have the work of this last great day (the summer-up of all past days) to imply annihilation,(45) and thereupon interesteth God only in it: I must beg leave to contradict him, namely in this point; and to affirm, that the letting loose then of the activest element, to destroy this face of the world, will but beget a change in it; and that no annihilation can proceed from God Almighty: for his essence being (as I said before) self-existence, it is more impossible that not-being should flow from him, than that cold should flow immediately from fire, or darkness from the actual presence of light.

I must needs acknowledge, that where he balanceth life and death against one another, and considereth that the latter is to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to become a pure spirit within one instant,(38) and what followeth of

[5] *And to this cause, &c.*] Here again we cannot refrain from inserting Alexander Ross. Far from questioning the fact, he only finds fault with Sir Kenelm's mode of accounting for it:—viz. that the bleeding of a slain body at the approach of the murderer, is *caused by the soul.* "But this cannot be," says Ross, "for the soul, when it is in the body, cannot make it bleed when it would; if it could, we should not need *chirurgeons* to *phlebotomise* and scarify us: much less then can it, being separated from the body. If any such bleeding be, as I believe that sometimes there hath been, and may be so again, I think it the effect rather of a miracle, to manifest the murderer, than any natural cause: for I have read, that a man's arm, which was kept two years, did, at the sight of the murderer, drop with blood; which could not be naturally, seeing it could not but be withered and dry after so long time. Yet I deny not but, before the body be cold, or the spirits quite gone, it may bleed; some impressions of revenge and anger being left in the spirits remaining, which may move the blood; but the safest way is, to attribute such motions of the blood to the prayers of these *souls* under the altar, saying, *Quousque, Domine?*"—*Ed.*

this strong thought, is extreme handsomely said, and argueth very gallant and generous resolutions in him.

To exemplify the immortality of the soul, he needeth not have recourse to the philosopher's stone.(39) His own store furnisheth him with a most pregnant one of reviving a plant (the same numerical plant) out of its own ashes.(48) But, under his favour, I believe his experiment will fail, if, under the notion of the same, he comprehendeth all the accidents that first accompanied that plant; for, since in the ashes there remaineth only the fixed salt, I am very confident, that all the colour, and much of the odour and taste of it, is flown away with the volatile salt.

What should I say of his making so particular a narration of personal things, and private thoughts of his own?—the knowledge whereof cannot much conduce to any man's betterment; which I make account is the chief end of his writing this discourse. As where he speaketh of the soundness of his body, of the course of his diet, of the coolness of his blood at the summer-solstice of his age, of his neglect of an epitaph; how long he hath lived, or may live; what popes, emperors, kings, grand signiors, he hath been contemporary unto, and the like: (41) would it not be thought that he hath a special good opinion of himself (and indeed he hath reason), when he maketh such great princes the land-marks in the chronology of himself? Surely if he were to write by retail the particulars of his own story and life, it would be a notable romance, since he telleth us in one total sum, it is a continued miracle of thirty years.[6] Though he creepeth gently upon us at the first, yet he groweth a giant, an Atlas (to use his own expression) at the last. But I will not censure him, as he that made notes upon Balsac's Letters, and was angry with him for vexing his readers with stories of his colicks, and voiding of gravel. I leave this kind of his expressions, without looking further into them.

In the next place, my lord, I shall take occasion,—from our author's setting so main a difference between moral honesty and virtue, or being virtuous (to use his own phrase) out of an inbred loyalty to virtue,(47) and on the

[6] Part ii. sect. 2.

other side, being virtuous for a reward's sake,—to discourse a little concerning virtue in this life, and the effects of it afterwards. Truly, my lord, however he seemeth to prefer this latter, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleness and heroickness of the nature and mind from whence they both proceed: and if we consider the journey's end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the first yieldeth nothing to the second, but indeed both meet in the period of beatitude. To clear this point (which is very well worth the wisest man's seriousest thoughts), we must consider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent state, to be happy in the other world of eternity and immutability. It is agreed on all hands to be God's grace and favour to us: but all do not agree by what steps his grace produceth this effect. Herein I shall not trouble your lordship with a long discourse, how that grace worketh in us (which yet I will in a word touch anon, that you may conceive what I understand grace to be), but will suppose it to have wrought its effect in us in this life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to beatitude and glory in the next. Some consider God as a judge, that rewardeth or punisheth men, according as they co-operated with, or repugned to, the grace he gave. That according as their actions please or displease him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them; and accordingly maketh them, to the purpose, and very home, feel the effects of his kindness or indignation. Others that fly a higher pitch, and are so happy,

—— ut rerum poterint cognoscere causas,

do conceive that beatitude and misery in the other life are effects that necessarily and ordinarily flow out of the nature of those causes that begot them in this life, without engaging God Almighty to give a sentence, and act the part of a judge, according to the state of our cause, as it shall appear upon the accusations and pleadings at his great bar. Much of which manner of expression is metaphorical, and rather adapted to contain vulgar minds in their duties (that are awed with the thought of a severe judge sifting every minute action of theirs), than such as we must conceive

every circumstance to pass so in reality, as the literal sound of the words seems to infer in ordinary construction: (and yet all that is true too, in its genuine sense). But, my lord, these more penetrating men, and that, I conceive, are virtuous upon higher and stronger motives (for they truly and solidly know why they are so), do consider that what impressions are once made in the spiritual substance of a soul, and what affections it hath once contracted, do ever remain in it, till a contrary and diametrally contradicting judgment and affection do obliterate it and expel it thence. This is the reason why contrition, sorrow, and hatred for past sins, is encharged us. If then the soul do go out of the body with impressions and affections to the objects and pleasures of this life, it continually lingereth after them, and, as Virgil (learnedly as well as wittily) saith,

> ——— Quæ gratia currum
> Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
> Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.

But that being a state wherein those objects neither are nor can be enjoyed, it must needs follow, that such a soul must be in an exceeding anguish, sorrow, and affliction, for being deprived of them; and for want of those it so much prizeth, will neglect all other contentments it might have, as not having a relish or taste moulded and prepared to the savouring of them; but like feverish tongues, that when they are even scorched with heat, take no delight in the pleasingest liquors, but the sweetest drinks seem bitter to them, by reason of their overflowing gall: so they even hate whatsoever good is in their power, and thus pine away a long eternity. In which the sharpness and activity of their pain, anguish, and sad condition, is to be measured by the sensibleness of their natures: which being then purely spiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any torment that in this life can be inflicted upon a dull gross body. To this add the vexation it must be to them, to see how inestimable and infinite a good they have lost; and lost merely by their own fault, and for momentary trifles, and children's play; and that it was so easy for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right senses, and governed themselves according to reason, and then judge in what a

tortured condition they must be, of remorse and execrating themselves for their most supine and senseless madness. But if, on the other side, a soul be released out of this prison of clay and flesh, with affections settled upon intellectual goods, as truth, knowledge, and the like; and that it be grown to an irksome dislike of the flat pleasures of this world; and look upon carnal and sensual objects with a disdainful eye, as discerning the contemptible inanity in them, that is set off only by their painted outside; and above all, that it have a longing desire to be in the society of that supereminent cause of causes, in which they know are heaped up the treasures of all beauty, knowledge, truth, delight, and good whatsoever: and therefore are impatient at the delay, and reckon all their absence from him, as a tedious banishment; and in that regard hate their life and body, as cause of this divorce: such a soul, I say, must necessarily, by reason of the temper it is wrought into, enjoy immediately at the instant of the body's dissolution, and its liberty, more contentment, more joy, more true happiness, than it is possible for a heart of flesh to have scarce any scantling of, much less to comprehend.

For immense knowledge is natural to it, as I have touched before. Truth, which is the adequated and satisfying object of the understanding, is there displayed in her own colours, or rather without any.

And that which is the crown of all, and in respect of which all the rest is nothing; that infinite entity, which above all things this soul thirsteth to be united unto, cannot for his own goodness' sake deny his embraces to so affectionate a creature, and to such an enflamed love. If he should, then were that soul, for being the best, and for loving him most, condemned to be the unhappiest. For what joy could she have in anything, were she barred from what she so infinitely loveth? But since the nature of superior and excellent things is to shower down their propitious influences, wheresoever there is a capacity of receiving them, and no obstacle to keep them out (like the sun that illuminateth the whole air, if no cloud or solid opacous body intervene), it followeth clearly that this infinite sun of justice, this immense ocean of goodness, cannot choose but environ with his beams, and replenish even beyond satiety with his

delightsome waters, a soul so prepared and tempered to receive them.

Now, my lord, to make use of this discourse, and apply it to what begot it,—be pleased to determine, which way will deliver us evenest and smoothest to this happy end of our journey: to be virtuous for hope of a reward, and through fear of punishment; or to be so out of a natural and inward affection to virtue, for virtue's and reason's sake? Surely one in this latter condition, not only doth those things which will bring him to beatitude, but he is so secured, in a manner, under an armour of proof, that he is almost invulnerable; he can scarce miscarry, he hath not so much as an inclination to work contrarily; the alluring baits of this world tempt him not; he disliketh, he hateth, even his necessary commerce with them whilst he liveth. On the other side, the hireling, that steereth his course only by his reward and punishment doth well, I confess; but he doth it with reluctance; he carrieth the ark, God's image, his soul, safely home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his calves, that he leaveth behind him among the Philistines. In a word, he is virtuous; but if he might safely, he would do vicious things. (And hence be the ground in nature, if so I might say, of our purgatory.) Methinks two such minds may not unfitly be compared to two maids, whereof one hath a little sprinkling of the green sickness, and hath more mind to eat ashes, chalk, or leather, than meats of solid and good nourishment, but forbeareth them, knowing the languishing condition of health it will bring her to; but the other having a ruddy, vigorous, and perfect constitution, and enjoying a complete, entire eucracy, delights in no food but of good nouriture, and loathes the other's delights. Her health is discovered in her looks, and she is secure from any danger of that malady, whereas the other, for all her good diet, beareth in her complexion some sickly testimony of her depraved appetite; and if she be not very wary, she is in danger of a relapse.

It falleth fit in this place to examine our author's apprehension of the end of such honest worthies and philosophers (as he calleth them) (54) that died before Christ his incarnation, whether any of them could be saved, or no? Truly, my lord, I make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the

whole tenor of their lives the dictamens of right reason, that their journey was secure to heaven. Out of the former discourse appeareth what temper of mind is necessary to get thither. And that reason would dictate such a temper to a perfectly judicious man (though but in the state of nature) as the best and most rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is most true, they are exceeding few (if any) in whom reason worketh clearly, and is not overswayed by passion and terrene affections; they are few that can discern what is reasonable to be done in every circumstance.

> ——— Pauci quos æquus amavit
> Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
> Diis geniti, potuere.

And fewer that, knowing what is best, can win of themselves to do accordingly (*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*, being most men's cases); so that after all that can be expected at the hands of nature and reason in their best habit, since the lapse of them, we may conclude it would have been a most difficult thing for any man, and a most impossible one for mankind, to attain unto beatitude, if Christ had not come to teach, and by his example to show us the way.

And this was the reason of his incarnation, teaching, life, and death. For, being God, we could not doubt his veracity when he told us news of the other world; having all things in his power, and yet enjoying none of the delights of this life, no man should stick at foregoing them, since his example showeth all men, that such a course is best, whereas few are capable of the reason of it: and for his last act, dying in such an afflicted manner, he taught us how the securest way to step immediately into perfect happiness, is to be crucified to all the desires, delights, and contentments, of this world.

But to come back to our physician: truly, my lord, I must needs pay him, as a due, the acknowledging his pious discourses to be excellent and pathetical ones, containing worthy motives to incite one to virtue, and to deter one from vice; thereby to gain heaven, and to avoid hell. Assuredly he is owner of a solid head and of a strong generous heart. Where he employeth his thoughts upon

such things as resort to no higher or more abstruse principles, than such as occur in ordinary conversation with the world, or in the common tract of study and learning, I know no man would say better. But when he meeteth with such difficulties as his next, concerning the resurrection of the body, (48) (wherein after deep meditation upon the most abstracted principles and speculations of the metaphysics, one hath much ado to solve the appearing contradictions in nature), there, I do not at all wonder, he should tread a little awry, and go astray in the dark, for I conceive his course of life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of such entangled and abstracted subtilties. But if it had, I believe his natural parts are such, as he might have kept the chair from most men I know; for even where he roveth widest, it is with so much wit and sharpness, as putteth me in mind of a great man's censure upon Joseph Scaliger's Cyclometrica (a matter he was not well versed in), that he had rather err so ingeniously as he did, than hit upon truth in that heavy manner, as the Jesuit his antagonist stuffeth his books. Most assuredly his wit and smartness in this discourse is of the finest standard; and his insight into severer learning will appear as piercing unto such as use not strictly the touchstone and the test, to examine every piece of the glittering coin he payeth his reader with. But to come to the resurrection. Methinks it is but a gross conception, to think that every atom of the present individual matter of a body, every grain of ashes of a burned cadaver, scattered by the wind throughout the world, and, after numerous variations, changed paradventure into the body of another man, should at the sounding of the last trumpet be raked together again from all the corners of the earth, and be made up anew into the same body it was before of the first man. Yet if we will be Christians and rely upon God's promises, we must believe that we shall rise again with the same body that walked about, did eat, drink, and live, here on earth; and that we shall see our Saviour and Redeemer, with the same, the very same eyes, wherewith we now look upon the fading glories of this contemptible world.

How shall these seeming contrarieties be reconciled? If the latter be true, why should not the former be admitted?

To explicate this riddle the better, give me leave to ask your lordship, if you now see the cannons, the ensigns, the arms, and other martial preparations at Oxford, with the same eyes, wherewith many years agone you looked upon Porphyry's and Aristotle's learned leases there? I doubt not but you will answer me, assuredly with the very same. Is that noble and graceful person of yours, that begetteth both delight and reverence in every one that looketh upon it,—is that body of yours, that now is grown to such comely and full dimensions, as nature can give her none more advantageous,—the same person, the same body, which your virtuous and excellent mother bore nine months in her chaste and honoured womb, and that your nurse gave suck unto? Most certainly it is the same. And yet if you consider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that sublunary matter, being in a perpetual flux, and in bodies which have internal principles of heat and motion, much continually transpiring out to make room for the supply of new aliment; at the length, in long process of time, all is so changed, as that ship at Athens may as well be called the same ship that was there two hundred years before, and whereof (by reason of the continual reparations), not one foot of the timber is remaining in her that builded her at first, as this body now can be called the same, was forty years agone, unless some higher consideration keep up the identity of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether or no it will reach to our difficulty of the resurrection. Let us consider then, how that which giveth the numerical individuation to a body, is the substantial form. As long as that remaineth the same, though the matter be in a continual flux and motion, yet the thing is still the same. There is not one drop of the same water in the Thames, that ran down by Whitehall yesternight; yet no man will deny, but that it is the same river that was in Queen Elizabeth's time, as long as it is supplied from the same common stock, the sea. Though this example reacheth not home, it illustrateth the thing. If then the form remain absolutely the same after separation from the matter, that it was in the matter (which can happen only to forms that subsist by themselves, as human souls), it followeth then that whensoever it is united to matter again (all matter coming out of the same common magazine), it maketh again

the same man, with the same eyes, and all the same limbs, that were formerly. Nay, he is composed of the same individual matter, for it hath the same distinguisher and individuator, to wit, the same form or soul. Matter considered singly by itself hath no distinction: all matter is in itself the same; we must fancy it as we do the indigested chaos; it is an uniformly wide ocean. Particularize a few drops of the sea by filling a glass full of them, then that glassful is distinguished from all the rest of the watery bulk: but return back those few drops from whence they were taken, and the glassful that even now had an individuation by itself, loseth that, and groweth one and the same with the other main stock: yet if you fill your glass again, wheresoever you take it up, so it be of the same uniform bulk of water you had before, it is the same glassful of water that you had. But as I said before, this example fitteth entirely no more than the other did. In such abstracted speculations, where we must consider matter without form (which hath no actual being), we must not expect adequated examples in nature. But enough is said to make a speculative man see, that if God should join the soul of a lately dead man (even whilst his dead corpse should lie entire in his winding-sheet here), unto a body made of earth, taken from some mountain in America; it were most true and certain, that the body he should then live by, were the same identical body he lived with before his death, and late resurrection. It is evident, that sameness, thisness, and thatness, belongeth not to matter by itself (for a general indifference runneth through it all), but only as it is distinguished and individuated by the form. Which in our case, whensoever the same soul doth, it must be understood always to be the same matter and body.

This point thus passed over, I may piece to it what our author saith,(48) of a magazine of subsistent forms residing first in the chaos, and hereafter (when the world shall have been destroyed by fire) in the general heap of ashes: out of which God's voice did and shall draw them out, and clothe them with matter. This language were handsome for a poet, or a rhetorician to speak; but in a philosopher, that should ratiocinate strictly and rigorously, I cannot admit it. For certainly, there are no subsistent forms of corporeal things (excepting the soul of man, which besides

being an informing form, hath another particular consideration belonging to it, too long to speak of here). But whensoever that compound is destroyed, the form perisheth with the whole. And for the natural production of corporeal things, I conceive it to be wrought out by the action and passion of the elements among themselves; which introducing new tempers and dispositions into the bodies where these conflicts pass, new forms succeed old ones, when the dispositions are raised to such a height, as can no longer consist with the preceding form, and are in the immediate degree to fit the succeeding one, which they usher in. The mystery of all which I have at large unfolded in my abovementioned treatise of the immortality of the soul.

I shall say no more to the first part of our physician's discourse, after I have observed, how his consequence is no good one where he inferreth that if the devils foreknew who would be damned or saved, it would save them the labour, and end their work of tempting mankind to mischief and evil.(57) For whatsoever their moral design and success be in it, their nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For as on the one side, it is active in the highest degree (as being pure acts, that is, spirits), so on the other side, they are malign in as great an excess: by the one they must be always working, wheresoever they may work (like water in a vessel full of holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not stopped): by the other, their whole work must be malicious and mischievous. Joining then both these qualities together, it is evident, they will always be tempting mankind, though they know they shall be frustrate of their moral end.

But were it not time that I made an end? Yes, it is more than time. And therefore having once passed the limit that confined what was becoming, the next step carried me into the ocean of error; which being infinite, and therefore more or less bearing no proportion in it, I will proceed a little further, to take a short survey of his Second Part, and hope for as easy pardon after this addition to my sudden and indigested remarks, as if I had closed them up now.

Methinks, he beginneth with somewhat an affected discourse, to prove his natural inclination to charity; which virtue is the intended theme of all the remainder of his dis-

course. And I doubt he mistaketh the lowest orb or limb of that high seraphick virtue, for the top and perfection of it; and maketh a kind of human compassion to be divine charity. He will have it to be a general way of doing good: it is true, he addeth then, for God's sake; but he allayeth that again, with saying he will have that good done, as by obedience, and to accomplish God's will; and looketh at the effects it worketh upon our souls, but in a narrow compass; like one in the vulgar throng, that considereth God as a judge, and as a rewarder or a punisher. Whereas perfect charity is that vehement love of God for his own sake, for his goodness, for his beauty, for his excellency, that carrieth all the motions of our soul directly and violently to him; and maketh a man disdain, or rather hate all obstacles that may retard his journey to him. And that face of it that looketh toward mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others good, is but like the overflowing of the main stream, that swelling above its banks runneth over in a multitude of little channels.

I am not satisfied, that in the likeness which he putteth between God and man, he maketh the difference between them, to be but such as between two creatures that resemble one another. For between these, there is some proportion; but between the others, none at all. In the examining of which discourse, wherein the author observeth, that no two faces are ever seen to be perfectly alike, nay, no two pictures of the same face were ever exactly made so; (2) I could take occasion to insert a subtile and delightful demonstration of Master White's, wherein he showeth, how it is impossible that two bodies (for example, two bowls) should ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorously equal in any one accident, as namely, in weight, but that still there will be some little difference and inequality between them (the reason of which observation our author meddleth not with);—were it not that I have been so long already, as digressions were now very unseasonable.

Shall I commend or censure our author for believing so well of his acquired knowledge, as to be dejected at the thought of not being able to leave it a legacy among his friends? (3) Or shall I examine whether it be not a high injury to wise and gallant princes, who out of the generous-

ness and nobleness of their nature, do patronize arts and learned men, to impute their so doing to vanity of desiring praise, or to fear of reproach.

But let these pass: I will not engage any that may befriend him, in a quarrel against him. But I may safely produce Epictetus to contradict him, when he letteth his kindness engulf him in deep afflictions for a friend: for he will not allow his wise man to have an inward relenting, a troubled feeling, or compassion of another's misfortunes. That disordereth the one, without any good to the other. Let him afford all the assistances and relievings in his power, but without intermingling himself in the other's woe; as angels, that do us good, but have no passion for us. But this gentleman's kindness goeth yet further: (5) he compareth his love of a friend to his love of God; the union of friends' souls by affection, to the union of the three persons in the Trinity, and to the hypostatical union of two natures in one Christ, by the Word's incarnation. Most certainly he expresseth himself to be a right good-natured man. But if St. Augustine retracted so severely his pathetical expressions for the death of his friend, saying they savoured more of the rhetorical declamations of a young orator, than of the grave confession of a devout Christian (or somewhat to that purpose), what censure upon himself may we expect of our physician, if ever he make any retractation of this discourse concerning his religion.

It is no small misfortune to him, that after so much time spent, and so many places visited in a curious search, by travelling after the acquisition of so many languages; after the wading so deep in sciences, as appeareth by the ample inventory and particular he maketh of himself: the result of all this should be to profess ingenuously he had studied enough, only to become a sceptick; and that having run through all sorts of learning, he could find rest and satisfaction in none.(8) This, I confess, is the unlucky fate of those that light upon wrong principles. But Master White teacheth us, how the theorems and demonstrations of physicks may be linked and chained together, as strongly, and as continuedly, as they are in the mathematicks, if men would but apply themselves to a right method of study. And I do not find that Solomon complained of ignorance in the

height of knowledge(8) (as this gentleman saith); but only, that after he hath rather acknowledged himself ignorant of nothing, but that he understood the natures of all plants, from the cedar to the hyssop, and was acquainted with all the ways and paths of wisdom and knowledge, he exclaimeth, that all this is but toil and vexation of spirit; and therefore adviseth men to change human studies into divine contemplations and affections.

I cannot agree to his resolution of shutting his books, and giving over the search of knowledge, and resigning himself up to ignorance, upon the reason that moveth him; as though it were extreme vanity to waste our days in the pursuit of that, which by attending but a little longer (till death hath closed the eyes of our body, to open those of our soul), we shall gain with ease, we shall enjoy by infusion, and as an accessory of our glorification.(8) It is true, as soon as death hath played the midwife to our second birth, our soul shall then see all truths more freely, than our corporal eyes at our first birth see all bodies and colours, by the natural power of it, as I have touched already, and not only upon the grounds our author giveth. Yet far be it from us, to think that time lost, which in the mean season we shall laboriously employ, to warm ourselves with blowing a few little sparks of that glorious fire, which we shall afterwards in one instant leap into the middle of, without danger of scorching. And that for two important reasons (besides several others, too long to mention here); the one, for the great advantage we have by learning in this life; the other, for the huge contentment that the acquisition of it here (which implieth a strong affection to it) will be unto us in the next life. The want of knowledge in our first mother (which exposed her to be easily deceived by the serpent's cunning) was the root of all our ensuing misery and woe. It is as true (which we are taught by irrefragable authority) that *omnis peccans ignorat:* and the well-head of all the calamities and mischiefs in all the world consisteth of the troubled and bitter waters of ignorance, folly, and rashness; to cure which, the only remedy and antidote is the salt of true learning, the bitter wood of study, painful meditation, and orderly consideration. I do not mean such study, as armeth wrangling champions for clamorous schools, where

the ability of subtile disputing to and fro, is more prise than the retrieving of truth; but such as filleth the min with solid and useful notions, and doth not endanger th swelling it up with windy vanities. Besides, the sweetes companion and entertainment of a well-tempered mind i to converse familiarly with the naked and bewitching beauties of those mistresses, those verities and sciences which by fair courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every day bring new fresh ones to their seraglio, where the ancientest never grow old or stale. Is there anything so pleasing or so profitable as this?

> ——Nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
> Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena;
> Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
> Errare, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ.

But now, if we consider the advantage we shall have in the other life by our affection to sciences, and conversation with them in this, it is wonderful great. Indeed that affection is so necessary, as without it we shall enjoy little contentment in all the knowledge we shall then be replenished with: for every one's pleasure in the possession of a good is to be measured by his precedent desire of that good, and by the equality of the taste and relish of him that feedeth upon it. We should therefore prepare and make our taste beforehand by assuefaction unto, and by often relishing what we shall then be nourished with. That Englishman that can drink nothing but beer or ale, would be ill bestead, were he to go into Spain or Italy, where nothing but wine groweth: whereas a well experienced *goinfre*, that can criticise upon the several tastes of liquors, would think his palate in Paradise, among those delicious nectars (to use Aretine's phrase upon his eating of a lamprey). Who was ever delighted with tobacco the first time he took it? and who could willingly be without it, after he was awhile habituated to the use of it? How many examples are there daily of young men that marrying upon their father's command, not through precedent affections of their own, have little comfort in worthy and handsome wives, that others would passionately affect. Archimedes lost his life, for being so ravished with the delight of a mathematical demonstration, that he could

not of a sudden recall his ecstasied spirits to attend the rude soldier's summons: but instead of him, whose mind had been always fed with such subtile diet, how many plain country-gentlemen doth your lordship and I know, that rate the knowledge of their husbandry at a much higher pitch; and are extremely delighted by conversing with that; whereas the other would be most tedious and importune to them? We may then safely conclude, that if we will joy in the knowledge we shall have after death, we must in our lifetime raise within ourselves earnest affections to it, and desires of it, which cannot be barren ones; but will press upon us to gain some knowledge by way of advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we shall be in love with what remaineth behind. To this reason then adding the other, how knowledge is the surest prop and guide of our present life; and how it perfecteth a man in that which constituteth him—a man, his reason; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, steadily, constantly, and knowingly, in all his ways: and I am confident, all men that shall hear the case thus debated, will join with me in making it a suit to our physician, that he will keep his books open, and continue that progress he hath so happily begun.

But I believe your lordship will scarcely join with him in his wish, that we might procreate and beget children without the help of women, or without any conjunction or commerce with that sweet and bewitching sex. (9) Plato taxeth his fellow philosopher (though otherwise a learned and brave man) for not sacrificing to the Graces, those gentle female goddesses. What thinketh your lordship of our physician's bitter censure of that action, which Mahomet maketh the essence of his paradise? Indeed, besides those his unkindnesses, or rather frowardnesses, at that tender-hearted sex (which must needs take it ill at his hands), methinketh he setteth marriage at too low a rate, which is assuredly the highest and divinest link of humane society. And where he speaketh of Cupid, and of beauty, it is in such a praise, as putteth me in mind of the learned Greek reader in Cambridge, his courting of his mistress out of Stephens his Thesaurus.

My next observation upon his discourse draweth me to

a logical consideration of the nature of an exact syllogism: which kind of reflection, though it use to open the door in the course of learning and study; yet it will near shut it in my discourse, which my following the thread that my author spinneth, assigneth to this place. If he had well and thoroughly considered all that is required to that strict way of managing our reason, he would not have censured Aristotle for condemning the fourth figure, out of no other motive, but because it was not consonant to his own principles; (9) that it would not fit with the foundations himself had laid; though it do with reason (saith he) and be consonant to that, which indeed it doth not, at all times, and in all circumstances. In a perfect syllogism, the predicate must be identified with the subject, and each extreme with the middle term, and so, consequently, all three with one another. But in Galen's fourth figure, the case may so fall out, as these rules will not be current there.

As for the good and excellency that he considereth in the worst things, and how far from solitude any man is in a wilderness; (10) these are (in his discourse) but equivocal considerations of good, and of loneliness. Nor are they any ways pertinent to the morality of that part, where he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe, what he speaketh confidently, (11) that he is more beholding to Morpheus, for learned and rational, as well as pleasing, dreams, than to Mercury for smart and facetious conceptions; whom Saturn (it seemeth by his relation) hath looked asquint upon in his geniture.

In his concluding prayer, (14) wherein he summeth up all he wisheth, methinketh his arrow is not winged with that fire, which I should have expected from him upon this occasion: for it is not the peace of conscience, nor the bridling up of one's affections, that expresseth the highest delightfulness and happiest state of a perfect Christian. It is love only that can give us heaven upon earth, as well as in heaven; and bringeth us thither too: so that the Tuscan Virgil had reason to say,

——In alte dolcézze
Non si puo gioir, se non amando.

And this love must be employed upon the noblest and highest object, not terminated in our friends. But of this transcendent and divine part of charity, that looketh directly and immediately upon God himself; and that is the intrinsical form, the utmost perfection, the scope and final period of true religion (this gentleman's intended theme, as I conceive), I have no occasion to speak any thing, since my author doth but transiently mention it; and that too, in such a phrase as ordinary catechisms speak of it to vulgar capacities.

Thus, my lord, having run through the book (God knows how slightly, upon so great a sudden) which your lordship commanded me to give you an account of, there remaineth yet a weightier task upon me to perform; which is, to excuse myself of presumption for daring to consider any moles in that face, which you had marked for a beauty. But who shall well consider my manner of proceeding in these remarks, will free me from that censure. I offer not at judging the prudence and wisdom of this discourse: those are fit inquiries for your lordship's court of highest appeal: in my inferior one, I meddle only with little knotty pieces of particular sciences (*Matinæ apis instar, operosa parvus carmina fingo*), in which it were peradventure a fault for your lordship to be too well versed; your employments are of a higher and nobler strain, and that concerns the welfare of millions of men:

> Tu regere imperio populos (Sackville) memento
> (Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem.

Such little studies as these belong only to those persons that are low in the rank they hold in the commonwealth, low in their conceptions, and low in a languishing and rusting leisure, such an one as Virgil calleth *ignobile otium*, and such an one as I am now dulled withal. If Alexander or Cæsar should have commended a tract of land, as fit to fight a battle in for the empire of the world, or to build a city upon, to be the magazine and staple of all the adjacent countries; no body could justly condemn that husbandman, who, according to his own narrow art and rules, should censure the plains of Arbela, or Pharsalia, for being in some

places steril; or the meadows about Alexandria, for being sometimes subject to be overflown; or could tax aught he should say in that kind for a contradiction unto the other's commendations of those places, which are built upon higher and larger principles.

So, my lord, I am confident I shall not be reproached of unmannerliness for putting in a demurrer unto a few little particularities in that noble discourse, which your lordship gave a general applause unto; and by doing so, I have given your lordship the best account I can of myself, as well as of your commands. You hereby see what my entertainments are, and how I play away my time,

—— Dorset dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamque affectat Olympo.

May your counsels there be happy and successful ones, to bring about that peace, which if we be not quickly blessed withal, a general ruin threateneth the whole kingdom.

From Winchester-House, the 22nd (I think I may say the 23rd, for I am sure it is morning, and I think it is day) of December, 1642.

Your Lordship's most humble,
And obedient Servant,
Kenelm Digby.

POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,—Looking over these loose papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promised in the eighth sheet, to touch in a word concerning grace: I do not conceive it to be a quality infused by God Almighty into a soul.

Such kind of discoursing satisfieth me no more in divinity, than in philosophy. I take it to be the whole complex of such real motives (as a solid account may be given of them) that incline a man to virtue and piety; and are set on foot by God's particular grace and favour, to bring that work to

pass. As for example: to a man plunged in sensuality, some great misfortune happeneth, that mouldeth his heart to a tenderness, and inclineth him to much thoughtfulness: in this temper, he meeteth with a book or preacher, that representeth lively to him the danger of his own condition; and giveth him hopes of greater contentment in other objects, after he shall have taken leave of his former beloved sins. This begetteth further conversation with prudent and pious men, and experienced physicians, in curing the soul's maladies; whereby he is at last perfectly converted, and settled in a course of solid virtue and piety.

Now, these accidents of his misfortune,—the gentleness and softness of his nature, his falling upon a good book, his encountering with a pathetick preacher, the impremeditated chance that brought him to hear his sermon, his meeting with other worthy men, and the whole concatenation of all the intervening accidents, to work this good effect in him, and that were ranged and disposed from all eternity, by God's particular goodness and providence for his salvation, and without which he had inevitably been damned,—this chain of causes, ordered by God to produce this effect, I understand to be grace.

END OF RELIGIO MEDICI, ETC.

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS;

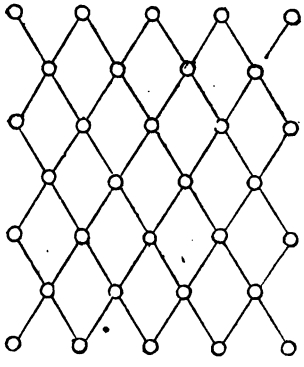
OR, THE QUINCUNCIAL LOZENGE,
OR NET-WORK PLANTATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS, ARTIFICIALLY,
NATURALLY, MYSTICALLY, CONSIDERED.

EIGHTH EDITION.

WITH NOTES, AND VARIOUS READINGS FROM MSS. IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN

1658.



Quid Quincunce speciosius,
qui, in quamcumque partem spectaveris, rectus est?—QUINCTILIAN.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In arranging the present edition, I have endeavoured to preserve the order in which the several works were first published; and at the same time to bring together, as far as possible, similar subjects. To secure these objects, I have placed the *Hydriotaphia* between the *Garden of Cyrus* and the *Brampton Urns*; though in the first edition of the two former pieces, the author placed the *Garden of Cyrus* last. That edition was published in 1658, in small 8vo.

The Second edition is that which appeared with the Fourth edition of Pseudodoxia, under the direction of its author; who has prefixed to the volume two pages of "*Marginal Illustrations omitted, or to be added to the Discourses of Urn-burial, and of the Garden of Cyrus.*"

The Third edition, in double columns, was printed with the sixth of Religio Medici, as an addition to the third (erroneously called the fourth) of Pseudodoxia, in folio.

The Fourth edition of the two Discourses was printed with the fifth of Pseudodoxia, in 1669. But, most absurdly, the "Marginal Illustrations," &c., instead of being incorporated in the edition, are reprinted as a table, and not even the pages altered to suit the edition!

The (Fifth) edition was published by Abp. Tenison, with the "Works" in folio, 1686.

In 1736, Curl reprinted (in an 8vo. tract of 60 pages, with 6 pp. of Epistles, &c.), the Hydriotaphia, Brampton Urns, and the ninth of the Miscellany Tracts, "*Of Artificial Hills, &c.*" followed by the three first chapters only (unless my copy is imperfect) of the Garden of Cyrus—in 40 pages—with 6 pp. of Title and Epistle Dedicatory. This is called the *Fourth edition*, but is in fact the Sixth.

The First edition of the account of the Brampton Urns was published with the Posthumous Works, in 1712; the Second by Curl (as just mentioned) in 1736.

I have not met with any MS. copy either of Hydriotaphia or the Garden of Cyrus, though many passages occur in *MSS. Sloan.* 1847, 1848, and in 1862—which were evidently written for these discourses.

Of the Brampton Urns I have met with three copies, differing from each other and more or less complete, in the British Museum

and Bodleian Libraries, namely, BRIT. MUS. *MS. Sloan.* No. 1862, p. 26; No. 1869, p. 60;—and BIBL. BODL. *MS. Rawlin.* 391;—from the first of which Curl's edition was (incorrectly) printed, and with all of which it has, in the present edition, been carefully collated.

I have modernized the spelling, and endeavoured to improve the pointing of the *Garden of Cyrus* and *Hydriotaphia*, as of all Browne's other works; but the phraseology (as characteristick of the writer), I have not thought it right (except in very rare instances, and those acknowledged), to touch. For this reason, I have even denied myself the adoption of several improvements introduced by my friend Mr. Crossley, in the Hydriotaphia, published in his neat little selection of Browne's Tracts, Edinburgh, 1822.

A few words will suffice respecting the notes attached to this edition. If any one object that a letter from Dr. Power to Sir Thomas, with his reply, ought to have appeared among the Correspondence, instead of being thrown into the form of notes, my defence is, that, though *formally* "Correspondence," they are *substantially* "Notes and Illustrations," and those of the most interesting kind. Dr. Power's letter is the work of an enthusiastick lover of the mysteries of natural science; and Sir Thomas's reply places him in the new light of his own commentator. The *Garden of Cyrus* has, by general consent, been regarded as one of the most *fanciful* of his works. The most eminent even of his admirers have treated it as a mere sport of the imagination, "in the prosecution of which, he considers every production of art and nature, in which he could find any *decussation* or approaches to the form of a quincunx, and, as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries, seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost every thing;"—"quincunxes," as Coleridge says, "in heaven above, quincunxes in earth below, quincunxes in the mind of man, quincunxes in tones, in optic nerves, in roots of trees, in leaves, in every thing."* The increased attention, however, which modern naturalists have paid to the prevalence of certain numbers in the distribution of nature, and Mr. Macleay's persevering and successful advocacy of A QUINARY ARRANGEMENT would naturally lead an admirer of Browne to look at this work in a higher point of view than as a mere *jeu d'esprit*. How far, in short, has he anticipated in this work—as he certainly must be allowed to have done in the *Pseudodoxia*,—those who have conducted their inquiries in the midst of incomparably greater light and knowledge, and with the advantage of an immensely increased accumulation of facts and observations of every kind?

* See *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. vii. 169.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

TO MY WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND

NICHOLAS BACON, OF GILLINGHAM, ESQUIRE.[1]

HAD I not observed that purblind* men have discoursed well of sight, and some without issue,† excellently of generation; I, that was never master of any considerable garden, had not attempted this subject. But the earth is the garden of nature, and each fruitful country a paradise. Dioscorides made most of his observations in his march about with Antonius; and Theophrastus raised his generalities chiefly from the field.

Besides, we write no herbal, nor can this volume deceive you, who have handled the massiest‡ thereof: who know

* Plempius, Cabeus, &c. † Dr. Harvey.
‡ *Besleri Hortus Eystetensis.*

[1] *Nicholas Bacon, of Gillingham, Esq.*] Created a baronet, Feb. 7, 1661, by Charles II. His father was the sixth son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was created premier baronet of England, May 22, 1611, by James I., and was the eldest son of the lord keeper of Queen Elizabeth, and half-brother of Francis, Lord Bacon, the lord keeper's youngest son by a second marriage.

This gentleman was a man of letters, and a patron of learning; and intimately acquainted with Browne, several of whose *Miscellany Tracts* were addressed to him: as we are informed by Evelyn. He is mentioned by Wood as having published a work of Dr. Thomas Lushington's, which had come into his hands in MS. from the author, entitled. *Logica Analytica, de Principiis, Regulis, et Usu Rationis rectæ*, lib. 3. Lond. 1650, 8vo.; and gave this as his motive:—"*Propter operis perfectionem, in quo nihil dictum, quod non statim probatum est, vel a principiis, primo et per se notis, vel a propositionibus inde demonstratis: deinde etiam propter ejus usum, vel fructum eximiam.*—*Wood's Athenæ*, by Bliss, iii. 530. He died in his 43rd year in 1666, leaving two sons, Sir Edmund and Sir Richard, who both succeeded to the Gillingham baronetcy; but, both dying *s. p.*, it became extinct.

that three folios* are yet too little, and how new herbals fly from America upon us: from persevering enquirers, and hold† in those singularities, we expect such descriptions. Wherein England‡ is now so exact, that it yields not to other countries.

We pretend not to multiply vegetable divisions by quincuncial and reticulate plants; or erect a new phytology. The field of knowledge hath been so traced, it is hard to spring any thing new. Of old things we write something new, if truth may receive addition, or envy will have any thing new; since the ancients knew the late anatomical discoveries, and Hippocrates the circulation.

You have been so long out of trite learning, that 'tis hard to find a subject proper for you; and if you have met with a sheet upon this, we have missed our intention. In this multiplicity of writing, by and barren themes are best fitted for invention; subjects so often discoursed confine the imagination, and fix our conceptions unto the notions of forewriters. Besides, such discourses allow excursions, and venially admit of collateral truths, though at some distance from their principals. Wherein if we sometimes take wide liberty, we are not single, but err by great example.§

He that will illustrate the excellency of this order, may easily fail upon so spruce a subject, wherein we have not affrighted the common reader with any other diagrams, than of itself; and have industriously declined illustrations from rare and unknown plants.

Your discerning judgment, so well acquainted with that study, will expect herein no mathematical truths, as well understanding how few generalities and *Ufinitas*|| there are in nature; how Scaliger hath found exceptions in most

* *Bauhini Theatrum Botanicum.*

† My worthy friend M. Goodier, an ancient and learned botanist.

‡ As in London and divers parts, whereof we mention none, lest we seem to omit any.

§ *Hippocrates de superfœtatione, de dentitione.*

|| Rules without exceptions.[2]

---

[2] *rules without exceptions.*] This is, no doubt, an allusion to the well known and invariable rule in prosody,—"Postremo, *U finita* producuntur *omnia*,"—of which Browne here (most characteristically) avails himself in a proverbial sense.

universals of Aristotle and Theophrastus; how botanical maxims must have fair allowance, and are tolerably current, if not intolerably over-balanced by exceptions.

You have wisely ordered your vegetable delights, beyond the reach of exception. The Turks who passed their days in gardens here, will have also gardens hereafter, and delighting in flowers on earth, must have lilies and roses in heaven. In garden delights 'tis not easy to hold a mediocrity; that insinuating pleasure is seldom without some extremity. The ancients venially delighted in flourishing gardens; many were florists that knew not the true use of a flower; and in Pliny's days none had directly treated of that subject. Some commendably affected plantations of venomous vegetables, some confined their delights unto single plants, and Cato seemed to dote upon cabbage; while the ingenuous delight of tulipists, stands saluted with hard language, even by their own professors.*

That in this garden discourse, we range into extraneous things, and many parts of art and nature, we follow herein the example of old and new plantations, wherein noble spirits contented not themselves with trees, but by the attendance of aviaries, fish-ponds, and all variety of animals they made their gardens the epitome of the earth, and some resemblance of the secular shows of old.

That we conjoin these parts of different subjects, or that this should succeed the other,[3] your judgment will admit without impute of incongruity; since the delightful world comes after death, and paradise succeeds the grave. Since the verdant state of things is the symbol of the resurrection, and to flourish in the state of glory, we must first be sown in corruption:—besides the ancient practice of noble persons, to conclude in garden-graves, and urns themselves of old to be wrapt up with flowers and garlands.

Nullum sine venia placuisse eloquium, is more sensibly understood by writers, than by readers; nor well apprehended by either, till works have hanged out like Apelles his

* "*Tulipo-mania;*" *Narrencruiid, Laurenberg. Pet. Hondius in* lib. Belg.

[3] *or that this should succeed the other.*] In the present edition this order is reversed; the reason for which is stated in the preface.

pictures; wherein even common eyes will find something for emendation.

To wish all readers of your abilities, were unreasonably to multiply the number of scholars beyond the temper of these times. But unto this ill-judging age, we charitably desire a portion of your equity, judgment, candour, and ingenuity; wherein you are so rich, as not to lose by diffusion. And being a flourishing branch of that noble family,* unto whom we owe so much observance, you are not new set, but long rooted in such perfection; whereof having had so lasting confirmation in your worthy conversation, constant amity, and expression; and knowing you a serious student in the highest *arcana* of nature; with much excuse we bring these low delights, and poor maniples to your treasure.

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

Norwich, May 1st.

* Of the most worthy Sir Edmund Bacon, prime baronet, my true and noble friend.[4]

---

[4] This was the fourth (premier) baronet, grandson of Sir Robert, the third baronet, whose younger brother Nicholas (6th son of the first baronet) was the father of Nicholas (afterwards Sir Nicholas, Bart. of Gillingham), to whom the present letter was addressed; and who thus was first cousin to Sir Edmund's father. Ultimately the line of Sir Robert, the third baronet, failed; and the premier baronetcy passed into that of his brother Sir Butts Bacon, of Mildenhall, created a baronet, 29th of July, 1627, in the person of whose descendant Sir Richard, in 1755, were united the Redgrave (or premier) baronetcy of 1611, and Mildenhall of 1627.

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

THAT Vulcan gave arrows unto Apollo and Diana the fourth day after their nativities, according to Gentile theology,[1] may pass for no blind apprehension of the creation of the sun and moon, in the work of the fourth day: when the diffused light contracted into orbs, and shooting rays of those luminaries. Plainer descriptions there are from Pagan pens, of the creatures of the fourth day. While the divine philosopher* unhappily omitteth the noblest part of the third, and Ovid (whom many conceive to have borrowed his description from Moses), coldly deserting the remarkable account of the text, in three words† describeth this work of the third day,—the vegetable creation, and first ornamental scene of nature,—the primitive food of animals, and first story of physick in dietetical conservation.

For though physick may plead high, from that medical act of God, in casting so deep a sleep upon our first parent, and chirurgery‡ find its whole art, in that one passage concerning the rib of Adam; yet is there no rivality with garden contrivance and herbary; for if Paradise were planted the third day of the creation, as wiser divinity concludeth, the nativity thereof was too early for horoscopy: gardens were before gardeners, and but some hours after the earth.

Of deeper doubt is its topography and local designation; yet being the primitive garden, and without much contro-

* *Plato in Timæo.* † *Fronde tegi silvas.*

‡ διαίρεσις, in opening the flesh; ἐξαίρεσις, in taking out the rib; σύνθεσις, in closing up the part again.

[1] *That Vulcan gave arrows, &c.*] *Statius, Theb.* i. 563; *Horat. Od.* i. 16, 6; *Propert.* ii. 31, 16; *Lucret.* i. 740; *Cic. Div.* i. 36.

versy* seated in the east, it is more than probable the first curiosity, and cultivation of plants, most flourished in those quarters. And since the ark of Noah first touched upon some mountains of Armenia, the planting art arose again in the east, and found its revolution not far from the place of its nativity, about the plains of those regions. And if Zoroaster were either Cham, Chus, or Mizraim, they were early proficients therein, who left, as Pliny delivereth, a work of agriculture.

However, the account of the pensile or hanging gardens of Babylon, if made by Semiramis, the third or fourth from Nimrod, is of no slender antiquity; which being not framed upon ordinary level of ground, but raised upon pillars, admitting under-passages, we cannot accept as the first Babylonian gardens,—but a more eminent progress and advancement in that art than any that went before it; somewhat answering or hinting the old opinion concerning Paradise itself, with many conceptions elevated above the plane of the earth.[2]

Nebuchodonosor (whom some will have to be the famous Syrian king of Diodorus) beautifully repaired that city, and so magnificently built his hanging gardens,† that from suc-

* For some there is from the ambiguity of the word *Mikedem*, whether *ab Oriente*, or *a principio*.

† Josephus.

[2] *with some conceptions elevated, &c.*] In MS. SLOAN. 1847, I find the following passage, evidently intended for this work, which may be introduced here:—"We are unwilling to diminish or loose the credit of Paradise, or only pass it over with [the Hebrew word for] *Eden*, though the Greek be of a later name. In this excepted, we know not whether the ancient gardens do equal those of late times, or those at present in Europe. Of the gardens of Hesperides, we know nothing singular, but some golden apples. Of Alcinous his garden, we read nothing beyond figgs, apples, and olives; if we allow it to be any more than a fiction of Homer, unhappily placed in Corfu, where the sterility of the soil makes men believe there was no such thing at all. The gardens of Adonis were so empty that they afforded proverbial expression, and the principal part thereof was empty spaces, with herbs and flowers in pots. I think we little understand the pensile gardens of Semiramis, which made one of the wonders of it [Babylon], wherein probably the structure exceeded the plants contained in them. The excellency thereof was probably in the trees, and if the descension of the roots be equal to the height of trees, it was not [absurd] of Strebæus to think the pillars were hollow that the roots might shoot into them."

ceeding writers he had the honour of the first. From whence overlooking Babylon, and all the region about it, he found no circumscription to the eye of his ambition; till over-delighted with the bravery of this Paradise, in his melancholy metamorphosis he found the folly of that delight, and a proper punishment in the contrary habitation—in wild plantations and wanderings of the fields.

The Persian gallants, who destroyed this monarchy, maintained their botanical bravery. Unto whom we owe the very name of Paradise, wherewith we meet not in Scripture before the time of Solomon, and conceived originally Persian. The word for that disputed garden expressing, in the Hebrew, no more than a field enclosed, which from the same root is content to derive a garden and a buckler.

Cyrus the Elder, brought up in woods and mountains,[3] when time and power enabled, pursued the dictate of his education, and brought the treasures of the field into rule and circumscription. So nobly beautifying the hanging gardens of Babylon, that he was also thought to be the author thereof.

Ahasuerus (whom many conceive to have been Artaxerxes Longimanus), in the country and city of flowers,* and in an open garden, entertained his princes and people, while Vashti more modestly treated the ladies within the palace thereof.

But if, as some opinion,† King Ahasuerus were Artaxerxes Mnemon, that found a life and reign answerable unto his great memory, our magnified Cyrus was his second brother, who gave the occasion of that memorable work, and almost miraculous retreat of Xenophon. A person of high spirit and honour, naturally a king, though fatally prevented by the harmless chance of post-geniture; not only a lord of gardens, but a manual planter thereof, disposing his trees, like his armies, in regular ordination. So that while old Laertes hath found a name in Homer for pruning hedges, and clearing away thorns and briars; while King Attalus lives for his poisonous plantations of aconites, henbane, hellebore,

* *Sushan* in *Susiana.* † *Plutarch,* in *the Life of Artaxerxes.*

[3] *Cyrus the elder, &c.*] Alluding to his having been brought up by the shepherd of Astyages, his grandfather.

and plants hardly admitted within the walls of Paradise; while many of the ancients do poorly live in the single names of vegetables; all stories do look upon Cyrus as the splendid and regular planter.

According whereto Xenophon* describeth his gallant plantation at Sardis, thus rendered by Strebæus. "*Arbores pari intervallo sitas, rectos ordines, et omnia perpulchrè in quincuncem directa.*" Which we shall take for granted as being accordingly rendered by the most elegant of the Latins,† and by no made term, but in use before by Varro. That is, the rows and orders so handsomely disposed, or five trees so set together, that a regular angularity, and thorough prospect, was left on every side. Owing this name not only unto the quintuple number of trees, but the figure declaring that number, which being double at the angle, makes up the letter X, that is, the emphatical decussation, or fundamental figure.

Now though, in some ancient and modern practice, the area, or decussated plot might be a perfect square, answerable to a Tuscan pedestal, and the *quinquernio* or cinque point of a dye, wherein by diagonal lines the intersection was rectangular; accommodable unto plantations of large growing trees, and we must not deny ourselves the advantage of this order; yet shall we chiefly insist upon that of Curtius and Porta, ‡ in their brief description hereof. Wherein the *decussis* is made within in a longilateral square, with opposite angles, acute and obtuse at the intersection, and so upon progression making a *rhombus* or lozenge figuration, which seemeth very agreeable unto the original figure. Answerable whereunto we observe the decussated characters in many consulary coins, and even in those of Constantine and his sons, which pretend their pattern in the sky; the crucigerous ensign carried this figure, not transversely or rectangularly intersected, but in a decussation, after the form of an Andrean or Burgundian cross, which answereth this description.

Where by the way we shall decline the old theme, so traced by antiquity, of crosses and crucifixion; whereof

* *In Œconomico.* † *Cicero in Cat. Major.*

‡ Benedict. *Curticus de Horis. Bapt. Porta in villa.*

some being right, and of one single piece without transversion or transom, do little advantage our subject. Nor shall we take in the mystical *Tau*, or the cross of our blessed Saviour, which having in some descriptions an *Empedon* or crossing footstay, made not one single transversion. And since the learned Lipsius hath made some doubt even of the cross of St. Andrew, since some martyrological histories deliver his death by the general name of a cross, and Hippolytus will have him suffer by the sword, we shall have enough to make out the received cross of that martyr. Nor shall we urge the *Labarum*, and famous standard of Constantine, or make further use thereof, than as the first letters in the name of our Saviour Christ, in use among Christians, before the days of Constantine, to be observed in sepulchral monuments* of martyrs, in the reign of Adrian and Antoninus; and to be found in the antiquities of the Gentiles, before the advent of Christ, as in the medal of King Ptolemy, signed with the same characters, and might be the beginning of some word or name, which antiquaries have not hit on.

We will not revive the mysterious crosses of Egypt, with circles on their heads,[4] in the breast of Serapis, and the

* Of Marius, Alexander. *Roma Sotterranea.*

[4] *mysterious crosses of Egypt, with circles on their heads.*] Our author here alludes to the *crux ansata*, or handled cross, vulgarly termed the Key of the Nile, which is so often sculptured or otherwise represented upon Egyptian monuments. Nearly all his remarks upon it are illustrated by the following passage from Dr. Young's article on Egypt, in the supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. "The *crux ansata*, sometimes called the Key of the Nile, is usually employed as a symbol of divinity; but its correct meaning is LIFE, as Lacroze rightly conjectured, although his opinion respecting the origin of the character is inconsistent with the form of its oldest and most accurate delineations; and there is no one instance in which it is so represented as to stand in any relation to a sluice or a watercock. According to Socrates and Rufinus, the Egyptian priests declared to their Christian conquerors under Theodosius, who were going to destroy the Serapeum at Alexandria, that the cross, so often sculptured on their temples, was an emblem of the life to come. This passage has been understood by some authors as relating rather to the cross without a handle, which is observable in some rare instances, and indeed twice on the stone of Rosetta; but this symbol appears rather to denote a protecting power, than an immortal existence. It happens, perhaps altogether accidentally,

hands of their genial spirits, not unlike the character of Venus, and looked on by ancient Christians with relation unto Christ. Since however they first began, the Egyptians thereby expressed the process and motion of the spirit of the world, and the diffusion thereof upon the celestial and elemental nature; employed by a circle and right-lined intersection, — a secret in their telesmes[5] and magical characters among them. Though he that considereth the plain cross* upon the head of the owl in the Lateran obelisk, or the cross† erected upon a pitcher diffusing streams of water into two basins, with sprinkling branches in them, and all described upon a two-footed altar, as in the hieroglyphicks of the brazen table of Bembus; will hardly decline all thought of Christian signality in them.

We shall not call in the Hebrew *Tenupha*, or ceremony of their oblations, waved by the priest unto the four quarters of the world, after the form of a cross, as in the peace

* Wherein the lower part is somewhat longer, as defined by *Upton de studio militari*, and *Johannes de Bado Aureo, cum comment. clariss. et doctiss. Bissæi.*

† *Casal. de Ritibus. Bosio nella Trionfante croce.*

that one of the contractions for the word *God*, which are commonly used in Coptic, approaches very near to this character, except that the arms of the cross are within the circle."—*Supp. Ency. Brit.* vol. iv. p. 66, No. 108.

Whether the notion of Lacroze controverted by Dr. Young was derived from the "cross erected upon a pitcher," &c. mentioned by Browne in the same paragraph; we have no present means of ascertaining, but even if so, Dr. Young's remark will not be invalidated, for the Bembine table, on which only, as it would appear, that representation occurs, is a document of no authority, as we have already had occasion to observe, in a note on the *Pseudodoxia.*

The handled cross, as Dr. Young has elsewhere intimated, seems to have been the only one of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the true signification of which was never quite lost, a traditionary record of it having always been preserved. The error of attributing a Christian origin to this symbol, has, if we remember right, been committed by some modern traveller in Egypt or Nubia, who, finding certain stones with inscriptions, having this cross over them, supposed them to be the grave-stones of Christians, and marvels greatly at the discovery of Christian monuments in that particular locality, the situation of which, if our recollection be correct, was sufficiently inconsistent, indeed, with the notion of the existence of such relics.—*Br.*

[5] *telesme.*] Talisman.

offerings. And if it were clearly made out what is remarkably delivered from the traditions of the rabbins,—that as the oil was poured coronally or circularly upon the head of kings, so the high-priest was anointed decussatively or in the form of an X,—though it could not escape a typical thought of Christ, from mystical considerators, yet being the conceit is Hebrew, we should rather expect its verification from analogy in that language, than to confine the same unto the unconcerned letters of Greece, or make it out by the characters of Cadmus or Palamedes.

Of this quincuncial ordination the ancients practised much, discoursed little; and the moderns have nothing enlarged; which he that more nearly considereth, in the form of its square rhombus, and decussation, with the several commodities, mysteries, parallelisms, and resemblances, both in art and nature, shall easily discern the elegancy of this order.

That this was in some ways of practice in divers and distant nations, hints or deliveries there are from no slender antiquity. In the hanging gardens of Babylon, from Abydenus, Eusebius, and others,* Curtius describeth this rule of decussation. In the memorable garden of Alcinous, anciently conceived an original fancy from Paradise, mention there is of well contrived order; for so hath Didymus and Eustachius expounded the emphatical word.[6] Diomedes, describing the rural possessions of his father, gives account in the same language of trees orderly planted. And Ulysses being a boy, was promised by his father forty fig-trees, and fifty rows of vines producing all kinds of grapes.†

That the eastern inhabitants of India made use of such order, even in open plantations, is deducible from Theophrastus; who, describing the trees whereof they made their garments, plainly delivereth that they were planted *κατ' ὄρχους*, and in such order that at a distance men would mistake them for vineyards. The same seems confirmed

* *Decussatio ipsa jucundum ac peramoenum conspectum præbuit.* Curt. *Hortar.* l. vi.

† *ὄρχοι, στίχοι ἀμπέλων, φυτῶν στίχος, ἡ κατὰ τάξιν φυτεία. Phavorinus. Philoxenus.*

[6] *the emphatical word.*] Probably ὄρχος. See *Odyss. in loc.*

in Greece from a singular expression in Aristotle* concerning the order of vines, delivered by a military term representing the orders of soldiers, which also confirmeth the antiquity of this form yet used in vineal plantations.

That the same was used in Latin plantations is plainly confirmed from the commending pen of Varro Quintilian, and handsome description of Virgil.†

That the first plantations not long after the flood were disposed after this manner, the generality and antiquity of this order observed in vineyards and vine plantations, affordeth some conjecture. And since, from judicious enquiry, Saturn, who divided the world between his three sons, who beareth a sickle in his hand, who taught the plantations of vines, the setting, grafting of trees, and the best part of agriculture, is discovered to be Noah,—whether this early dispersed husbandry in vineyards had not its original in that patriarch, is no such paralogical doubt.

And if it were clear that this was used by Noah after the flood, I could easily believe it was in use before it:—not willing to fix to such ancient inventions no higher original than Noah; nor readily conceiving those aged heroes, whose diet was vegetable, and only or chiefly consisted in the fruits of the earth, were much deficient in their splendid cultivations, or (after the experience of fifteen hundred years), left much for future discovery in botanical agriculture; nor fully persuaded that wine was the invention of Noah, that fermented liquors, which often make themselves, so long escaped their luxury or experience, that the first sin of the new world was no sin of the old; that Cain and Abel were the first that offered sacrifice; or because the Scripture is silent, that Adam or Isaac offered none at all.

Whether Abraham, brought up in the first planting country, observed not some rule hereof, when he planted a grove at Beer-sheba; or whether at least a like ordination were not in the garden of Solomon, probability may contest; answerably unto the wisdom of that eminent botanologer, and orderly disposer of all his other works. Especially

* *συστάδας ἀμπέλων.* Polit. vii.

† *Indulge ordinibus, nec secius omnis in unguem*
Arboribus positis, secto via limite quadret. Georg. ii.

since this was one piece of gallantry, wherein he pursued the specious part of felicity, according to his own description: "I made me gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees."* Which was no ordinary plantation, if according to the Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase, it contained all kinds of plants, and some fetched as far as India; and the extent thereof were from the wall of Jerusalem unto the water of Siloah.

And if Jordan were but *Jaar Eden*, that is the river of Eden; Genesar but Gansar or the prince of gardens; and it could be made out, that the plain of Jordan were watered not comparatively, but causally, and because it was the Paradise of God, as the learned Abramas† hinteth: he was not far from the prototype and original of plantations. And since even in Paradise itself, the tree of knowledge was placed in the middle of the garden, whatever was the ambient figure, there wanted not a centre and rule of decussation. Whether the groves and sacred plantations of antiquity were not thus orderly placed, either by *quaternios*, or quintuple ordinations, may favourably be doubted. For since they were so methodical in the constitutions of their temples, as to observe the due situation, aspect, manner, form, and order in architectonical[7] relations, whether they were not as distinct in their groves and plantations about them, in form and species respectively unto their deities, is not without probability of conjecture. And in their groves of the sun this was a fit number by multiplication to denote the days of the year; and might hieroglyphically speak as much, as the mystical statue of Janus‡ in the language of his fingers. And since they were so critical in the number of his horses, the strings of his harp, and rays about his head, denoting the orbs of heaven, the seasons and months of the year, witty idolatry would hardly be flat in other appropriations.

* Eccles. ii. † *Vet. Testamenti Pharus.*

‡ Which king *Numa* set up, with his fingers so disposed that they numerically denoted 365.—*Pliny.*

[7] *architectonical.*] "Having skill in architecture" is Dr. Johnson's definition of this word:—and he quotes a passage from Browne, *Tract.* 1, vol. iv. p. 124. But he seems to use the word more generally in the sense of relating to architecture.

CHAPTER II.

Nor was this only a form of practice in plantations, but found imitation from high antiquity, in sundry artificial contrivances and manual operations. For (to omit the position of squared stones, *cuneatim* or wedgewise, in the walls of Roman and Gothick buildings, and the *lithostrata* or figured pavements of the ancients, which consisted not all of square stones, but were divided into triquetrous segments, honeycombs, and sexangular figures, according to Vitruvius); the squared stones and bricks, in ancient fabricks, were placed after this order; and two above or below, conjoined by a middle stone or *plinthus;* observable in the ruins of *Forum Nervæ*, the mausoleum of Augustus, the pyramid of Cestius, and the sculpture draughts of the larger pyramids of Egypt. And therefore in the draughts of eminent fabricks, painters do commonly imitate this order in the lines of their description.

In the laureat draught of sculpture and pictures, the leaves and foliate works are commonly thus contrived, which is but in imitation of the *pulvinaria*, and ancient pillow-work observable in Ionick pieces, about columns, temples, and altars. To omit many other analogies in architectonical draughts; which art itself is founded upon fives,* as having its subject, and most graceful pieces divided by this number.

The triumphal oval, and civical crowns of laurel, oak, and myrtle, when fully made, were plaited after this order. And (to omit the crossed crowns of Christian princes; what figure that was which Anastasius described upon the head of Leo the Third; or who first brought in the arched crown); that of Charles the Great (which seems the first remarkably closed crown), was framed after this† manner; with an intersection in the middle from the main crossing

* Of a structure five parts, *fundamentum, parietes, aperturæ, compartitio, tectum.* Leo Alberti. Five columns, Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, Compound. Five different intercolumniations, *pycnostylos, distylos, systylos, aerostylos, eustylos.* Vitruv.

† *Uti constat ex pergamena apud Chiffler.* in B. R. *Bruxelli, et Icon.* f. *Stradæ.*

bars, and the interspaces, unto the frontal circle, continued by handsome net-work plates; much after this order. Whereon we shall not insist, because from greater antiquity, and practice of consecration, we meet with the radiated, and starry crown, upon the head of Augustus, and many succeeding emperors. Since the Armenians and Parthians had a peculiar royal cap; and the Grecians, from Alexander, another kind of diadem. And even diadems themselves were but fasciations, and handsome ligatures, about the heads of princes; nor wholly omitted in the mitral crown, which common pictures seem to set too upright and forward upon the head of Aaron; worn* sometimes singly, or doubly by princes, according to their kingdoms; and no more to be expected from two crowns at once, upon the head of Ptolemy. And so easily made out, when historians tell us, some bound up wounds, some hanged themselves with diadems.†

The beds of the ancients were corded somewhat after this fashion: that is, not directly, as ours at present, but obliquely, from side to side, and after the manner of net-work; whereby they strengthened the *spondæ* or bedsides, and spent less cord in the net-work: as is demonstrated by Blancanus.†

And as they lay in cross beds, so they sat upon seeming cross-legged seats; in which form the noblest thereof were framed: observable in the triumphal seats, the *sella curulis*, or Edile chairs; in the coins of Cestius, Sylla, and Julius. That they sat also crossed-legged, many nobler draughts declare; and in this figure the sitting gods and goddesses are drawn in medals and medallions.‡ And, beside this kind of work in retiary and hanging textures, in embroideries, and eminent needle-works, the like is obvious unto every eye in glass windows. Nor only in glass contrivances, but also in lattice and stone work, conceived in the temple of Solomon; wherein the windows are termed *fenestræ reticulatæ*, or lights framed like nets. And agreeable unto the Greek expression§ concerning Christ in the Canticles,‖ looking through the nets, which ours hath rendered, "he

* Maec. i. xi. † *Aristot. Mechan. Quæst.*
‡ The larger sort of medals. § δικτυωτά. ‖ Cant. ii.

looketh forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice;" that is, partly seen and unseen, according to the visible and invisible sides of his nature. To omit the noble reticulate work, in the chapiters of the pillars of Solomon, with lilies and pomegranates upon a net-work ground; and the *graticula* or grate through which the ashes fell in the altar of burnt offerings.

That the net works and nets of antiquity were little different in the form from ours at present, is confirmable from the nets in the hands of the retiary gladiators, the proper combatants with the *Secutores*. To omit the ancient *conopeion* or gnat-net of the Ægyptians, the inventors of that artifice; the rushy labyrinths of Theocritus; the nosegay nets, which hung from the head under the nostrils of princes; and that uneasy metaphor of *reticulum jecoris*,* which some expound the lobe, we the caul above the liver. As for that famous net-work of Vulcan, which inclosed Mars and Venus, and caused that† unextinguishable laugh in heaven,—since the gods themselves could not discern it, we shall not pry into it: although why Vulcan bound them, Neptune loosed them, and Apollo should first discover them, might afford no vulgar mythology. Heralds have not omitted this order or imitation thereof, while they symbolically adorn their scutcheons with mascles, fusils, and saltyres, and while they dispose the figures of Ermines, and varied coats in this quincuncial method.‡

The same is not forgot by lapidaries, while they cut their gems pyramidally, or by æquicrural triangles. Perspective pictures, in their base, horizon, and lines of distances, cannot escape these rhomboidal decussations. Sculptors in their strongest shadows, after this order do draw their double hatches. And the very Americans do naturally fall upon it, in their neat and curious textures, which is also observed in the elegant artifices of Europe. But this is no law unto the woof of the neat retiary spider, which seems to weave without transversion, and by the union of right lines to make out a continual surface, which is beyond the

* In Leviticus. † Ἄσβεστος δ' ἀρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως. *Hom.*

‡ *De armis Scaccatis, masculatis, invectis, fuselatis,* vide *Spelman, Aspilog, et Upton cura erud. Byssæi.*

common art of textury, and may still nettle Minerva,* the goddess of that mystery. And he that shall hatch the little seeds, either found in small webs, or white round eggs, carried under the bellies of some spiders, and behold how at their first production in boxes, they will presently fill the same with their webs, may observe the early and untaught finger of nature, and how they are natively provided with a stock sufficient for such texture.

The rural charm against dodder, tetter, and strangling weeds, was contrived after this order, while they placed a chalked tile at the four corners, and one in the middle of their fields: which, though ridiculous in the intention, was rational in the contrivance, and a good way to diffuse the magick through all parts of the area.

Somewhat after this manner they ordered the little stones in the old game of *Pentalithismus*, or casting up five stones to catch them on the back of their hand. And with some resemblance hereof, the *proci* or prodigal paramours disposed their men, when they played at *Penelope*.† For being themselves an hundred and eight, they set fifty-four stones on either sides, and one in the middle, which they called Penelope; which he that hit was master of the game.

In chess boards and tables we yet find pyramids and squares. I wish we had their true and ancient description, far different from ours, or the *chet mat* of the Persians, which might continue some elegant remarkables, as being an invention as high as Hermes the secretary of Osyris, figuring the whole world, the motion of the planets, with eclipses of sun and moon.

Physicians are not without the use of this decussation in several operations, in ligatures and union of dissolved continuities. Mechanics make use hereof in forcipal organs, and instruments of incision; wherein who can but magnify the power of decussation, inservient to contrary ends, solution and consolidation, union and division, illustrable from Aristotle in the old *nucifragium*, or nutcracker, and the instruments of evulsion, compression, or incision; which consisting of two *vectes*, or arms, converted towards each

* As in the contention between Minerva and Arachne.
† *In Eustachius, in Homerum.*

other, the innitency[8] and stress being made upon the *hypomochlion*, or fulciment[9] in the decussation, the great compression is made by the union of two impulsors.

The Roman *batalia** was ordered after this manner, whereof as sufficiently known, Virgil hath left but an hint and obscure intimation. For thus were the maniples and cohorts of the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* placed in their bodies, wherein consisted the strength of the Roman battle. By this ordination they readily fell into each other; the *hastati* being pressed, handsomely retired into the intervals of the *principes*, these into that of the *triarii*, which making as it were a new body, might jointly renew the battle, wherein consisted the secret of their successes. And therefore it was remarkably † singular in the battle of Africa, that Scipio, fearing a rout from the elephants of the enemy, left not the *principes* in their alternate distances, whereby the elephants, passing the vacuities of the *hastati*, might have run upon them, but drew his battle into right order, and leaving the passages bare, defeated the mischief intended by the elephants. Out of this figure were made two remarkable forms of battle, the *cuneus* and *forceps*, or the shear and wedge battles, each made of half a *rhombus*, and but differenced by position. The wedge invented to break or work into a body, the *forceps* to environ and defeat the power thereof, composed out of the selectest soldiery, and disposed into the form of a V, wherein receiving the wedge, it inclosed it on both sides. After this form the famous Narses ‡ ordered his battle against the Franks, and by this figure the Almans were enclosed, and cut in pieces.

The *rhombus* or lozenge-figure so visible in this order, was also a remarkable form of battle in the Grecian cavalry,§ observed by the Thessalians, and Philip king of Macedon, and frequently by the Parthians; as being most ready to turn every way, and best to be commanded, as having its ductors or commanders at each angle.

* In the disposure of the legions in the wars of the republick, before the division of the legion into ten cohorts by the Emperors. Salmas. in his epistle à *Monsieur de Peyresc. et de Re Militari Romanorum.*

† *Polybius. Appianus.* ‡ *Agathius, Ammianus.* § *Ælian. Tact.*

[8] *innitency.*] His own synonym for "stress."

[9] *fulciment.*] *Fulcrum.*

The Macedonian phalanx (a long time thought invincible), consisted of a long square. For though they might be sixteen in rank and file, yet when they shut close, so that the sixth pike advanced before the first rank, though the number might be square, the figure was oblong, answerable unto the quincuncial quadrate of Curtius. According to this square, Thucydides delivers, the Athenians disposed their battle against the Lacedemonians, brickwise,* and by the same word the learned Gellius expoundeth the quadrate of Virgil, after the form of a brick or tile.†

And as the first station and position of trees, so was the first habitation of men, not in round cities, as of later foundation; for the form of Babylon the first city was square, and so shall also be the last, according to the description of the holy city in the Apocalypse. The famous pillars of Seth, before the flood, had also the like foundation,‡ if they were but antediluvian obelisks, and such as Cham and his Egyptian race imitated after the flood.

But Nineveh, which authors acknowledge to have exceeded Babylon, was of a longilateral figure,§ ninety-five furlongs broad, and an hundred and fifty long, and so making about sixty miles in circuit, which is the measure of three days' journey, according unto military marches, or castrensial mansions. So that if Jonas entered at the narrower side, he found enough for one day's walk to attain the heart of the city, to make his proclamation. And if we imagine a city extending from Ware to London, the expression will be moderate of sixscore thousand infants, although we allow vacuities, fields, and intervals of habitation; as there needs must be when the monument of Ninus took up no less than ten furlongs.

And, though none of the seven wonders, yet a noble piece of antiquity, and made by a copy exceeding all the rest, had its principal parts disposed after this manner; that is, the labyrinth of Crete, built upon a long quadrate, containing five large squares; communicating by right inflexions, terminating in the centre of the middle square, and lodging of the Minotaur, if we conform unto the description of the

* ἐν πλαισίῳ. † *Secto via limite quadret. Comment. in Virgil.*
‡ Obelisks, being erected upon a square base. § *Diod. Sic.*

elegant medal thereof in Agostino.* And though in many accounts we reckon grossly by the square, yet is that very often to be accepted as a long-sided quadrate, which was the figure of the ark of the covenant, the table of the shew-bread, and the stone wherein the names of the twelve tribes were engraved, that is, three in a row, naturally making a longilateral figure, the perfect quadrate being made by nine.

What figure the stones themselves maintained, tradition and Scripture are silent, yet lapidaries in precious stones affect a table or long square, and in such proportion, that the two lateral, and also the three inferior tables are equal unto the superior; and the angles of the lateral tables contain and constitute the *hypothenusæ*, or broader sides subtending.

That the tables of the law were of this figure, general imitation and tradition hath confirmed. Yet are we unwilling to load the shoulders of Moses with such massy stones, as some pictures lay upon them; since it is plainly delivered that he came down with them in his hand; since the word strictly taken implies no such massy hewing, but cutting, and fashioning of them into shape and surface; since some will have them emeralds, and if they were made of the materials of Mount Sinai, not improbable that they were marble; since the words were not many, the letters short of seven hundred, and the tables,[1] written on both sides, required no such capacity.

The beds of the ancients were different from ours at present, which are almost square, being framed oblong, and about a double unto their breadth; not much unlike the area, or bed of this quincuncial quadrate. The single beds of Greece were six feet † and a little more in length, three in breadth; the giant-like bed of Og, which had four cubits of breadth, nine and a half in length, varied not much from this proportion. The funeral bed of King Cheops, in the greater pyramid, which holds seven in length, and four feet in breadth, had no great deformity from this measure; and whatsoever were the breadth, the length could hardly be

* *Antonio Agostino Delle Medaglie.* † *Aristot. Mechan.*

[1] *tables.*] Pineda thinks the tables of the law were of sapphire.—*Jeff.*

less, of the tyrannical bed of Procrustes, since in a shorter measure he had not been fitted with persons for his cruelty of extension. But the old sepulchral bed, or Amazonian tomb* in the market place of Megara, was in the form of a lozenge, readily made out by the composure of the body; for the arms not lying fasciated or wrapt up after the Grecian manner, but in a middle distension, the including lines will strictly make out that figure.

CHAPTER III.

Now although this elegant ordination of vegetables hath found coincidence or imitation in sundry works of art, yet is it not also destitute of natural examples; and, though overlooked by all, was elegantly observable, in several works of nature.

Could we satisfy ourselves in the position of the lights above, or discover the wisdom of that order so invariably maintained in the fixed stars of heaven; could we have any light, why the stellary part of the first mass separated into this order, that the girdle of Orion should ever maintain its line, and the two stars in Charles' wain never leave pointing at the pole star; we might abate the Pythagorical musick of the spheres, the sevenfold pipe of Pan, and the strange cryptography of Gaffarel in his starry book of heaven.

But, not to look so high as heaven, or the single quincunx of the *Hyades* upon the head of Taurus, the triangle, and remarkable *crusero* about the foot of the Centaur,—observable rudiments there are hereof in subterraneous concretions, and bodies in the earth; in the *gypsum* or *taleum rhomboides*, in the *favaginites*, or honeycomb stone, in the *asteria* and *astroites*, and in the crucigerous stone of S. Jago of Gallicia.

The same is observably effected in the *jülus*, catkins, or pendulous excrescencies of several trees; of walnuts, alders, and hazels, which hanging all the winter, and maintaining their network close, by the expansion thereof are the early foretellers of the spring: discoverable also in long pepper,

* *Plut. in vit. Thes.*

and elegantly in the *jülus* of *calamus aromaticus*, so plentifully growing with us, in the first palms of willows, and in the flowers of sycamore, *petasites*, *asphodelus*, and *blattaria*, before explication. After such order stand the flowery branches in our best spread *verbascum*, and the seeds about the spicous head or torch of *thapsus barbatus*, in as fair a regularity as the circular and wreathed order will admit, which advanceth one side of the square, and makes the same rhomboidal. In the squamous heads of scabious, knapweed, and the elegant *jacea pinea*, and in the scaly composure of the oak rose,* which some years most aboundeth. After this order hath nature planted the leaves in the head of the common and prickled‡ artichoke, wherein the black and shining flies do shelter themselves, when they retire from the purple flower about it. The same is also found in the pricks, sockets, and impressions of the seeds, in the pulp or bottom thereof; wherein do elegantly stick the fathers of their mother:† to omit the quincuncial specks on the top of the miscle-berry, especially that which grows upon the *tilia*, or lime tree; and the remarkable disposure of those yellow fringes about the purple pestil of Aaron, and elegant clusters of dragons, so peculiarly secured by nature, with an umbrella or skreening leaf about them.

The spongy leaves of some sea wracks, fucus, oaks, in their several kinds, found about the shore,‡ with ejectments of the sea, are over-wrought with net-work elegantly containing this order: which plainly declareth the naturality of this texture; and how the needle of nature delighteth to work, even in low and doubtful vegetations.

The *arbustetum* or thicket on the head of the teazel, may be observed in this order: and he that considereth that fabrick so regularly palisadoed, and stemmed with flowers of the royal colour, in the house of the solitary maggot|| may

* *Capitula squamata quercuum, Bauhini*, whereof though he saith *perraro reperiuntur, bis tantum invenimus;* yet we find them commonly with us and in great numbers.

† *Antho. Græc. Inter Epigrammata.* γριφώδη ἐνδὸν ἐμῶν, μητρὸς λαγώναν ἔχω πατέρα.

‡ Especially the *porus cervinus, imperati, sporosa*, or alga πλατύκερως *Bauhini*.

|| From there being a single maggot found almost in every head.

find the seraglio of Solomon; and contemplating the calicular shafts, and uncous disposure of their extremities, so accommodable unto the office of abstersion, not condemn as wholly improbable the conceit of those who accept it for the herb *borith*.*[2] Where, by the way, we could with much enquiry never discover any transfiguration in this abstemious insect, although we have kept them long in their proper houses and boxes. Where some, wrapt up in their webs, have lived upon their own bowels from September unto July.

In such a grove do walk the little creepers about the head of the burr; and such an order is observed in the aculeous prickly plantation upon the heads of several common thistles, remarkably in the notable palisadoes about the flower of the milk thistle, and he that enquireth into the little bottom of the globe thistle, may find that gallant bush arise from a scalp of like disposure.

The white umbrella, or medical bush of elder, is an epitome of this order, arising from five main stems quincuncially disposed, and tolerably maintained in their subdivisions. To omit the lower observations in the seminal spike of mercury wild, and plantain.

Thus hath nature ranged the flowers of santfoyn, and French honeysuckle, and somewhat after this manner hath ordered the bush in Jupiter's beard or houseleak, which old superstition set on the tops of houses, as a defensative against lightning and thunder. The like in fenny seagreen, or the water soldier,† which, though a military name from Greece, makes out the Roman order.

A like ordination there is in the favaginous sockets, and lozenge seeds of the noble flower of the sun; wherein in lozenge-figured boxes nature shuts up the seeds, and balsam which is about them.

But the fir and pine tree from their fruits do naturally

* Jer. ii. 22; Mal. iii. 2. † *Stratiotes.*

[2] *not condemn, &c.*] The LXX., Jerome, and the Vulgate, consider the Hebrew word used in Jer. ii. 22, and Mal. iii. 2, to refer to a plant, *herba fullonum.* Goguet calls it salt-wort, in the ashes of which a strong alkaline salt is contained. Our author, on the other hand, suggests that it may be *fullonum dypsacus,* or fuller's teazel.

dictate this position; the rhomboidal protuberances in pine apples maintaining this quincuncial order unto each other, and each rhombus in itself. Thus are also disposed the triangular foliations in the conical fruit of the fir tree orderly shadowing and protecting the winged seeds below them.

The like so often occurreth to the curiosity of observers, especially in spicated seeds and flowers, that we shall not need to take in the single quincunx of *Fuchsius* in the growth of the male fern, the seedy disposure of *gramen ischemon*, and the trunk or neat reticulate work in the cod of the sachel palm.

For even in very many round stalked plants, the leaves are set after a quintuple ordination, the first leaf answering the fifth in lateral disposition. Wherein the leaves successively rounding the stalk, in four, at the furthest, the compass is absolved, and the fifth leaf or sprout returns to the position of the other fifth before it; as in accounting upward is often observable in furze, pellitory, ragweed, the sprouts of oaks and thorns, upon pollards,* and very remarkably in the regular disposure of the rugged excrescencies in the yearly shoots of the pine.

But in square stalked plants, the leaves stand respectively unto each other, either in cross or decussation to those above or below them, arising at cross positions; whereby they shadow not each other, and better resist the force of winds, which in a parallel situation, and upon square stalks, would more forcibly bear upon them.

And, to omit how leaves and sprouts, which compass not the stalk, are often set in a *rhomboides*, and making long and short diagonals, to stand like the legs of quadrupeds when they go; nor to urge the thwart enclosure and fardling of flowers and blossoms before explications, as in the multiplied leaves of piony; and the *chiasmus* in five-leaved flowers, while one lies wrapt about the staminous beards, the other four obliquely shutting and closing upon each other, and how even flowers which consist of four leaves, stand not ordinarily in three and one, but two, and two crosswise, unto the *stylus;* even the autumnal buds, which

* Pollard oaks, and thorns.

await the return of the sun, do after the winter solstice multiply their calicular leaves, making little rhombuses, and network figures, as in the sycamore and lilack.

The like is discoverable in the original production of plants, which first putting forth two leaves, those which succeed bear not over each other, but shoot obliquely or crosswise, until the stalk appeareth, which sendeth not forth its first leaves without all order unto them, and he that from hence can discover in what position the two first leaves did arise, is no ordinary observator.

Where, by the way, he that observeth the rudimental spring of seeds, shall find strict rule, although not after this order. How little is required unto effectual generation, and in what diminutives the plastick principle lodgeth is exemplified in seeds, wherein the greater mass affords so little comproduction.[3] In beans the leaf and root sprout

[3] *How little, &c.*] In *MS. Sloan.* 1847, this passage stands thus:—"How little is required to the generation of animals, the late doctrine of generation hath instructed us:—and how the grosser sperme having served as a vehicle of the spiritual geniture, is sent out or exhaled and performeth no further office, seems also reasonable in the seminal propagation of plants, wherein the greatest part of the seed is of no effect."

In *MS. Sloan.* 1326, fol. 17, are the following observations on this passage; thus headed, and followed by a copy of his letter to Dr. Browne, whose reply I have also adjoined, from *MS. Sloan.* 3515. *Reflections upon some passages of Dr. Browne's book called "Cyrus his Garden," sent to Dr. Browne, from H. Power.* Chapt. 3, pag. 129, "hee that observeth (say you) the rudimentall spring of seeds, shall find..... how little is required unto effectuall generation, and in what diminutives the plastick principle lodgeth;" and indeed 'tis worth our contemplation to consider from what contemptible principles the vast magnitude of some plants arise, as that from so small a neb in the acorne so majestick and stately a plant as the oake should be drawn. But what you meane by the plastick principle "lodging in these diminutive particles, I doe not well understand. I am farr more prone to beleeve that these fructifying particles or acornes (be they never so minute) are indeed the whole plant perfectly there epitomized. And that seeds doe not only potentially containe the formes of their own specifick plants, but are indeed *plantarum suarum fœtus*, and as it were a young and embrioned plant, capsulated and kradled (*sic*) up in severall filmes, huskes, and shells, and enclosed with a convenient intrinsecall, primitive nutriment (just like the chick in an egge) which at first it feeds upon, till it has broke through the enclosing walles or pellicles, to receive more ample nourishment from its great mother the earth; and this in some manner is autopically demonstrable, especially in some of the greater

from the germen, the main sides split, and lie by; and in some pulled up near the time of blooming, we have found

sorts of seeds and more visiblely in those that are something flattish and oblong; as in ash keys or chatts (our *linguæ avium*) the skins being removed and the kernell cleft lengthways in the middle you shall find a youngling ash: viz. two white tender oblong leaves, lying one upon another with a stalk reaching to the point of the seed (not that point which is fastened to the tree but the other) to which tender stalk is annexed as it were a navell-string or umbilicall vessel from the stemme through which the primitive atomes that materiald that plant were first conveyd.

In the mapple tree, both greater and lesser, though the keys or chatts be winged like the ash, yet is the diminutive mapple found foulded up in the knobby end thereof: in beans and peas at the cone point you there find those two little leaves and footstalk, which make the first protrusion and shoot out of the earth: in other smaller seeds especially the round ones, the leaves are circum-folded, the stalk lying as an axis in the centre of them, as in cabbage and raddish seeds, which when they break through the ground they erect themselves upright, sometime carrying their filme and skin (as children doe the silly how), upon their topps, as in the sproots of onyons is manifest. Thus certainly the smallest seeds are nothing but their own plants shrunk into an atome, which though invisible to us, are easyly discernable to nature, and to that piercing eie, that sees through all things. In vaine therefore may wee expect an ocular demonstration of these things, unles wee had such glasses (as some men rant of) whereby they could see the transpiration of plants and animals, yea the very magneticall *effluviums* of the loadstone.

Now to stretch our conceits a little higher, wheather the spermatick principle of animals containe in it *ipsissimum sui generis animalculum actualiter fabricatum*, I am so farre from determining that I dare hardly conjecture, yet if it be true what I have heard some say, that in the *cicatricula* or birds eie (as our old wifes call it) of an egge, by a good microscope you may see all the parts of a chick exactly delineated before incubation, and if it be true what Harvey declares, that *homo non immediate corporatur ex semine in utero ejecto, sed per quantum contagionem*, it may and ought to exstimulate our unsatisfyed desires to a further enquiry—especially since wee see that the embryo in a woman, and those in cows and other animals, are not so big when sometimes abortively excluded as the kernell of a prunestone, and yet perfectly and integrally organised, yea (often times in that minutenesse to the very distinction of sex) but this may prove a subject of a large discourse. At present give me leave to returne into the garden againe. In another paragraph you doe not only take notice but handsomely prove a continuall transpiration in plants like to that in animals; which continually renews their lopt-off flowers, and where it is large and excessive perchance doubles their flowers, now I am soe much your convert in this point, that I can easily stretch my beliefe a little farther, and that is

the pulpous sides entire or little wasted. In acorns the nib dilating splitteth the two sides, which sometimes lie whole,

to conceive that all plants may not only have a transpiration of particles but a sensation also like animals. This is eminently enough discoverable in those 2 exotic hearbs (the sensitive and humble plants) vid. my letter to Mr. Robinson, 2nd August, 1656.

The conclusion of my letter to Dr. Browne.

These are some of those many eccentricall and extravagant conceits and fancyes of my own; how they may realish with you I know not, if they prove too raw and too crude to be digested by you I pray you prepare them better, and adde what corrections you please to them, and you shall ever obleige

Sir,

Your most faithfull Friend and Servant,

H. Power.

From New Hall, neare Hallifax, this 10 May, 1659.

MS. Sloan. 3515.

Worthy Sir,—The intent of that paragraph whereof you pleasd to take notice, was chiefly to showe by playne and rurall observation how litle of that which beareth the name of seed is the effectuall or generative part thereof, that the plastick or formative spirit lodgeth butt in a diminutive particle, and that the adhering masse doth nothing soe much in the future present production as is vulgarly apprehended, exemplified in beanes and acornes, that part consuming or corrupting into insects while the generative *primordium* makes his progress in the earth. And therefore this I saye may be exemplified unto all eyes without art and by an easie waye of experiment, howe little is required unto effectuall generation or germination, such as is able to produce a growne and confirmed plant, and in what diminutiues that spirit lyeth which worketh this effect, which must needs lodge in a very litle roome at first, since when its power is farther advanced, it makes butt a small bulk comparatively to the whole masse, and that masse not soe considerable as is conceived to the production and progression of the plant, butt serving for tegument, enclosure, and securement of the nebbe, and food for man and animals.

As for the higher originall of seeds, before they come to sprout in or out of the ground, though it bee not easie to demonstrate it from the first spermatizing of the plant, till a little time hath made some discoverie and the seed bee under some degree of germination, yet is it not improbable that the plant is delineated from the beginning; that a lineall draught beginneth upon the first separation, and that these unto the eye of nature are butt soe many yonge ones hanging upon the mother plant, very soone discoverable in some by rudimentall lines in the soft gelly-like nebbe, in others more plainly somstime after by more plaine roote and leaves, as I instance in beanes and peas, and have long agoe observed in ashkeys, almonds, apricots, pistachios, before I read any hint thereof in Regius or description in Dr. Highmore. And this is also notable in spontaneous productions of plants upon emerging of

when the oak is sprouted two handfuls. In lupines these pulpy sides do sometimes arise with the stalk in the re-

the first vegetable atome, although the observation bee hard, and cannot soe neerly bee observed in any production as that of duckweed, from water kept in thinne glasses, wherin the leaves and roote will suddenly appeare where you suspected nothing before. And if the water bee never soe narrowlie wached, yet if you can perceive any alteration or atome as bigge as a needles poynt, within 3 or 4 howers, the plant will bee discoverable.

You have excellently delivered your sense in this you pleasd to send mee, and I desire you to pursue your conceptions in these and other worthie enquiries, and in the interim and at your leasure to consider, whether, if wee make our observations in ashkeys, maples, hardbowes, acornes, plummes, &c. then when the leaves and stemme are playnly found, the inference will bee soe satisfactorie and current as if observed higher before the pulpe bee formed, when the seed is in a gellie; for even at that time I seeme to find some rudiment of these parts in plummes, for otherwise men will not allow this to bee soe high a beginning of formation as is in the egge, after sometime when the galba or maggot-like shape beginnes to showe itself.

Though wee actually find the leaves and roote in these seeds, yet since other dissimilarie parts are accounted essential unto the same plants, as *truncus, rami, surculi,* whether these parts are not rather potentially therin, which are not discovered or produced untill a long time after.

The roote of white bryonie and some others, cutt in sunder and divided, produce newe rootes, shoote forth leaves, and soe growe on after a seminall progression, or as though they had been produced from seed: now whether in these peeces of rootes or any other there bee any actuall delineation of the plant at first as in seeds, may fall under consideration.

Dr. Hamie, whoe makes egges proportionall unto seeds, always insists upon the graduall displaye of parts potentially latent in them; yet even that the animall fœtus is delinneated at first though not demonstrable unto sence seems not wholly inuisible unto reason. And therefore herin Courueus contendeth with Dr. Hamie that a delineation is made at first, butt the parts made visible after, that they are not delineated *per epigenesia,* or one after another, butt in a cercle, or all together, as Hippocrates expresseth, though to be discoverable successively or one after another.

That there is a naturall sensitive in plants, as Dr. Hamey hath discoursed seemes verie allowable, and besides some other reasons, from the experiment of the sensible plant; which is also to bee found in minor degree in some others, as jacea, scabious, thistles and such as Borellus observed and published some years agoe, and might bee observed in others; such a sense may bee in plant-animals and in the parts of perfect animals even when the head is cutt of.

Dear Sir, I wish my time would permitt my communication with you in

semblance of two fat leaves. Wheat and rye will grow up, if after they have shot some tender roots, the adhering pulp be taken from them. Beans will prosper though a part be cut away, and so much set as sufficeth to contain and keep the germen close. From this superfluous pulp, in unkindly and wet years, may arise that multiplicity of little insects, which infest the roots and sprouts of tender grains and pulses.[4]

In the little nib or fructifying principle, the motion is regular, and not transvertible, as to make that ever the leaf, which nature intended the root; observable from their conversion, until they attain their right position, if seeds be set inversedly.

In vain we expect the production of plants from different parts of the seed; from the same corculum or little original proceed both germinations; and in the power of this slender particle lie many roots and sprouts, that though the same be pulled away, the generative particle will renew them again, and proceed to a perfect plant; and malt may be observed to grow, though the cummes be fallen from it.

The seminal nib hath a defined and single place, and not extended unto both extremes. And therefore many too vulgarly conceive that barley and oats grow at both ends; for they arise from one punctilio or generative nib, and the spear sliding under the husk, first appeareth nigh the top. But in wheat and rye being bare, the sprouts are seen together. If barley unhulled would grow, both would

any proportion to my desires, wherin I should never bee wearie, whereby I might continue the delight I have formerly had by many serious discourses with my old friend your good father, whose memorie is still fresh with mee and becomes more delightfull by this great enjoyment I have from his true and worthy sonne.

Sir I am

Your ever faythfull true Friend and Servant,

June 8. THO. BROWNE.

How the sprouts of seeds carrie up their coat about them I have best observed in coriander seeds.

My wife comends her respects unto yourself and lady.

[4] *from this superfluous pulp, &c.*] This is a very probable explanation, though, we believe, it is not quite in accordance with some modern prevalent opinions.—*Br.*

appear at once. But in this and oatmeal the nib is broken away, which makes them the milder food and less apt to raise fermentation in decoctions.

Men taking notice of what is outwardly visible, conceive a sensible priority in the root. But as they begin from one part, so they seem to start and set out upon one signal of nature. In beans yet soft, in peas while they adhere unto the cod, the rudimental leaf and root are discoverable. In the seeds of rocket and mustard, sprouting in glasses of water, when the one is manifest, the other is also perceptible. In muddy waters apt to breed duckweed, and periwinkles, if the first and rudimental strokes of duckweed be observed, the leaves and root anticipate not each other. But in the date-stone the first sprout is neither root nor leaf distinctly, but both together; for the germination being to pass through the narrow navel and hole about the midst of the stone, the generative germ is fain to enlengthen itself, and shooting out about an inch, at that distance divideth into the ascending and descending portion.

And though it be generally thought, that seeds will root at the end, where they adhere to their originals, and observable it is that the nib sets most often next the stalk, as in grains, pulses, and most small seeds:—yet is it hardly made out in many greater plants. For in acorns, almonds, pistachios, walnuts, and acuminated shells, the germ puts forth at the remotest part of the pulp. And therefore to set seeds in that posture, wherein the leaf and roots may shoot right without contortion, or forced circumvolution which might render them strongly rooted, and straighter, were a criticism in agriculture. And nature seems to have made some provision hereof in many from their figure, that as they fall from the tree they may lie in positions agreeable to such advantages.

Beside the open and visible testicles of plants, the seminal powers lie in great part invisible, while the sun finds polypody in stone-walls, the little stinging nettle and nightshade in barren sandy highways, scurvy-grass in Greenland, and unknown plants in earth brought from remote countries. Beside the known longevity of some trees, what is the most lasting herb, or seed, seems not easily determinable. Mandrakes upon known account have lived near an hundred

years. Seeds found in wildfowls' gizzards have sprouted in the earth. The seeds of marjoram and *stramonium* carelessly kept, have grown after seven years. Even in garden plots long fallow, and digged up, the seeds of *blattaria* and yellow henbane, after twelve years' burial, have produced themselves again.

That bodies are first spirits Paracelsus could affirm, which in the maturation of seeds and fruits, seem obscurely implied by Aristotle,* when he delivereth, that the spirituous parts are converted into water, and the water into earth; and attested by observation in the maturative progress of seeds, wherein at first may be discerned a flatuous distension of the husk, afterwards a thin liquor, which longer time digesteth into a pulp or kernel, observable in almonds and large nuts. And some way answered in the progressional perfection of animal semination, in its spermatical maturation from crude pubescency unto perfection. And even that seeds themselves in their rudimental discoveries, appear in foliaceous surcles, or sprouts within their coverings, in a diaphanous jelly, before deeper incrassation, is also visibly verified in cherries, acorns, plums.

From seminal considerations, either in reference unto one mother, [or distinction from animal production, the Holy Scripture describeth the vegetable creation; and while it divideth plants but into herb and tree, though it seemeth to make but an accidental division, from magnitude, it tacitly containeth the natural distinction of vegetables, observed by herbalists, and comprehending the four kinds. For since the most natural distinction is made from the production of leaf or stalk, and plants after the two first seminal leaves, do either proceed to send forth more leaves, or a stalk, and the folious and stalky emission distinguisheth herbs and trees,† they stand authentically differenced but from the accidents of the stalk.

The equivocal production of things under undiscerned principles, makes a large part of generation, though they seem to hold a wide univocacy in their set and certain originals, while almost every plant breeds its peculiar insect,

* *In Met. cum Cabeo.*

† In a large acception it comprisseth all vegetables: for the *frutex* and *suffrutex* are under the progression of trees.

most a butterfly, moth or fly, wherein the oak seems to contain the largest seminality, while the julus,* oak-apple, pill, woolly tuft, foraminous roundles[5] upon the leaf, and grapes underground make a fly with some difference. The great variety of flies lies in the variety of their originals; in the seeds of caterpillars or cankers there lieth not only a butterfly or moth, but if they be sterile or untimely cast, their production is often a fly, which we have also observed from corrupted and mouldered eggs both of hens and fishes; to omit the generation of bees out of the bodies of dead heifers, or what is strange, yet well attested, the production of eels[6] in the backs of living cods and perches.[7]†

The exiguity and smallness of some seeds extending to large productions, is one of the magnalities of nature, somewhat illustrating the work of the creation, and vast production from nothing. The true‡ seeds of cypress and rampions are indistinguishable by old eyes. Of the seeds of tobacco a thousand make not one grain. The disputed seeds of hartstongue and maidenhair, require a great number. From such undiscernable seminalities arise spontaneous productions. He that would discern the rudimental stroke of a plant, may behold it in the original of duckweed, at the bigness of a pin's point, from convenient water in glasses, wherein a watchful eye may also discover the puncticular originals of periwinkles and gnats.

* These and more to be found upon our oaks; not well described by any till the edition of *Theatrum Botanicum.*

† *Schoneveldus de Pisc.* ‡ *Doctissim. Lauremburg. Hort.*

[5] *foraminous roundles.*] Perforated, roundle, a round.

[6] *in the seeds, &c.*] The fact is that certain of the *ichneumonidæ* deposit their eggs in lepidopterous larvæ, by piercing the skin with their ovipositor;—these eggs thrive, hatch—the larvæ resulting feed on the entrails of that which contain them:—in due time they spin into *chrysalides,* and, at the period of maturity, instead of one moth, there springs forth a covey of ichneumons, which Browne calls flies.

[7] *production of eels.*] The parasites here alluded to, as will readily be concluded, are not eels, but belong to the *entozoa* of Rudolphi, or intestinal worms: in the case of the perch, they are referrible to the genus *Cucullanus.* Their general aspect sufficiently resembles that of the eel to excuse the error of the old naturalists; but our author himself, we apprehend, had not examined them, or his sagacity and accurate observation could not have failed to ascertain both their distinction from eels and somewhat of their true nature.—*Br.*

That seeds of some plants are less than any animals, seems of no clear decision; that the biggest of vegetables exceedeth the biggest of animals, in full bulk, and all dimensions, admits exception in the whale, which in length and above-ground-measure, will also contend with tall oaks. That the richest odour of plants, surpasseth that of animals, may seem of some doubt, since animal-musk seems to excel the vegetable, and we find so noble a scent in the tulip-fly, and goat-beetle.*

Now whether seminal nibs hold any sure proportion unto seminal enclosures, why the form of the germ doth not answer the figure of the enclosing pulp, why the nib is seated upon the solid, and not the channel side of the seed as in grains, why since we often meet with two yolks in one shell, and sometimes one egg within another, we do not oftener meet with two nibs in one distinct seed, why since the eggs of a hen laid at one course, do commonly outweigh the bird, and some moths coming out of their cases, without assistance of food, will lay so many eggs as to outweigh their bodies, trees rarely bear their fruit in that gravity or proportion: whether in the germination of seeds, according to Hippocrates, the lighter part ascendeth, and maketh the sprout the heaviest, tending downward frameth the root, since we observe that the first shoot of seeds in water will sink or bow down at the upper and leafing end; whether it be not more rational Epicurism to contrive whole dishes out of the nibs and spirited particles of plants, than from the gallatures and treddles of eggs, since that part is found to hold no seminal share in oval generation, are queries which might enlarge, but must conclude this digression.

And though not in this order, yet how Nature delighteth in this number, and what consent and co-ordination there is in the leaves and parts of flowers, it cannot escape our observation in no small number of plants. For the calicular or supporting and closing leaves, do answer the number of the flowers, especially such as exceed not the number of swallows' eggs;† as in violets, stitchwort, blossoms, and flowers of one leaf have often five divisions, answered by a

* The long and tender green *capricornus*, rarely found; we could never meet with but two.

† Which exceedeth not five.

like number of calicular leafs, as *gentianella*, *convolvulus*, bell flowers. In many, the flowers, blades, or staminous shoots and leaves are all equally five, as in cockle, mullein, and *blattaria;* wherein the flowers before explication are pentagonally wrapped up with some resemblance of the *blatta* or moth, from whence it hath its name. But the contrivance of nature is singular in the opening and shutting of bindweeds performed by five inflexures, distinguishable by pyramidal figures, and also different colours.

The rose at first is thought to have been of five leaves, as it yet groweth wild among us, but in the most luxuriant, the calicular leaves do still maintain that number. But nothing is more admired than the five brethren of the rose,[8] and the strange disposure of the appendices or beards, in the calicular leaves thereof, which in despair of resolution is tolerably salved from this contrivance, best ordered and suited for the free closure of them before explication. For those two which are smooth, and of no beard, are contrived to lie undermost, as without prominent parts, and fit to be smoothly covered; the other two which are beset with beards on either side, stand outward and uncovered, but the fifth or half-bearded leaf is covered on the bare side, but on the open side stands free, and bearded like the other.

Besides, a large number of leaves have five divisions, and may be circumscribed by a pentagon or figure of five angles, made by right lines from the extremity of their leaves, as in maple, vine, fig-tree; but five-leaved flowers are commonly disposed circularly about the stylus, according to the higher geometry of nature, dividing a circle by five radii, which concur not to make diameters, as in quadrilateral and sexangular intersections.

Now the number of five is remarkable in every circle,[9]

[8] *the five brethren of the rose.*] Alluding to a rustic rhyme:—

On a summer's day, in sultry weather,
Five brethren were born together,
Two had beards, and two had none,
And the other had but half a one.—*Jeff.*

[9] *the number of five is remarkable in every circle.*] As a curious parallel to the remarks contained in this paragraph, and as an illustration also of the philosophy of the subject of the prevalence in nature of the number *five*, to which, under another point of view, we shall have fre-

not only as the first spherical number; but the measure of spherical motion. For spherical bodies move by fives, and every globular figure placed upon a plane, in direct volutation, returns to the first point of contaction in the fifth touch, accounting by the axes of the diameters or cardinal points of the four quarters thereof. And before it arriveth

quent occasion to return in our annotations upon this tract, we present the following luminous observations of that venerable philosopher Mr. Colebrooke, forming the substance of his paper "*On Dichotomous and Quinary Arrangements in Natural History*," read before the Linnæan Society a few years since, and published in the *Zoological Journal*. After describing and admitting the value of the dichotomous arrangement, Mr. Colebrooke proceeds as follows:—

"But a more instructive arrangement is that which exhibits an object in all its bearings, which places it amidst its cognates: and contiguous to them again, those which approach next in degree of affinity, and thence branching every way to remoter relations.

"If we imagine samples of every natural object, or a very large group of them, to be so marshalled, we must conceive such a group as occupying not a plane, but a space of three dimensions. Were it immensely numerous, the space so occupied would approximate to a globular form; for indefinite space, around a given point, is to the imagination spheroidal, as the sky seems vaulted.

"It may easily be shown, therefore, that the simplest distribution of a large assemblage of objects marshalled in the manner here assumed, around a select one, or that distribution, which taking one central or interior group, makes a few and but a few equidistant exterior ones, is quinary. The centres of the exterior groups will stand at the solid angles of a tetrahedron within a sphere, of which the centre in the middle point is the interior group; that is, the entire assemblage, encompassing every way one select object, around which they are clustered, is in the first place divided concentrically, at more than half the depth to which it is considered to extend, and from equidistant points being taken within the substance of the outer shell, this is divisible into four equal parts, in which those mean points are centrical, or as nearly so as the irregular figure of the group allows.

"Rejecting the assumption of one primary central object, the division of the entire assemblage would become simpler. It would be quaternary.* The middle points of each of the four segments would stand, as those of the exterior distribution did, at the solid angles of a tetrahedron within the sphere above supposed. The whole assemblage may be conceived, first as a cluster of four balls, one resting upon three others, and then the interstices and remaining space, to complete a circumscribed sphere, are shared among the four.

---

* Ocken maintains that four is the determinate number in natural distribution. *Linn. Tr.* xiv. p. 56.

unto the same point again, it maketh five circles equal unto itself, in each progress from those quarters absolving an equal circle.

"But the mind is prone to fix upon some primary object of its attention, which becomes the centre of comparison for every other, and on this account it is that the quinary arrangement is practically a more natural one than the quaternary.

"I am here supposing an assemblage consisting of a single sample of every species; for species alone is in truth acknowledged by nature, and every larger group, whether genus, order or class, or family or tribe, is but the creature of abstraction.

"In the middle of this great cluster, I imagine that object placed with which they are contrasted. Around it are arranged other objects, nearer or remoter, according to the degree of their resemblance or affinity to it; for it is the type of a group comprising such as are most conformable. It is encompassed by similar groups consisting of such as bear less affinity to it; but have in like manner relation to other objects selected as types, one in the midst of every such exterior cluster. I say the smallest number of such surrounding groups that can be assumed is four, the respective centres of them being equidistant from each other, and situated at like distances (less however than their mutual interval) from the common centre of the entire assemblage. This then is the simplest natural arrangement; and hence it is, that the quinary distribution is that which is most affected in the classification of natural objects.

"Were the utmost perfection in arrangement attainable, the chosen common centre of the whole ought to be truly in the middle, and the selected centres of an exterior would be equally distant from it, and alike remote from each other.

"There would not be greater affinity between any two than between the rest; neither between any two of the groups, nor between their assumed middle points. But if there be any notable deviation from the greatest precision, from extreme accuracy of selection, the assumed middle point of the whole assemblage will in fact be eccentric; or some one at least of the selected centres of groups will be out of the right place. Now as the utmost precision can hardly be deemed attainable, it will necessarily follow that the assumed common centre inclines more towards one of the exterior than towards the rest; and therefore it ordinarily, not to say invariably, happens that in the quinary distribution, one cluster, comprising other three, is aberrant; that is, one of the five divisions being typical, is nearly but not perfectly central; another is conform, being proximate; three others are dissimilar and remote.

"Allusion has been made to the analogy which an indefinitely numerous assemblage of objects presents to indefinitely vast space contemplated as from a central point. It has been assimilated to the celestial sphere. Were the stars distributed throughout space at equal distances, and did they possess equal power of illumination, such a distribution

By the same number doth nature divide the circle of the sea star,[1] and in that order and number disposeth these elegant semicircles, or dental sockets and eggs in the sea hedgehog. And no mean observations hereof there is in the mathematicks of the neatest retiary spider, which concluding in forty-four circles, from five semidiameters beginneth that elegant texture.

And after this manner both lay the foundation of the circular branches of the oak, which being five-cornered in the tender annual sprouts, and manifesting upon incision the signature of a star, is after made circular, and swelled into a round body; which practice of nature is become a point of art, and makes two problems in Euclid.* But the bramble which sends forth shoots and prickles from its angles, maintain its pentagonal figure, and the unobserved signature of a handsome porch within it. To omit the five small buttons dividing the circle of the ivy berry, and the five characters in the winter stalk of the walnut, with many other observables, which cannot escape the eyes of signal discerners; such as know where to find Ajax his name in *Delphinium*, or Aaron's mitre in henbane.

Quincuncial forms and ordinations are also observable in animal figurations. For to omit the *hyoides* or throat bone of animals, the *furcula* or merry-thought in birds, which supporteth the *scapulæ*, affording a passage for the wind-pipe and the gullet, the wings of flies, and disposure of

* *Elem.* lib. 4.

would offer to the view 12 stars of the first magnitude, being those nearest to us, equally distant from each other, and nearly the same from our sun. Their relative positions would make the solid angles of an icosahedron circumscribing the solar system. In like manner, the middle points of exterior groups encompassing the interior one, and equidistant from its centre, and from each other, should be twelve in number; and this therefore is in fact the proper number of a strictly natural arrangement of objects with relation to one common object of comparison. The normal group is one; the aberrant 12, classed for more ready apprehension in form of subordinate clusters. The interior group is single; the exterior assemblage twelve-fold. This then appears to be the natural arrangement, and the subdivision of the inner cluster and grouping of outer ones, whence quinary arrangements result in both instances, are properly artificial."—*Zool. Journ.* vol. iv. p. 43-46.—*Br.*

[1] *circle of the sea star.*] See note on this subject in p. 554, note 1.

their legs in their first formation from maggots, and the position of their horns, wings, and legs, in their aurelian cases and swaddling clouts,—the back of the *cimex arboreus*, found often upon trees and lesser plants, doth elegantly discover the Burgundian decussation; and the like is observable in the belly of the *notonecton*, or water beetle, which swimmeth on its back, and the handsome *rhombus* of the sea poult, or werrel, on either side the spine.

The sexangular cells in the honeycombs of bees are disposed after this order (much there is not of wonder in the confused houses of pismires, though much in their busy life and actions), more in the edificial palaces of bees and monarchical spirits, who make their combs six cornered, declining a circle (whereof many stand not close together, and completely fill the area of the place); but rather affecting a six-sided figure, whereby every cell affords a common side unto six more, and also a fit receptacle for the bee itself, which gathering into a cylindrical figure, aptly enters its sexangular house, more nearly approaching a circular figure, than either doth the square or triangle; and the combs themselves so regularly contrived, that their mutual intersections make three lozenges at the bottom of every cell; which severally regarded make three rows of neat rhomboidal figures, connected at the angles, and so continue three several chains throughout the whole comb.

As for the *favago*, found commonly on the sea shore, though named from a honeycomb, it but rudely makes out the resemblance, and better agrees with the round cells of humble bees. He that would exactly discern the shape of a bee's mouth, needs observing eyes, and good augmenting glasses; wherein is discoverable one of the neatest pieces in nature, and he must have a more piercing eye than mine who finds out the shape of bulls' heads in the guts of drones pressed out behind, according to the experiment of Gomesius,* wherein, notwithstanding, there seemeth somewhat which might incline a pliant fancy to credulity of similitude.

A resemblance hereof there is in the orderly and rarely disposed cells made by flies and insects, which we have often

* *Gom. de Sale.*

found fastened about small sprigs, and in those cottonary and woolly pillows which sometimes we meet with fastened unto leaves, there is included an elegant net-work texture, out of which come many small flies. And some resemblance there is of this order in the eggs of some butterflies and moths, as they stick upon leaves and other substances, which being dropped from behind, nor directed by the eye, doth neatly declare how nature geometrizeth and observeth order in all things.

A like correspondency in figure is found in the skins and outward teguments of animals, whereof a regardable part are beautiful by this texture. As the backs of several snakes and serpents, elegantly remarkable in the *aspis*, and the dart-snake, in the *chiasmus* and larger decussations upon the back of the rattle-snake, and in the close and finer texture of the *mater formicarum*, or snake that delights in ant hills; whereby upon approach of outward injuries, they can raise a thicker phalanx on their backs, and handsomely contrive themselves into all kinds of flexures: whereas their bellies are commonly covered with smooth semicircular divisions, as best accommodable unto their quick and gliding motion.

This way is followed by nature in the peculiar and remarkable tail of the beaver, wherein the scaly particles are disposed somewhat after this order, which is the plainest resolution of the wonder of Bellonius, while he saith with incredible artifice hath nature framed the tail or oar of the beaver: where by the way we cannot but wish a model of their houses, so much extolled by some describers: wherein since they are so bold as to venture upon three stages, we might examine their artifice in the contignations, the rule and order in the compartitions; or whether that magnified structure be any more than a rude rectangular pile or mere hovel-building.

Thus works the hand of nature in the feathery plantation about birds. Observable in the skins of the breast,* legs, and pinions of turkeys, geese, and ducks, and the oars or finny feet of water-fowl: and such a natural net is the

* Elegantly conspicuous on the inside of the stripped skins of the dive-fowl, of cormorant, gosshonder (*goosander*), weasel, loon, &c.

scaly covering of fishes, of mullets, carps, tenches, &c., even in such as are excoriable and consist of smaller scales, as bretts, soles, and flounders. The like reticulate grain is observable in some Russia leather.[2] To omit the ruder figures of the *ostration*, the triangular or cunny-fish, or the pricks of the sea-porcupine.

The same is also observable in some part of the skin of man, in habits of neat texture, and therefore not unaptly compared unto a net: we shall not affirm that from such grounds the Egyptian embalmers imitated this texture, yet in their linen folds the same is still observable among their neatest mummies, in the figures of Isis and Osyris, and the tutelary spirits in the Bembine table. Nor is it to be overlooked how Orus, the hieroglyphick of the world, is described in a net-work covering, from the shoulder to the foot. And (not to enlarge upon the cruciated character of Trismegistus, or handed crosses,* so often occurring in the needles of Pharoah, and obelisks of antiquity), the *Statuæ Isiacæ*, and little idols, found about the mummies,[3] do make a decussation of Jacob's cross, with their arms, like that on the head of Ephraim and Manasses, and this *decussis* is also graphically described between them.

This reticulate or net-work was also considerable in the inward parts of man, not only from the first *subtegmen* or warp of his formation, but in the netty *fibres* of the veins and vessels of life; wherein according to common anatomy the right and transverse *fibres* are decussated by the oblique *fibres*; and so must frame a reticulate and quincuncial figure by their obliquations, emphatically extending that elegant expression of Scripture "Thou hast curiously embroidered me," thou hast wrought me up after the finest way of texture, and as it were with a needle.

Nor is the same observable only in some parts, but in the whole body of man, which upon the extension of arms and legs, doth make out a square, whose intersection is at the

* *Cruces ansatæ*, being held by a finger in the circle.

[2] *The like reticulate grain in some Russia leather.*] This grain is, however, artificially produced, and not as the author seems to suppose, natural.

[3] *little idols, &c.*] See *Burder's Oriental Customs*, No. 76.—*Jeff.*

genitals. To omit the fantastical quincunx in Plato of the first hermaphrodite or double man, united at the loins, which Jupiter after divided.

A rudimental resemblance hereof there is in the cruciated and rugged folds of the *reticulum*, or net-like ventricle of ruminating horned animals, which is the second in order, and culinarily called the honeycomb. For many divisions there are in the stomach of several animals: what number they maintain in the *scarus* and ruminating fish, common description or our own experiment hath made no discovery; but in the ventricle of porpuses there are three divisions; in many birds a crop, gizzard, and little receptacles before it; but in cornigerous animals, which chew the cud, there are no less than four * of distinct position and office.

The *reticulum* by these crossed cells, makes a further digestion, in the dry and exsuccous part of the aliment received from the first ventricle. For at the bottom of the gullet there is a double orifice: what is first received at the mouth descendeth into the first and greater stomach, from whence it is returned into the mouth again; and after a fuller mastication, and salivous mixture, what part thereof descendeth again in a moist and succulent body, slides down the softer and more permeable orifice, into the *omasus* or third stomach; and from thence conveyed into the fourth, receives its last digestion. The other dry and exsuccous part after rumination by the larger and stronger orifice beareth into the first stomach, from thence into the *reticulum*, and so progressively into the other divisions. And therefore in calves newly calved, there is little or no use of the two first ventricles, for the milk and liquid aliment slippeth down the softer orifice, into the third stomach; where making little or no stay, it passeth into the fourth, the seat of the *coagulum*, or runnet, or that division of stomach which seems to bear the name of the whole, in the Greek translation of the priest's fee, in the sacrifice of peace-offerings.

As for those rhomboidal figures made by the cartilagineous parts of the weazand, in the lungs of great fishes, and other animals, as Rondeletius discovered, we have not found them so to answer our figure as to be drawn into illustration; some-

* *Magnus venter, reticulum, omasus, abomasus.—Aristot.*

thing we expected in the more discernable texture of the lungs of frogs, which notwithstanding being but two curious bladders not weighing above a grain, we found interwoven with veins, not observing any just order. More orderly situated are those cretaceous and chalky concretions found sometimes in the bigness of a small vetch on either side their spine; which being not agreeable unto our order, nor yet observed by any, we shall not here discourse on.

But had we found a better account and tolerable anatomy of that prominent jowl of the spermaceti whale than questuary operation,* or the stench of the last cast upon our shore permitted, we might have perhaps discovered some handsome order in those net-like seases and sockets, made like honeycombs, containing that medical matter.

Lastly, the incession or local motion of animals is made with analogy unto this figure, by decussative diametrals, quincuncial lines and angles. For, to omit the enquiry how butterflies and breezes move their four wings, how birds and fishes in air and water move by joint strokes of opposite wings and fins, and how salient animals in jumping forward seem to arise and fall upon a square base,—as the station of most quadrupeds is made upon a long square, so in their motion they make a *rhomboides;* their common progression being performed diametrally, by decussation and cross advancement of their legs, which not observed, begot that remarkable absurdity in the position of the legs of Castor's horse in the capitol. The snake which moveth circularly makes his spires in like order, the convex and concave spirals answering each other at alternate distances. In the motion of man the arms and legs observe this thwarting position, but the legs alone do move quincuncially by single angles with some resemblance of a V measured by successive advancement from each foot, and the angle of indenture greater or less, according to the extent or brevity of the stride.

Studious observators may discover more analogies in the orderly book of nature, and cannot escape the elegancy of her hand in other correspondencies.[4] The figures of nails and

* 1652, described in our *Pseudo. Epidem.*

[4] *Studious observators, &c.*] In *MSS. Sloan.* 1847, occurs the following passage :—" Considerations are drawne from the signatures in the

crucifying appurtenances, are but precariously made out in the *granadilla* or flower of Christ's passion: and we despair to behold in these parts that handsome draught of crucifixion in the fruit of the Barbado pine. The seminal spike of *phalaris*, or great shaking grass, more nearly answers the tail of a rattle-snake, than many resemblances in Porta. And if the man orchis* of Columna be well made out, it excelleth all analogies. In young walnuts cut athwart, it is not hard to apprehend strange characters; and in those of somewhat elder growth, handsome ornamental draughts about a plain cross. In the root of *osmond* or water-fern, every eye may discern the form of a half-moon, rainbow, or half the character of *pisces*. Some find Hebrew, Arabick, Greek, and Latin characters in plants; in a common one among us we seem to read *Acaia, Vivis, Lilil.*

Right lines and circles make out the bulk of plants. In the parts thereof we find heliacal[5] or spiral roundles, volutas, conical sections, circular pyramids, and frustrums of Archimedes. And cannot overlook the orderly hand of nature, in the alternate succession of the flat and narrower sides in the tender shoots of the ash, or the regular inequality of bigness in the five-leaved flowers of henbane, and something like in the calicular leaves of tutson.[6] How the spots of *persicaria* do manifest themselves between the sixth and tenth rib. How the triangular cap in the stem or *stylus* of tulips doth constantly point at three outward leaves. That spicated flowers do open first at the stalk. That white

* *Orchis Anthropophora, Fabii Columnæ.*

rootes of plants resembling sometimes orderly shapes and figures; those are made according as the pores or ascending fibres are posited in the plants. Wherby alimental juce and stablishing fibre ascend. The brake makes an handsome figure of a tree; the osmund royall a semicircle or raynebowe; the sedge a neate print; the annual surcles of the oake a five poynted starre according to the figure of the twigge; the stalk of the figge a triangle; carrots and many other a flosculous figure; the first rudiments of the sprouts of pyonie give starres of an handsome posie; the budds of plants with large leaves and many flowers cutt, show the artificiall complications in a wonderfull manner."

[5] *heliacal.*] Like a *helix.*

[6] *tutson.*] See Mr. Hervey's ingenious interpretations of the curious structure of the passion-flower. *Reflections on a Flower Garden.—Jeff.*

flowers have yellow thrums or knops. That the nib of beans and peas do all look downward, and so press not upon each other. And how the seeds of many pappous[8] or downy flowers locked up in sockets after a *gomphosis* or mortise-articulation, diffuse themselves circularly into branches of rare order, observable in *tragopogon* or goats-beard, conformable to the spider's web, and the *radii* in like manner telarly interwoven.

And how in animal natures, even colours hold correspondencies, and mutual correlations. That the colour of the caterpillar will show again in the butterfly, with some latitude is allowable. Though the regular spots in their wings seem but a mealy adhesion, and such as may be wiped away, yet since they come in this variety, out of their cases, there must be regular pores in those parts and membrances, defining such exudations.[9]

That Augustus* had native notes on his body and belly, after the order and number in the stars of Charles' wain, will not seem strange unto astral physiognomy, which accordingly considereth moles in the body of man; or physical observators, who from the position of moles in the face, reduce them to rule and correspondency in other parts. Whether after the like method medical conjecture may not be raised upon parts inwardly affected; since parts about the lips are the critical seats of pustules discharged in agues; and scrofulous tumours about the neck do so often speak the like about the mesentery, may also be considered.

The russet neck in young lambs† seems but adventitious, and may owe its tincture to some contaction in the womb: but, that if sheep have any black or deep russet in their faces, they want not the same about their legs and feet; that

* *Suet. in vit. Aug.* † Which afterwards vanisheth.

[8] *pappous.*] Downy.

[9] *though the regular spots in their wings seem but a mealy adhesion, &c.*] The use of the microscope had not become sufficiently general among naturalists, at the time this tract was composed, to enable them to acquire a knowledge of the true nature of the scales which cover the wings of the lepidopterous insects, constituting this "mealy adhesion." These beautiful though minute scales form part of the essential organization of the animals invested with them, and consequently must be as definite in their relations as any other portion of their economy.—*Br.*

black hounds have mealy mouths and feet; that black cows which have any white in their tails, should not miss of some in their bellies; and if all white in their bodies, yet if black mouthed, their ears and feet maintain the same colour;—are correspondent tinctures not ordinarily failing in nature, which easily unites the accidents of extremities, since in some generations she transmutes the parts themselves, while in the *aurelian metamorphosis* the head of the canker becomes the tail of the butterfly.[1] Which is in some way not beyond the contrivance of art, in submersions and inlays, inverting the extremes of the plant, and fetching the root from the top, and also imitated in handsome columnary work, in the inversion of the extremes; wherein the capital, and the base, hold such near correspondency.

In the motive parts of animals may be discovered mutual proportions; not only in those of quadrupeds, but in the thigh-bone, leg, foot-bone, and claws of birds.[2] The legs of

[1] *in the aurelian metamorphosis, &c.*] This is a mistake. Browne must have made his observation on some species, the exterior of whose chrysalis he had *misinterpreted;* and thus, keeping watch on that part which he had erroneously decided to be occupied by the tail of the "canker," and seeing in due time the head of the butterfly make its appearance at that end, he came to his conclusion, without questioning the premises on which it was founded.

[2] *In the motive parts of animals may be discovered mutual proportions, &c.*] That all the parts of animals, and especially those of the human frame, maintain in their dimensions a certain mutual relation among themselves, has long been generally known: indeed, the very fact of the bi-lateral symmetry in which the bodies of animals are obviously formed,—a symmetry especially observable in the *Vertebrata* and in the *Annulosa*, but lately shown, by Dr. Agassiz (*Lond. and Edinb. Phil. Mag.* vol. v. p. 369) to characterize also the *Radiata*, such as the starfish and the echinus,—would alone be sufficient to demonstrate the existence of such mutual proportions.

A very few numerical relations, however, and those almost confined to the human frame, had been definitely made out, though many obscure notions on the subject had been floating in the minds of physiologists and natural historians, until the reading before the Linnæan Society, in April, 1830, of a paper by Dr. Walter Adam, of Edinburgh, on the osteological symmetry of the camel, *Camelus Bactrianus*, Linn. The objects of this paper (*Trans. of Linn. Soc.* vol. xvi. p. 525-585), the author states in his exordium, are, to state correctly the dimensions of the several bones of a large quadruped; to trace the mutual relations of those dimensions; and thus to exemplify the general osteological form in animals of similar configuration. Agreeably to these

spiders are made after a *sesqui-tertian* proportion, and the long legs of some locusts, double unto some others. But

objects, he details the proportionate dimensions of the bones constituting the skeleton of the camel (designating the bones according to the anatomical nomenclature of Dr. Barclay), in the following order; viz. the head; the vertebræ, classified in the usual manner; the sacrum; the tail; the ribs; the cavity of the thorax, and the sternum; the scapula; the pelvis, and the limbs. The various proportions are minutely exhibited in a series of tables, which occupies forty-seven quarto pages. The height, the breadth, and the basilar length of the cranium, Dr. Adam states, are very nearly in the proportion of 1, 2, 4. The common difference in the palatal, the coronal, the basilar, and the extreme length of the cranium, is the breadth of the cranium at the temporal fossæ; these lengths, in the animal examined, being, respectively, 12, 15, 18, 21, inches. The lateral extent of the atlas is equal to the distance between the inner margins of the orbits. The greatest elevation of the spine is at the third dorsal vertebra; the extreme length of that bone equalling the greatest extent of the pelvis towards the mesial plane. The longest of the twelve ribs are the seventh and the eighth; their length equals the greatest extent of the scapula. The sum of the lengths of the twelve ribs is about ten times that of the longest rib. The dimensions of the cavity of the chest agree with those of the separate bones of the body; thus, the greatest width of the chest is equal to the greatest length of the head. The breadths of the pelvis *rostrad* (measured towards the front), from the acetabula, are even numbers of proportional parts: its breadths, *caudad* (measured towards the tail), from the acetabula, including the acetabula breadth, itself, are odd numbers of proportional parts. The chief dimensions of the pelvis are identical with the chief dimensions of the head; thus, for example, the greatest dimension of the pelvis, being through the mesial plane, is equal to the greatest length of the head. The lengths of the four long bones of the atlantial (fore) limbs, independent of processes and elevations, are consecutively as the numbers 22, 28, 20, 6,—sum 76. The similar lengths of the four long bones of the sacral (hind) limbs are consecutively as the numbers 28, 23, 20, 5,—sum 76. These relations are selected in order to impart to the reader some idea of the results of Dr. Adam's valuable observations: for the others, equally remarkable, and very considerable in number, the reader is referred to the original memoir. Dr. Adam concludes the general statement of his results with the following summary. "From what has been now stated, it appears that throughout the dimensions of the bones of the Bactrian camel there is such an agreement, that many of the dimensions are continued proportionals, and that the mutual relations of nearly all admit of a very simple expression.

"Corresponding relations have been found to prevail in the bones of every species of animal examined by the writer of this paper. The prosecution of his investigations has been thwarted by unforeseen obstacles. Under more favourable circumstances, should what has been observed in the camel be fully verified in other animals, it will result:

the internodial parts of vegetables, or spaces between the joints, are contrived with more uncertainty; though the

"1. That though the hardness and durability of bones peculiarly fit them for enquiries similar to that detailed in these pages; yet as the bones always arise from, and are moulded by the softer tissues, the whole organic system is determinable in its proportions.

"2. That the relation of the forms of extinct animals to the forms of animals now living, the affinities of species and genera,—the simultaneous growth of the parts of the same animal, and the rates of such growth comparatively in other animals; the improvement of domestic races,—even the structure and development of the human frame,—are all matters both of physiological and of numerical study.

"3. That zoology is, to an equal extent with the departments of knowledge that regard inanimate things, susceptible of a classification established on the sure basis of number."

In 1833 and 1834, Dr. Adam communicated to the Royal Society, two papers extending his observations to the osteology of the human subject: of these, which have not yet been published, the only printed notices have been given in the *Lond. and Edinb. Phil. Mag.* vol. iii. p. 457, and vol. vi. p. 57. In these papers, which relate to the comparative osteological forms in the adult European male and female of the human species, he gives the results of a great number of measurements of the dimensions of the different bones composing the adult human skeleton, in the male and in the female sex respectively; and he also gives linear representations of various dimensions of the bones, both male and female, with a view to facilitate the comparison of the human frame with that of other animals, and reduce it to definite laws. He states that many of the rectilinear dimensions of human bones appear to be multiples of one unit, namely, the breadth of the cranium directly over the external passage of the ear; a dimension which he has found to be the most invariable in the body. No division of that dimension was found by Dr. Adam, to measure the other dimensions so accurately as that by seven, or its multiples. Of such seventh parts there appear to be twelve in the longitudinal extent of the back, and ninety-six in the height of the whole body. Adopting a scale of which the unit is half a seventh, or the 14th part of this line, being generally about the third of an inch, he states at length, in multiples of this unit, the dimensions, in different directions, of almost every bone in the skeleton; noting more especially the differences that occur in those of the two sexes. The conclusion which he deduces from his enquiry is, that every bone in the body exhibits certain modifications, according to the sex of the individual. To this summary of the results obtained by Dr. Adam, I will only add, that there are many reasons, *a priori*, both psychological and physiological, why such relations as have been observed by him both in animals and in man, should be expected, or rather should be certainly believed, to have existence. To notice more particularly one point:—that every bone in the human body, and indeed every organ and anatomically constituent part, must differ in the sexes, however

joints themselves, in many plants, maintain a regular number.

In vegetable composure, the unition of prominent parts seems most to answer the *apophyses* or processes of animal bones, whereof they are the produced parts or prominent explanations. And though in the parts of plants which are not ordained for motion, we do not expect correspondent articulations: yet in the setting on of some flowers and seeds in their sockets, and the lineal commissure of the pulp of several seeds, may be observed some shadow of the harmony, some show of the *gomphosis*[3] or mortise-articulation.

As for the *diarthrosis*[4] or motive articulation, there is expected little analogy; though long-stalked leaves do move by long lines, and have observable motions, yet are they made by outward impulsion, like the motion of pendulous bodies, while the parts themselves are united by some kind of *symphysis* unto the stock.

But standing vegetables, void of motive articulations, are not without many motions. For, besides the motion of vegetation upward, and of radiation unto all quarters, that of contraction, dilitation, inclination, and contortion, is discoverable in many plants. To omit the rose of Jericho, the ear of rye, which moves with change of weather, and the magical spit, made of no rare plants, which winds before the fire, and roasts the bird without turning.

Even animals near the classis of plants, seem to have the most restless motions. The summer-worm of ponds and plashes, makes a long waving motion, the hair-worm seldom lies still. He that would behold a very anomalous motion, may observe it in the tortile and tiring strokes of gnat-worms.*

* Found often in some form of red maggot in the standing waters of cisterns in the summer.

minute the difference may be, is a position which is supported by all we know, whether from science or from revelation, of the human mental and corporeal constitution; and that corresponding differences must exist in the sexes of animals will necessarily follow.—*Br.*

[3] *gomphosis.*] A mode of articulation by which one bone is fastened into another like a nail,—as a tooth in the socket.

[4] *diarthrosis.*] The moveable connexion of bones with each other, by joints.

CHAPTER IV.

As for the delights, commodities, mysteries, with other concernments of this order, we are unwilling to fly them over, in the short deliveries of Virgil, Varro, or others, and shall therefore enlarge with additional ampliations.

By this position they had a just proportion of earth, to supply an equality of nourishment. The distance being ordered, thick or thin, according to the magnitude or vigorous attraction of the plant, the goodness, leanness or propriety of the soil: and therefore the rule of Solon, concerning the territory of Athens, not extendible unto all; allowing the distance of six foot unto common trees, and nine for the fig and olive.

They had a due diffusion of their roots on all or both sides, whereby they maintained some proportion to their height, in trees of large radication. For that they strictly make good their *profundeur* or depth unto their height, according to common conceit, and that expression of Virgil,* though confirmable from the plane tree in Pliny, and some few examples, is not to be expected from the generality of trees almost in any kind, either of side-spreading, or tap roots;[2] except we measure them by lateral and opposite diffusions: nor commonly to be found in *minor* or herby plants; if we except sea-holly, liquorice, sea-rush, and some others.

They had a commodious radiation in their growth, and a due expansion of their branches, for shadow or delight. For trees thickly planted, do run up in height and branch with no expansion, shooting unequally or short, and thin upon the neighbouring side. And therefore trees are in-

* *Quantum vertice ad auras Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit.*

[2] *For that they strictly, &c.*] In *MS. Sloan.* 1882, occurs the following similar passage:—"But their progression and motion in growth is not equall; the root making an earlier course in the length or multitude of fibres, according to the law of its species, and as it is to afford a supportation or nourishment unto the ascending parts of the plants; but in progression of increase, the stalk commonly outstrips the root, and even in trees the common opinion is questionable;—as is expressed, *quantum vertice ad auras Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit.*

wardly bare, and spring and leaf from the outward and sunny side of their branches.

Whereby they also avoided the peril of συνολεθρισμὸς or one tree perishing with another, as it happeneth ofttimes from the sick *effluviums* or entanglements of the roots falling foul with each other. Observable in elms set in hedges, where if one dieth, the neighbouring tree prospereth not long after.

In this situation, divided into many intervals and open unto six passages, they had the advantage of a fair perflation from winds, brushing and cleansing their surfaces, relaxing and closing their pores unto due perspiration. For that they afford large *effluviums*, perceptible from odours, diffused at great distances, is observable from onions out of the earth, which though dry, and kept until the spring, as they shoot forth large and many leaves, do notably abate of their weight; and mint growing in glasses of water, until it arriveth unto the weight of an ounce, in a shady place, will sometimes exhaust a pound of water. And as they send much forth, so may they receive somewhat in; for beside the common way and road of reception by the root, there may be a refection and imbibition from without, for gentle showers refresh plants, though they enter not their roots, and the good and bad *effluviums* of vegetables promote or debilitate each other. So *epithymum* and dodder, rootless and out of the ground, maintain themselves, upon thyme, ivy, and plants whereon they hang; and ivy, divided from the root, we have observed to live some years, by the cirrous parts commonly conceived but as tenacles and holdfasts unto it. The stalks of mint cropt from the root, stripped from the leaves, and set in glasses with the root end upward, and out of the water, we have observed to send forth sprouts, and leaves without the aid of roots, and *scordium* to grow in like manner, the leaves set downward in water. To omit several sea plants, which grow on single roots from stones, although in very many there are side shoots and fibres, beside the fastening root.

By this open position they were fairly exposed unto the rays of moon and sun, so considerable in the growth of vegetables. For though poplars, willows, and several trees be made to grow about the brinks of Acheron, and dark

habitations of the dead; though some plants are content to grow in obscure wells, wherein also old elm pumps afford sometimes long bushy sprouts, not observable in any above ground; and large fields of vegetables are able to maintain their verdure at the bottom and shady part of the sea, yet the greatest number are not content without the actual rays of the sun, but bend, incline, and follow them, as large lists of solisequious or sun following plants; and some observe the method of its motion in their own growth and conversion, twining towards the west by the south,* as briony, hops, woodbine, and several kinds of bindweed, which we shall more admire, when any can tell us, they observe another motion, and twist by the north at the antipodes. The same plants rooted against an erect north wall full of holes, will find a way through them to look upon the sun; and in tender plants from mustard seed, sown in the winter, and in a pot of earth placed inwardly against a south window, the tender stalks of two leaves arose not erect, but bending towards the window, nor looking much higher than the meridian sun; and if the pot were turned they would work themselves into their former declinations, making their conversion by the east. That the leaves of the olive and some other trees solstitially turn, and precisely tell us when the sun is entered Cancer, is scarce expectable in any climate, and Theophrastus warily observes it. Yet somewhat thereof is observable in our own, in the leaves of willows and sallows, some weeks after the solstice. But the great convolvulus, or white flowered bindweed, observes both motions of the sun; while the flower twists equinoctially from the left hand to the right, according to the daily revolution, the stalk twineth ecliptically from the right to the left, according to the annual conversion.[3]

* *Flectat ad Aquilonem, et declinit ad Austrum,* is Solon's description of the motion of the sun.—*Author's note, from MS. Sloan.* 1847.

[3] *annual conversion.*] From *MS. Sloan.* 1847, the following passage may be added here:—"Of the orchis or dog-stones, one is generally more lusty, plump, and fuller than the other, and the fullest is most commended. The reason is, the one which is fullest shootes; the stalk seems most directly to proceed from that one; the other is but as it were appendant, and doth but slight office to the nourishment; but whether they have any regular position north or south, or east and west, my experience doth not discover."

Some commend the exposure of these orders unto the western gales, as the most generative and fructifying breath of heaven. But we applaud the husbandry of Solomon, whereto agreeth the doctrine of Theophrastus: "Arise, O north wind, and blow, thou south, upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out." For the north wind closing the pores, and shutting up the effluviums, when the south doth after open and relax them, the aromatical gums do drop, and sweet odours fly actively from them; and if his garden had the same situation, which maps and charts afford it, on the east side of Jerusalem, and having the wall on the west; these were the winds unto which it was well exposed.

By this way of plantation they increased the number of their trees, which they lost in quaternios and square orders, which is a commodity insisted on by Varro, and one great intent of Nature, in this position of flowers and seeds in the elegant formation of plants, and the former rules observed in natural and artificial figurations.

Whether in this order, and one tree in some measure breaking the cold and pinching gusts of winds from the other, trees will not better maintain their inward circles, and either escape or moderate their eccentricities, may also be considered. For the circles in trees are naturally concentrical, parallel unto the bark, and unto each other, till frost and piercing winds contract and close them on the weather side, the opposite semicircle widely enlarging, and at a comely distance, which hindereth ofttimes the beauty and roundness of trees, and makes the timber less serviceable, whilst the ascending juice, not readily passing, settles in knots[4] and inequalities; and therefore it is no new course of agriculture, to observe the native position of trees according to north and south in their transplantations.[5]

[4] *settles, &c.*] But the knots we see in planks are sections of small branches.

[5] *transplantations.*] In *MS. Sloan.* 1847, is the following passage:—"The sap in trees observes the circle and right line. Trees being to grow up tall, were made long and strong; of the strongest columnar figure, round. The lines are strongest for the most part, and in many equidistant, as in firs; the circles homocentrical, except perverted by situation; the circles on the northern, or side exposed to cold winds,

The same is also observable under ground in the circinations and spherical rounds of onions, wherein the circles of the orbs are oft times larger, and the meridional lines stand wider upon one side than the other; and where the largeness will make up the number of planetical orbs, that of Luna and the lower planets exceed the dimensions of Saturn, and the higher; whether the like be not verified in the circles of the large roots of briony and mandrakes, or why, in the knots of deal or fir, the circles are often eccentrical, although not in a plane, but vertical and right position, deserves a further enquiry.

Whether there be not some irregularity of roundness in most plants according to their position; whether some small compression of pores be not perceptible in parts which stand against the current of waters, as in reeds, bulrushes, and other vegetables toward the streaming quarter, may also be observed; and therefore such as are long and weak are commonly contrived unto a roundness of figure, whereby the water presseth less, and slippeth more smoothly from them, and even in flags of flat figured leaves, the greater part obvert their sharper sides unto the current in ditches.

But whether plants which float upon the surface of the water be for the most part of cooling qualities, those which shoot above it of heating virtues, and why? Whether *sargasso* for many miles floating upon the western ocean, or sea-lettuce and *phasganium* at the bottom of our seas, make good the like qualities? Why fenny waters afford the hottest and sweetest plants, as *calamus*, *cyperus*, and crowfoot, and mud cast out of ditches most naturally produceth arsmart? Why plants so greedy of water so little regard oil? Why since many seeds contain much oil within them, they endure it not well without, either in their growth or production? Why since seeds shoot commonly under ground and out of the air, those which are let fall in shallow

being more contracted. In the knots of fir, the right lines broken from their course do run into homocentrical circles, whether in round or oval knots."

In *MS. Sloan.* 1847, occurs also the following passage:—"Trees set under a north wall will be larger circled than that side exposed unto the weather: trees set in open high places, near the sea, will close their circles on that side which respecteth it."

glasses, upon the surface of the water, will sooner sprout than those at the bottom; and if the water be covered with oil, those at the bottom will hardly sprout at all,[6] we have not room to conjecture?

Whether ivy would not less offend the trees in this clean ordination, and well-kept paths, might perhaps deserve the question? But this were a query only unto some habitations, and little concerning Cyrus or the Babylonian territory; wherein by no industry Harpalus could make ivy grow. And Alexander hardly found it about those parts, to imitate the pomp of Bacchus. And though in these northern regions we are too much acquainted with one ivy, we know too little of another, whereby we apprehend not the expressions of antiquity, the splenetick medicine* of Galen, and the emphasis of the poet, in the beauty of the white ivy.†

The like concerning the growth of misseltoe, which dependeth not only of the species, or kind of tree, but much also of the soil. And therefore common in some places, not readily found in others, frequent in France, not so common in Spain, and scarce at all in the territory of Ferrara; nor easily to be found where it is most required, upon oaks, less on trees continually verdant. Although in some places the olive escapeth it not, requiting its detriment in the delightful view of its red berries; as Clusius observed in Spain, and Bellonius about Jerusalem. But this parasitical plant suffers nothing to grow upon it, by any way of

* *Galen. de Med. secundum loc.* † *Hederâ formosior albâ.*

[6] *will hardly sprout at all.*] Seeds which shoot underground have still, through the porous earth and also by means of the air, dissolved in the water, which is always present, ready access of oxygen, without the aid of which germination cannot take place; so that they do not in fact germinate "out of the air." The seeds let fall in shallow glasses, upon the surface of the water, sprout sooner than those at the bottom, because they have a more ready access, and a more copious supply of oxygen than the latter, and if the water be covered with oil, those at the bottom will hardly sprout at all, because the oil almost entirely precludes the access of that all-necessary principle; the small quantity dissolved in the water being quickly appropriated by the seeds, and the oil, by preventing the contact of the atmosphere with the surface of the water, rendering a further supply impossible.—*Br.*

art; nor could we ever make it grow where nature had not planted it, as we have in vain attempted by inoculation and incision, upon its native or foreign stock. And though there seem nothing improbable in the seed, it hath not succeeded by sation in any manner of ground, wherein we had no reason to despair, since we read of vegetable horns, and how rams' horns will root about Goa.

But besides these rural commodities,* it cannot be meanly delectable in the variety of figures, which these orders, open and closed, do make. Whilst every inclosure makes a rhombus, the figures obliquely taken a *rhomboides*, the intervals bounded with parallel lines, and each intersection built upon a square, affording two triangles or pyramids vertically conjoined; which in the strict quincuncial order do oppositely make acute and blunt angles.

And though therein we meet not with right angles, yet every rhombus containing four angles equal unto four right, it virtually contains four right. Nor is this strange unto such as observe the natural lines of trees, and parts disposed in them. For neither in the root doth nature affect this angle, which shooting downward for the stability of the plant, doth best effect the same by figures of inclination: nor in the branches and stalky leaves, which grow most at acute angles; as declining from their head the root, and diminishing their angles with their altitude; verified also in lesser plants, whereby they better support themselves, and bear not so heavily upon the stalk; so that while near the root they often make an angle of seventy parts, the sprouts near the top will often come short of thirty. Even in the nerves and master veins of the leaves the acute angle ruleth; the obtuse but seldom found, and in the backward part of the leaf, reflecting and arching about the stalk. But why ofttimes one side of the leaf is unequal unto the other, as in hazel and oaks, why on either side the master vein, the lesser and derivative channels stand not directly opposite, nor at equal angles, respectively unto the adverse side, but those of one part do often exceed the other, as the wallnut and many more, deserves another enquiry.

* *Linschoten.*

Now if for this order we affect coniferous and tapering trees, particularly the cypress, which grows in a conical figure; we have found a tree not only of great ornament, but, in its essentials, of affinity unto this order: a solid rhombus being made by the conversion of two equicrural cones, as Archimedes hath defined. And these were the common trees about Babylon, and the East, whereof the ark was made: and Alexander found no trees so accommodable to build his navy:—and this we rather think to be the tree mentioned in the Canticles, which stricter botanology will hardly allow to be camphire.

And if delight or ornamental view invite a comely disposure by circular amputations, as is elegantly performed in hawthorns, then will they answer the figures made by the conversion of a rhombus, which maketh two concentrical circles; the greater circumference being made by the lesser angles, the lesser by the greater.

The cylindrical figure of trees is virtually contained and latent in this order; a cylinder or long round being made by the conversion or turning of a parallelogram, and most handsomely by a long square, which makes an equal, strong, and lasting figure in trees, agreeable unto the body and motive part of animals, the greatest number of plants, and almost all roots, though their stalk be angular, and of many corners, which seem not to follow the figure of their seeds; since many angular seeds send forth round stalks, and spherical seeds arise from angular spindles, and many rather conform unto their roots, as the round stalks of bulbous roots and in tuberous roots stems of like figure. But why, since the largest number of plants maintain a circular figure, there are so few with teretous or long round leaves? Why coniferous trees are tenuifolious or narrow-leafed? Why plants of few or no joints have commonly round stalks? Why the greatest number of hollow stalks are round stalks; or why in this variety of angular stalks the quadrangular most exceedeth, were too long a speculation? Meanwhile obvious experience may find, that in plants of divided leaves above, nature often beginneth circularly in the two first leaves below, while in the singular plant of ivy she exerciseth a contrary geometry, and beginning with angular leaves below, rounds them in the upper branches.

Nor can the rows in this order want delight, as carrying an aspect answerable unto the *dipteros hypæthros*, or double order of columns open above; the opposite ranks of trees standing like pillars in the *cavedia* of the courts of famous buildings, and the porticoes of the *templa subdialia* of old; somewhat imitating the *peristylia* or cloister-buildings, and the *exedræ* of the ancients, wherein men discoursed, walked, and exercised; for that they derived the rule of columns from trees, especially in their proportional diminutions, is illustrated by Vitruvius from the shafts of fir and pine. And, though the inter-arboration do imitate the *areostylos*, or thin order, not strictly answering the proportion of intercolumniations: yet in many trees they will not exceed the intermission of the columns in the court of the Tabernacle; which being an hundred cubits long, and made up by twenty pillars, will afford no less than intervals of five cubits.

Beside, in this kind of aspect the sight being not diffused, but circumscribed between long parallels and the ἐπισκιασμὸς and adumbration from the branches, it frameth a penthouse over the eye, and maketh a quiet vision:—and therefore in diffused and open aspects, men hollow their hand above their eye, and make an artificial brow, whereby they direct the dispersed rays of sight, and by this shade preserve a moderate light in the chamber of the eye; keeping the pupilla plump and fair, and not contracted or shrunk, as in light and vagrant vision.

And therefore Providence hath arched and paved the great house of the world, with colours of mediocrity, that is, blue and green, above and below the sight, moderately terminating the *acies* of the eye. For most plants, though green above ground, maintain their original white below it, according to the candour of their seminal pulp: and the rudimental leaves do first appear in that colour, observable in seeds sprouting in water upon their first foliation. Green seeming to be the first supervenient, or above ground complexion of vegetables, separable in many upon ligature or inhumation, as succory, endive, artichokes, and which is also lost upon fading in the autumn.

And this is also agreeable unto water itself, the alimental vehicle of plants, which first altereth into this colour. And, containing many vegetable seminalities, revealeth their seeds

by greenness; and therefore soonest expected in rain or standing water, not easily found in distilled or water strongly boiled; wherein the seeds are extinguished by fire and decoction, and therefore last long and pure without such alteration, affording neither uliginous coats, gnat-worms, *acari*, hair-worms, like crude and common water; and therefore, most fit for wholesome beverage, and with malt, makes ale and beer without boiling. What large water-drinkers some plants are, the canary-tree and birches in some northern countries, drenching the fields about them, do sufficiently demonstrate. How water itself is able to maintain the growth of vegetables, and without extinction of their generative or medical virtues,—besides the experiment of Helmont's tree, we have found in some which have lived six years in glasses. The seeds of scurvy-grass growing in water-pots, have been fruitful in the land; and *assarum* after a year's space, and once casting its leaves in water, in the second leaves hath handsomely performed its vomiting operation.

Nor are only dark and green colours, but shades and shadows contrived through the great volume of nature, and trees ordained not only to protect and shadow others, but by their shades and shadowing parts, to preserve and cherish themselves: the whole radiation or branchings shadowing the stock and the root;—the leaves, the branches and fruit, too much exposed to the winds and scorching sun. The calicular leaves inclose the tender flowers, and the flowers themselves lie wrapt about the seeds, in their rudiment and first formations, which being advanced, the flowers fall away; and are therefore contrived in variety of figures, best satisfying the intention; handsomely observable in hooded and gaping flowers, and the butterfly blooms of leguminous plants, the lower leaf closely involving the rudimental cod, and the alary or wingy divisions embracing or hanging over it.

But seeds themselves do lie in perpetual shades, either under the leaf, or shut up in coverings; and such as lie barest, have their husks, skins, and pulps about them, wherein the nib and generative particle lieth moist and secured from the injury of air and sun. Darkness and light hold interchangeable dominions, and alternately rule the

seminal state of things. Light unto Pluto* is darkness unto Jupiter. Legions of seminal ideas lie in their second chaos and Orcus of Hippocrates; till putting on the habits of their forms, they show themselves upon the stage of the world, and open dominion of Jove. They that held the stars of heaven were but rays and flashing glimpses of the empyreal light, through holes and perforations of the upper heaven, took off the natural shadows of stars; while according to better discovery the poor inhabitants of the moon have but a polary life, and must pass half their days in the shadow of that luminary.

Light that makes things seen, makes some things invisible, were it not for darkness and the shadow of the earth, the noblest part of the creation had remained unseen, and the stars in heaven as invisible as on the fourth day, when they were created above the horizon with the sun, or there was not an eye to behold them. The greatest mystery of religion is expressed by adumbration, and in the noblest part of Jewish types, we find the cherubims shadowing the mercy-seat. Life itself is but the shadow of death, and souls departed but the shadows of the living. All things fall under this name. The sun itself is but the dark *simulachrum*, and light but the shadow of God.

Lastly, it is no wonder that this quincuncial order was first and is still affected as grateful unto the eye. For all things are seen quincuncially; for at the eye the pyramidal rays, from the object, receive a decussation, and so strike a second base upon the *retina* or hinder coat, the proper organ of vision; wherein the pictures from objects are represented, answerable to the paper, or wall in the dark chamber; after the decussation of the rays at the hole of the horny-coat, and their refraction upon the crystalline humour, answering the *foramen* of the window, and the convex or burning-glasses, which refract the rays that enter it. And if ancient anatomy would hold, a like disposure there was of the optick or visual nerves in the brain, wherein antiquity conceived a concurrence by decussation.

* *Lux orco, tenebræ Jovi; tenebræ orco, lux Jovi. Hippocr. de Dieta. S. Hevelii Selenographia.*

And this not only observable in the laws of direct vision, but in some part also verified in the reflected rays of sight. For making the angle of incidence equal to that of reflection, the visual ray returneth quincuncially, and after the form of a V; and the line of reflection being continued unto the place of vision, there ariseth a semi-decussation which makes the object seen in a perpendicular unto itself, and as far below the reflectent, as it is from it above; observable in the sun and moon beheld in water.

And this is also the law of reflection in moved bodies and sounds, which though not made by decussation, observe the rule of equality between incidence and reflection: whereby whispering places are framed by elliptical arches laid sidewise; where the voice being delivered at the focus of one extremity, observing an equality unto the angle of incidence, it will reflect unto the focus of the other end, and so escape the ears of the standers in the middle.

A like rule is observed in the reflection of the vocal and sonorous line in echoes, which cannot therefore be heard in all stations. But happening in woody plantations, by waters, and able to return some words, if reached by a pleasant and well-dividing voice, there may be heard the softest notes in nature.

And this not only verified in the way of sense, but in animal and intellectual receptions: things entering upon the intellect by a pyramid from without, and thence into the memory by another from within, the common decussation being in the understanding as is delivered by Bovillus.* Whether the intellectual and phantastical lines be not thus rightly disposed, but magnified, diminished, distorted, and ill placed, in the mathematicks of some brains, whereby they have irregular apprehensions of things, perverted notions, conceptions, and incurable hallucinations, were no unpleasant speculation.

And if Egyptian philosophy may obtain, the scale of influences was thus disposed, and the genial spirits of both worlds do trace their way in ascending and descending pyramids, mystically apprehended in the letter X, and the open bill and stradling legs of a stork, which was imitated by that character.

* *Car. Bovillus de Intellectu.*

Of this figure Plato made choice to illustrate the motion of the soul, both of the world and man: while he delivereth that God divided the whole conjunction length-wise, according to the figure of a Greek X, and then turning it about reflected it into a circle; by the circle implying the uniform motion of the first orb, and by the right lines, the planetical and various motions within it. And this also with application unto the soul of man, which hath a double aspect, one right, whereby it beholdeth the body, and objects without;—another circular and reciprocal, whereby it beholdeth itself. The circle declaring the motion of the indivisible soul, simple, according to the divinity of its nature, and returning into itself; the right lines respecting the motion pertaining unto sense and vegetation; and the central decussation, the wondrous connection of the several faculties conjointly in one substance. And so conjoined the unity and duality of the soul, and made out the three substances so much considered by him; that is, the indivisible or divine, the divisible or corporeal, and that third, which was the *systasis* or harmony of those two, in the mystical decussation.

And if that were clearly made out which Justin Martyr took for granted, this figure hath had the honour to characterize and notify our blessed Saviour, as he delivereth in that borrowed expression from Plato:—"*decussavit eum in universo*," the hint whereof he would have Plato derive from the figure of the brazen serpent, and to have mistaken the letter X for T. Whereas it is not improbable, he learned these and other mystical expressions in his learned observations of Egypt, where he might obviously behold the mercurial characters, the handed crosses, and other mysteries not thoroughly understood in the sacred letter X; which, being derivative from the stork, one of the ten sacred animals, might be originally Egyptian, and brought into Greece by Cadmus of that country.

CHAPTER V.

To enlarge this contemplation unto all the mysteries and secrets accommodable unto this number, were inexcusable Pythagorism, yet cannot omit the ancient conceit of five surnamed the number of justice;* as justly dividing between the digits, and hanging in the centre of nine, described by square numeration, which angularly divided will make the decussated number; and so agreeable unto the quincuncial ordination, and rows divided by equality, and just decorum, in the whole com-plantation; and might be the original of that common game among us, wherein the fifth place is sovereign, and carrieth the chief intention;—the ancients wisely instructing youth, even in their recreations unto virtue, that is, early to drive at the middle point and central seat of justice.

Nor can we omit how agreeable unto this number an handsome division is made in trees and plants, since Plutarch, and the ancients have named it the divisive number; justly dividing the entities of the world,[1] many remarkable

* δίκη.

[1] *divisive number, justly dividing the entities of the world.*] The number five has acquired considerable importance in natural history within these few years past, in consequence of the discoveries in the natural arrangement of animals which have been effected by Mr. William Sharpe Macleay, an eminent entomologist, son of Mr. Alexander Macleay, who was for many years secretary to the Linnæan Society, and possesses one of the most splendid collections of insects ever yet formed. The most important of the principles announced by Mr. W. S. Macleay, as they are stated by the Rev. L. Jenyns (in his "Report on the recent Progress and present State of Zoology," just published in the "Report of the fourth meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science," p. 152-153), are as follows:—"1st, *that all natural groups of animals, of whatever denomination, return into themselves, forming circles;* 2ndly, *that each of these circular groups is resolvable into exactly* five *others;* 3dly, *that these* five *groups always admit of a* binary *arrangement,* two *of them being what he calls* typical, the *other* three aberrant; 4thly, *that while proximate groups in any circle are connected by relations of* affinity, *corresponding groups in two contiguous circles are connected by relations of* analogy. Mr. Macleay has also observed, *that, in almost every group one of the* five

things in it, and also comprehending the general division of vegetables.* And he that considers how most blossoms

* Δένδρον, Θάμνος, Φρύγανον, Πόα, *Arbor, frutex, suffrutex, herba,* and that fifth which comprehendeth the *fungi* and *tubera,* whether to be named "Ασχιον or γύμνον, comprehending also *conferva marina salsa,* and sea-cords, of so many yards length.

minor groups, into which it is resolvable, bears a resemblance to all the rest; or, more strictly speaking, consists of types which represent those of each of the four *other groups, together with a type peculiar to itself.*"

Before proceeding to notice more particularly the numerical part of the Macleayan system, it will be expedient to cite the observation made by its author on the speculations of Browne on the number five, as given in this work. In a paper published in the Transactions of the Linnæan Society, vol. xiv. part 1, Mr. Macleay remarks, after discussing certain points of his system, "it were tedious to proceed much further on this subject; and therefore, without entering into the speculations, often unintelligible and always vague, of Plutarch, Sir Thomas Browne, Drebel, Linnæus, and others, as to the doctrine of *quintessence* generally, we may at once set forth the last argument which shall now be produced for the existence of a quinary distribution in organized nature. It may be stated thus: in the year 1817 I detected a quinary arrangement (published in 1819) in considering a small portion of coleopterous insects; and in the year 1821" (in the second part of Mr. Macleay's work entitled *Horæ Entomologicæ*) "I attempted to show that it prevailed generally throughout nature. In the same year (1821), and apparently without any view beyond the particular case then before him, M. Decandolle stated the natural distribution of cruciferous plants to be quinary. And again in the same year, a third naturalist (M. Fries), without the knowledge of either Decandolle's *Memoire,* or the *Horæ Entomologicæ,* and in a different part of Europe, publishes what he considers to be the natural arrangement of *Fungi.* Arguing *à priori,* this third naturalist fancies that the determinate number into which these acotyledonous plants are distributed ought to be four; but finds it necessary, in order that it may coincide with observed facts, to make it virtually five. Nay, at last, in spite of the prejudice of theory, he is unable to withstand the force of truth, throws himself into the arms of nature, and declares that where he actually finds his natural group complete in all its parts, there the determinate number is *five.*"

With respect to the philosophy of the numerical part of the Macleayan system, we cannot do better than quote the observations on the subject, which have been made by the Rev. W. Kirby, in the celebrated *Introduction to Entomology,* of which he is one of the authors. Mr. K. remarks, in the fourth volume of that work, letter xlvii.—

"There are *five* numbers and their multiples which seem more particularly to prevail in nature: namely, *two, three, four, five,* and *seven.* But though these numbers are *prevalent,* no one of them can be deemed universal. . . . . .

of trees, and greatest number of flowers, consist of five leaves, and therein doth rest the settled rule of nature;—

"But that which appears to prevail most widely in nature is what may be called the *quaterno-quinary;* according to which, groups consist of four minor ones; one of which is excessively capacious in comparison of the other three, and is always divisible into two; which gives *five* of the same degree, but of which, two have a greater affinity to each other than they have to the other three. Mr. W. S. Macleay, in the progress of his enquiries to ascertain the station of *Scarabæus sacer,* discovered that the *thalerophagous* and *saprophagous Petalocerous* beetles resolved themselves each into a circle containing five such groups. And having got this principle, and finding that this number and its multiples prevailed much in nature, he next applied to the animal kingdom in general: and from the result of this investigation, it appeared to him that it was nearly, if not altogether, universal. Nearly at the same time a discovery almost parallel was made and recorded by three eminent botanists, MM. Decandolle, Agardh, and Fries, with regard to some groups of the vegetable kingdom; and more recently Mr. Vigors has discovered the same quinary arrangement in various groups of birds. This is a most remarkable coincidence, and proves that the distribution of objects into fives is very general in nature. I should observe, however, that according to Mr. Macleay's system, as stated in his *Horæ Entomologicæ,* if the osculant or transition groups are included, the total number is seven:—these are groups small in number both of genera and species, that intervene between and connect the larger ones. Each of these osculant groups may be regarded as divided into *two* parts, the one belonging to the *upper* circle and the other to the *lower;* so that each circle or larger group is resolvable into five *interior* and two *exterior* ones, thus making up the number *seven.* Though Mr. Macleay regards this quinary arrangement of natural objects as very general, it does not appear that he looks upon it as absolutely universal,—since he states organized matter to begin in a dichotomy: and he does not resolve its ultimate groups into five species; nor am I certain that he regards the penultimate groups as invariably consisting of five ultimate ones. In *Copris* McL. I seem in my own cabinet to possess ten or twelve distinct types; and in *Phanæus,* the fifth type, which Mr. Macleay regards as containing insects resembling all the other types, appears to me rather divided into *two;* one formed by *P. carnifex Vindex, igneus,* &c. and the other by *P. spendidulus, floriger, Kirbii,* &c. . . . . With regard to all numerical systems we may observe, that since variation is certainly one of the most universal laws of nature, we may conclude that different numbers prevail in different departments, and that all the numbers above stated as prevalent are often resolvable or reduceable into each other. So that where physiologists appear to differ, or think they differ, they frequently really agree."

Professor Lindley, in his *Nixus Plantarum,* published in 1834, which contains his latest and most matured views on the natural system of the vegetable world, has also stated that the most natural groups of plants, of all classes, are *quinary.*—*Br.*

so that in those which exceed, there is often found, or easily made, a variety;—may readily discover how nature rests in this number, which is indeed the first rest and pause of numeration in the fingers, the natural organs thereof. Nor in the division of the feet of perfect animals doth nature exceed this account. And even in the joints of feet, which in birds are most multiplied, surpasseth not this number; so progressionally making them out in many,* that from five in the fore-claw she descendeth unto two in the hindmost; and so in four feet makes up the number of joints, in the five fingers or toes of man.

Not to omit the quintuple section of a cone,† of handsome practice in ornamental garden-plots, and in same way discoverable in so many works of nature, in the leaves, fruits, and seeds of vegetables, and scales of some fishes; so much considerable in glasses, and the optick doctrine; wherein the learned may consider the crystalline humour of the eye in the cuttle-fish and loligo.

He that forgets not how antiquity named this the conjugal or wedding number, and made it the emblem of the most remarkable conjunction, will conceive it duly appliable unto this handsome economy, and vegetable combination: and may hence apprehend the allegorical sense of that obscure expression of Hesiod,‡ and afford no improbable reason why Plato admitted his nuptial guests by fives, in the kindred of the married couple.§

And though a sharper mystery might be implied in the number of the five wise and foolish virgins, which were to meet the bridegroom, yet was the same agreeable unto the conjugal number, which ancient numerists made out by two and three, the first parity and imparity, the active and passive digits, the material and formal principles in generative societies. And not discordant even from the customs of the Romans, who admitted but five torches in their nuptial solemnities.‖ Whether there were any mystery or not, implied, the most generative animals were created on this day, and had accordingly the largest benediction. And

* As herons, bitterns, and long-clawed fowls.

† *Elleipsis, parabola, hyperbole, circulus, triangulum.*

‡ πέμπτας, *id est, nuptias multas. Rhodig.* § *Plato de Leg.* 6.

‖ *Plutarch. Problem. Rom.* i.

under a quintuple consideration, wanton antiquity considered the circumstances of generation, while by this number of five they naturally divided the nectar of the fifth planet.*

The same number in the Hebrew mysteries and cabalistical accounts was the character of generation,† declared by the letter E, the fifth in their alphabet, according to that cabalistical dogma; if Abram had not had this letter added unto his name, he had remained fruitless, and without the power of generation: not only because hereby the number of his name attained two hundred forty eight, the number of the affirmative precepts, but because, as in created natures there is a male and female, so in divine and intelligent productions, the mother of life and fountain of souls in cabalistical technology is called *Binah*, whose seal and character was E. So that being sterile before, he received the power of generation from that measure and mansion in the archetype: and was made conformable unto Binah. And upon such involved considerations, the ten of Sarai was exchanged into five.‡ If any shall look upon this as a stable number, and fitly appropriable unto trees, as bodies of rest and station, he hath herein a great foundation in nature, who observing much variety in legs and motive organs of animals, as two, four, six, eight, twelve, fourteen, and more, hath passed over five and ten, and assigned them unto none, or very few, as the *Phalangium monstrosum Brasilianum* (*Clusii et Jac. de Laet. Cur. Poster. Americæ Descript.*), if perfectly described.[2] And for the stability of this number, he shall not want the sphericity of its nature,[3] which multiplied in itself, will return

* . . . . . *oscula quæ Venus*
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.—*Hor.* lib. i. od. 13.

† *Archang. Dog. Cabal.*

‡ *Jod* into *He.*

[2] *the Phalangium, &c.*] The reference here given seems to relate to two works—*Clusii Curæ Posteriores*, 4to. *Antv.* 1611, and *De Laet. Americæ Descriptio.* To the latter I have not been able to refer. The former exhibits, at p. 88, a rude figure of *Phalangium Americanum* with its eight feet, and two *Palpi* which our author has mistaken for feet,—it is probably a *mygale*,—perhaps *avicularia.*

[3] *he shall not want the sphericity of its nature.*] See note at p. 526, note 9.

into its own denomination, and bring up the rear of the account. Which is also one of the numbers that makes up the mystical name of God, which consisting of letters denoting all the spherical numbers, ten, five, and six, emphatically sets forth the notion of Trismegistus, and that intelligible sphere, which is the nature of God.

Many expressions by this number occur in Holy Scripture, perhaps unjustly laden with mystical expositions, and little concerning our order. That the Israelites were forbidden to eat the fruit of their new-planted trees, before the fifth year, was very agreeable unto the natural rules of husbandry; fruits being unwholesome and lash,[4] before the fourth or fifth year. In the second day or feminine part of five, there was added no approbation. For in the third or masculine day, the same is twice repeated; and a double benediction inclosed both creations, whereof the one, in some part, was but an accomplishment of the other. That the trespasser* was to pay a fifth part above the head or principal, makes no secret in this number, and implied no more than one part above the principal; which being considered in four parts, the additional forfeit must bear the name of a fifth. The five golden mice had plainly their determination from the number of the princes. That five should put to flight an hundred might have nothing mystically implied; considering a rank of soldiers could scarce consist of a lesser number. Saint Paul had rather speak five words in a known, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; that is, as little as could well be spoken; a simple proposition consisting of three words, and a complexed one not ordinarily short of five.

More considerables there are in this mystical account, which we must not insist on. And therefore, why the radical letters in the pentateuch should equal the number of the soldiery of the tribes? Why our Saviour in the wilderness fed five thousand persons with five barley loaves; and again, but four thousand with no less than seven of wheat? Why Joseph designed five changes of raiment unto Benjamin; and David took just five pebbles† out of the brook against

* Lev. vi. † τέσσαρα ἕνκε four and one, or five.—*Scalig.*

[4] *lash.*] Soft and watery, but without flavour *Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia.*

the Pagan champion;—we leave it unto arithmetical divinity, and theological explanation.

Yet if any delight in new problems, or think it worth the enquiry, whether the critical physician hath rightly hit the nominal notation of *quinque?* Why the ancients mixed five or three, but not four parts of water unto their wine; and Hippocrates observed a fifth proportion in the mixture of water with milk, as in dysenteries and bloody fluxes? Under what abstruse foundation astrologers do figure the good or bad fate from our children, in good fortune;* or the fifth house of their celestial schemes? Whether the Egyptians described a star by a figure of five points, with reference unto the five capital aspects,† whereby they transmit their influences, or abstruser considerations? Why the cabalistical doctors, who conceive the whole sephiroth, or divine emanations to have guided the ten-stringed harp of David, whereby he pacified the evil spirit of Saul, in strict numeration do begin with the *perihypate meson*, or *si fa ut*, and so place the *tiphereth* answering *c sol fa ut*, upon the fifth string? or whether this number be oftener applied unto bad things and ends, than good in Holy Scripture, and why? he may meet with abstrusities of no ready resolution.

If any shall question the rationality of that magick, in the cure of the blind man by Serapis, commanded to place five fingers on his altar, and then his hand on his eyes? Why, since the whole comedy is primarily and naturally comprised in four parts,‡ and antiquity permitted not so many persons to speak in one scene, yet would not comprehend the same in more or less than five acts? Why amongst sea-stars nature chiefly delighteth in five points? And since there are found some of no fewer than twelve, and some of seven, and nine, there are few or none discovered of six or eight?[5] If any shall enquire why the flowers of rue properly consist of four leaves, the first and third

* Ἀγαθὴ τυχὴ *bona fortuna*, the name of the fifth house.
† Conjunct, opposite, sextile, trigonal, tetragonal.
‡ Πρότασις, ἐπίτασις, κατάστασις, καταστροφή.

[5] *Why amongst sea-stars, &c.*] The far greater number of this group of *Radiata* is pentagonal—or five-rayed. But there occur in many species individuals which vary from the rule. In the British Museum there are specimens of—*Ophiura elegans*, and *Asterias reticulata* with

flower have five? Why, since many flowers have one leaf or none,* as Scaliger will have it, divers three, and the greatest number consist of five divided from their bottoms, there are yet so few of two? or why nature generally beginning or setting out with two opposite leaves at the root, doth so seldom conclude with that order and number at the flower? He shall not pass his hours in vulgar speculations.

If any shall further query why magnetical philosophy excludeth decussations, and needles transversely placed do naturally distract their verticities? Why geomancers do imitate the quintuple figure, in their mother characters of acquisition and amission, &c., somewhat answering the figures in the lady or speckled beetle? With what equity chiromantical conjecturers decry these decussations in the lines and mounts of the hand? What that decussated figure intendeth in the medal of Alexander the Great? Why the goddesses sit commonly cross-legged in ancient draughts, since Juno is described in the same as a veneficial posture to hinder the birth of Hercules? If any shall doubt why at the amphidromical feasts, on the fifth day after the child was born, presents were sent from friends, of polypuses and cuttle-fishes? Why five must be only left in that symbolical mutiny among the men of Cadmus? Why Proteus in Homer, the symbol of the first matter, before he settled himself in the midst of his sea-monsters, doth place them out by fives? Why the fifth year's ox was acceptable sacrifice unto Jupiter? Or why the noble Antoninus in some sense doth call the soul itself a rhombus? He shall not fall on trite or trivial disquisitions. And these we invent and propose unto acuter enquirers, nauseating crambe verities, and questions over-queried. Flat and flexible truths are beat out by every hammer; but Vulcan and his whole forge sweat to work out Achilles his armour. A large field is yet left unto sharper discerners to enlarge upon this order, to search out the *quaternios* and figured

* *unifolium nullifolium.*

but four rays; of some unnamed species with 4, 5, 6, and 7; of *A. variolata* with 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 rays; of *A. endica* with 8 and 9; and *A. papposa* with from 12 to 15 rays.

raughts of this nature, and (moderating the study of names, and mere nomenclature of plants), to erect generalities, disclose unobserved proprieties, not only in the vegetable shop, but the whole volume of nature; affording delightful truths, confirmable by sense and ocular observation, which seems to me the surest path to trace the labyrinth of truth.[6] For though discursive enquiry and rational conjecture may leave handsome gashes and flesh-wounds; yet without conjunction of this, expect no mortal or dispatching blows unto error.

But the quincunx* of heaven runs low, and 'tis time to close the five ports of knowledge. We are unwilling to spin out our awaking thoughts into the phantasms of sleep, which often continueth precogitations; making cables of cobwebs, and wildernesses of handsome groves. Beside Hippocrates† hath spoke so little, and the oneirocritical‡ masters have left such frigid interpretations from plants, that there is little encouragement to dream of Paradise itself. Nor will the sweetest delight of gardens afford much comfort in sleep; wherein the dulness of that sense shakes hands with delectable odours; and though in the bed of Cleopatra,§ can hardly with any delight raise up the ghost of a rose.

Night, which Pagan theology could make the daughter of Chaos, affords no advantage to the description of order; although no lower than that mass can we derive its genealogy. All things began in order, so shall they end, and so shall they begin again; according to the ordainer of order and mystical mathematicks of the city of heaven.

Though Somnus in Homer be sent to rouse up Agamemnon, I find no such effects in these drowsy approaches of sleep. To keep our eyes open longer, were but to act

* *Hyades*, near the horizon about midnight, at that time.
† *De Insomniis.* ‡ *Artemidorus et Apomazar.*
§ Strewed with roses.

[6] *and (moderating the study of names, and mere nomenclature of plants), to erect generalities, &c.*] In these observations the importance and necessity of endeavouring to approximate to the true natural system of plants, is very curiously and sagaciously anticipated by our author.—*Br.*

our Antipodes.[7] The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia. But who can be drowsy at that hour which freed us from everlasting sleep? or have slumbering thoughts at that time, when sleep itself must end, and as some conjecture all shall awake again.

[7] *To keep our eyes open longer, &c.*] "Think you that there ever was such a reason given before for going to bed at midnight; to wit, that if we did not, we should be *acting* the part of our antipodes!" And then,—"THE HUNTSMEN ARE UP IN AMERICA,"—what life, what fancy! Does the whimsical knight give us, thus, the *essence* of gunpowder tea, and call it an *opiate?—Coleridge's MS. notes on the margin of a copy of Browne's Works.*

*** It escaped me to notice in the first chapter of this "Discourse," that there is a curious article on gardens, in *D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature,* vol. iv. p. 233; in the *Archæologia,* vol. vii. a paper by the Hon. Daines Barrington, on the progress of gardening;—in the 2nd number of the *Journal of the Geographical Society,* an interesting account of the floating gardens of Cashmere.

END OF THE GARDEN OF CYRUS.